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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

OCTOBER, 1927

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indica by L. D Barnett

To Binder.

This plate should face p. 535. It was accidentally omitted from the July Number.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1927
PART IV.—OCTOBER

Kausambi

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., R.B.
(Archæological Survey of India)

(PLATE V)

THE late Dr. Vincent A. Smith published an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1898 in which he sought to disprove Sir Alexander Cunningham's identifications of Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī with Kosam in the district of Allahabad and Set-Maheth (Saheṭh-Maheṭh) on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts respectively. He himself located Śrāvastī in the vicinity of the village of Khajura near Balapur in Nepal and Kauśāmbī at or near Sutna in the Riwa state. In 1907–8 and 1908–9, when I had the privilege of co-operating with Dr. J. Ph. Vogel and Sir John Marshall in the exploration of the ancient mounds at Saheṭh-Maheṭh, I found two inportant inscriptions which finally and conclusively established the identity of those remains with Śrāvastī. I am now in a position to announce the discovery of an equally important inscription in the vicinity of Kosam which makes it certain that the extensive remains near that village mark the actual site of the city of Kauśāmbī. I have also carefully studied the three inscriptions mentioning the name of Kauśāmbī which were known to Dr. Smith, and find that they definitely support the same view.

Kauśāmbī was one of the most important cities of ancient India. It is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. According to

the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ii, 30 seq., it was the birthplace of the celebrated grammarian Kātyāyana or Vararuci, as Śalātura was of Pāṇini, and the scene of the Sanskrit play the *Ratnāvalī*, where it is appropriately designated Vatsapattana. "I knew not," says Vatsa-rāja, "that Kauśāmbī was so wealthy! She outvies the residence of the God of Wealth. Her numerous sons are clad in cloth of gold, sprinkled with the fragrant dust of the colour of dawn, or tinted with the saffron dye, decked with glittering ornaments, and tossing their heads proudly with splendid crests fit for Kāma himself." Gautama Buddha spent his ninth retreat (Pali *vassa*) at Kauśāmbī, and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang tells us in his itinerary that he saw at Kauśāmbī a sandalwood image of the Buddha which was a true likeness of the Master, having been carved in his own lifetime. This, as we know, could not be correct, for no images of the Buddha were made until several centuries after his *parinirvāṇa*.

General Cunningham was the first archæologist to locate this celebrated city in the extensive ruins lying near the village of Kosam on the Jumna River, 30 miles or so above the city of Allahabad. The theory was accepted by scholars. Dr. Smith, too, admitted the force of some of the arguments adduced by Cunningham, but rejected the identification on the ground that the geographical position of Kosam did not correspond with the indications left by the Chinese pilgrims. He dismissed the statement of Fa-Hian as worthless, inasmuch as in his opinion that pilgrim had never personally visited Kauśāmbī, because instead of saying "you arrive at Kauśāmbī" or "you reach Kauśāmbī" he contents himself with simply stating "there is a kingdom named Kauśāmbī". Now the fact is that both Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsang describe their visits to different places in different words. This much seems certain, that had Fa-Hian really omitted a visit to Kauśāmbī, he would have plainly said so, as he does, for example, with regard to the Dakṣiṇa, i.e. Southern India and the places in it: "Fa-Hien, however, was after all unable to go there; but having received (above) accounts from men of the

country he has narrated them." Kauśāmbī was one of the eight great places of the Buddhists, and it is extremely unlikely that having visited other principal places associated with the career of the Buddha he would have ignored a place of such great importance. If, therefore, it may be assumed that Fa-Hian did not rely on mere hearsay, the indications left by him about the situation of Kauśāmbī are found to be extremely satisfactory. Kosam is 92–5 miles distant from Sārnāth and this distance closely corresponds to the thirteen *yojanas* which according to the pilgrim separated Kauśāmbī from the Deer Park. It is true that the actual direction is west instead of north-west as recorded by Fa-Hian, but such errors are common enough in the itineraries of both Hiuen Tsang and Fa-Hian, and there appears no special reason to stress unduly the disparity in this particular case.

Hiuen Tsang visited Kauśāmbī after Prayāga, modern Allahabad. Says he, "Going from this city (Prayāga) south-west, we enter into a great forest infested with savage beasts. . . . Going 500 *li* or so we come to the country of Kiau-'ng-mi." On the map Kosam is only about 30 miles or *li* nearly west of Allahabad, and unless the pilgrim took an inconceivably circuitous route, it would be impossible to reconcile the position of Kosam with that of Kauśāmbī. I am consequently of opinion that here Hiuen Tsang is undoubtedly at fault and has overstated the distance. But is the position near Sutna assigned by Smith to this ancient city more satisfactory? I think not; for though the directions recorded by the pilgrim do carry us to the neighbourhood of Sutna, this spot would scarcely go into line with other cities mentioned by him such as Śrāvastī, Kānyakubja, etc., whose sites are precisely known.

It will be seen from what is stated above that had the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and Fa-Hian been our only sources of information on the subject in hand, the city of Kauśāmbī would probably never have been definitely identified. Fortunately epigraphical documents come to our help in this as they have done in other analogous cases.

Vincent Smith was aware of the existence of three inscriptions which mentioned the name of Kauśāmbī, viz., one of the year Samvat 1881, another of Samvat 1621, engraved on the Aśoka pillar standing in situ at Kosam, and a third one discovered in the ancient fort of Kara distant 9 miles from Sirathu railway station on the East Indian Railway in the district of Allahabad. The first document clearly refers to the locality as Kosāmbīnagar. It is inscribed on a tablet of red sandstone now fixed into the wall of a modern Dharmaśālā in the village Pabhosa, 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosam Khiraj. It records the consecration of an image of the illustrious Jina (Pārśvanātha) on Friday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa in Samvat 1881 by Sādhu Śrī Hīrālāl of Allahabad on the top of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the city of Kauśāmbī. It is thus clear that the modern villages of Kosam and Pabhosa were identified already in A.D. 1824–5 by the people of the country with Kauśāmbī and Prabhāsa respectively. The second inscription is engraved on the upper part of the shaft of the Aśoka Pillar, still *in situ* in the midst of the ruins of Kosam A transliteration of this epigraph was first published in my Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917, p. 13, and the inscription has since been edited in detail by Mr. F. E. Pargiter, I.C.S., ret. (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, p. 92). It is written in Nāgarī characters, and records the prayer of five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employees to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to the town itself. The inscription is dated on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Caitra, Samvat 1621, which according to the late Dr. Fleet corresponds to the 20th February, A.D. 1565. The date falls in the reign of Akbar, whose name is also inscribed on the pillar above this inscription. Dr. Smith was of opinion that the inscription of Samvat 1621 simply proved that the persons mentioned in it resided in the city of Kauśāmbī, but that it was not

necessarily identical with the remains extant at Kosam. It seems to me evident from the tenor of the inscription that the goldsmiths referred to in it were indeed residents of Kosam which was known as Kauśāmbī in the time of Akbar, i.e. about four centuries before archæologists began to identify these remains with that ancient city.

The inscription from Kaṛa was first made public early in the nineteenth century, but has never yet been properly edited. The stone on which the inscription is engraved was built in the gateway of the ancient fort at Kaṛa, and is now deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. It was first published by Mr. H. D. Colebrooke in the year 1809, and consists of seventeen lines, not sixteen as stated by him. Mr. Colebrooke correctly made out the first six lines, which constitute the most important portion of the record, except the name of the locality mentioned therein which was read erroneously and gave rise to unnecessary controversy. Mr. Colebrooke rendered the first six lines as follows :—

"Samvat 1093 on the first day of the light fortnight of *Ashadha*. At this auspicious *Cata*, the great and eminent prince Yasahpala in the realm of *Causamba* and village of *Payahasa* commands."

A somewhat improved reading was published by Mr. James Prinsep in 1836 (*JASB.*, vol. v, p. 731), but this emendation was confined to the alteration of a few letters only, and the meaning of the epigraph remained as unintelligible as before. It was left for General Cunningham to use in 1871 (*ASR.*, vol. i, pp. 302–3) the information contained in the record in connexion with his identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī. Dr. Smith, however, rejected this evidence on the ground that all that the inscription implied was "that the village of Payahāsa, wherever that may have been, was included in the kingdom of Kauśāmbī", but certainly not Kaṛa. I have obtained fresh estampages of the inscription through the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, and one of them is reproduced in this paper. The epigraph is written in incorrect Sanskrit, but is quite complete, with the

exception of a few *akṣaras* which seem to have disappeared in the latter portion of the last two lines. The purport of the inscription seems to be quite clear, and, as will presently be seen, provides irrefragable proof of the identity of Kosam with Kauśāmbī.

Text

line.
1 Om.[1] Saṁvat 1093
2 Āṣāḍha śudi 1
3 ady= ehaṁ(ha) śrīmat-Kaṭe
4 mahārājādhırāja
5 śrī-Yasa(śa)ḥpālā[:*] Kau-
6 sā(śā)mba-maṇḍale Payal[ā]-
7 sa-grāme mahantam = ā(a)-
8 nusamādısa(śa)ti yathā
9 Pabhosekīya-Māthu-
10 ra-Vık[a]tasya sā(śā)sana-
11 tvaṁ prasādi(ī)kṛtya matv[ā*]
12 bhāga-bhoga-kara-hıra-
13 n(ṇ)ya-pratyādāyādıkam
14 matv = opanetavyam = ıti
15 dasa(śa)bandhena saha . . .
16 alabhrta (?)
17 putra-pautrāṇāṁ . . .

Translation

"Om. In the year Samvat 1093, on the first day of the bright fortnight of *Āṣādha, to-day (while, encamping) here* at the illustrious Kata, the Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Yaśaḥpāla commands the Mahant (headman or other official) in the village of Payalāsa in the *maṇḍala* of Kauśāmbī that, knowing that (the aforesaid village) has been presented (by me) as a gift to Māthura Vikṭa (Vikaṭa) of Pabhosa, the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, other income (*pratyādāya*) etc., together with the tenth part of the produce should be paid (to him) . . . of the sons and grandsons."

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

It will be observed that the locality named in the inscription which Messrs. Colebrooke and Prinsep had read as Payahâsa is in reality Payalâsa. According to the reading available to Dr. Smith he would appear to have been fully justified in rejecting the document as evidence of Kosam being Kauśâmbî, because there is really no place of the name of Payahâsa in the vicinity of Kaṛa. With Payalâsa in place of Payahâsa the position becomes quite clear. There is a place of the name of Parâs (map Pras) just 5 miles N.N.W. of Kaṛa, and I have no doubt that this must be identical with the Payalâsa of our inscription. The change of *l* to *r* is as common in the dialects of the United Provinces as the converse case of *r* to *l*. As examples I may mention *siār* for Sanskrit *sṛgāla*, *sāra* for Sanskrit *śyāla*, etc. In the same way Payalâsa first changed to Payarâsa, which is now further simplified to Parâs or Prâs. The village of Prâs is just 30 miles N.N.W. from Kosam. It is thus obvious that this place formed part of the ancient kingdom of Kauśâmbî in the eleventh century A.D. The capital of the kingdom must ...fore be looked for in this very neighbourhood, and Kosam id... ...ll the conditions. The king Yaśaḥpāla was presumably ...nce of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.

The new inscription referred to in the beginning of this note was brought to light when I was engaged some time ago in re-erecting, in its original vertical position, the Aśoka pillar still *in situ* at Kosam. It is engraved on the door-jamb of a ruined temple in the village of Meohar, distant 7 miles from Kosam. The door-jamb is 4 ft. 10 in. in height, and was lying in front of the temple. My efforts, combined with those of the District Magistrate of Allahabad, to have the stone transferred to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, have proved fruitless, but the villagers have set the stone back into its original position and restored the shrine, so that there is no danger of its being damaged or lost. The inscription consists of three lines measuring 4 ft. 3 in., 4 ft. 3 in., and about 10 in. respectively. It is in a very good state of preservation, but a portion measuring about 7 in. is obliterated in each of the

first two and a smaller portion in the third line. The inscription is written in clear-cut Nāgarī characters and in the Sanskrit language. The epigraph records that in the year Samvat 1245 [1] (A.D. 1189) in the reign of King Jayaccandra (of Kanauj) a certain Śrīvāstavya Ṭhakkura built a temple of [Si]ddheśvara (Mahādeva) in the village of Mehavaḍa in the district of Kauśāmbi. This village still exists in the vicinity of Kosam and is known by its ancient name.

TEXT

l. 1. Oṁ.[2] Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalī-paṁcatay-opet-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vid[yā-vicāra-vācaspati]-śrīmaj-Jayaccandra-

l. 2. deva-rājye Saṁvata(t) 1245 ady = eha Kauśāmba-pattalāyām Mehavaḍa-gnā(grā)ma-vāstika-Śrīvāstavya-Ṭha[kkura] . . . [Si*]-

l. 3. ddheśvarasya prāsādam = akā[rayat]

TRANSLATION

"Om. To-day, in the year Saṁvat 1245, in the reign of the illustrious Jayaccandradeva, who is equipped with the royal titles beginning with Paramabhaṭṭāraka, who is th of the three classes of rulers, the *aśvapati*, the *gajapati*, the *narapati*, who is a Vācaspati in discussions relating to t various sciences, here the Śrīvāstavya, the Ṭhakkura . . . a resident in the village of Mehavaḍa in the district of Kauśāmbī, caused a temple of [Si]ddheśvara to be made."

It is thus evident that Kara, which was an important principality during the Mughal period and whose fort on the banks of the Ganges still presents a picturesque site, Prāa, and Meohar were all situated in the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. The remains of its capital, which have come down to us at Kosam, extend over several miles; and well might the visitor exclaim with king Udayana of the sixth century B.C., "I knew not that Kauśāmbī was (once) so wealthy."

General Cunningham has discussed in great detail the

[1] This date is interesting, as it increases the duration of Jayaccandra's reign by about two years.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

topography of the ancient city of Kauśāmbī as described by Hiuen Tsang, and tried to identify some of the most important buildings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim with the existing remains. Dr. Smith considered them to be as untenable as the identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī.

No systematic excavations have been attempted at Kosam, and as the only monument, namely, the inscribed Aśoka pillar still *in situ* in the ancient Fort of Kosam, is not referred to by Hiuen Tsang, it is impossible to identify any of the numerous edifices referred to by Hiuen Tsang with certainty. According to this pilgrim the ancient city of Kauśāmbī was 30 *li* or about 5 miles in circuit. There were in it ten Saṅghārāmas, which were already in ruins and deserted in his time, and fifty temples of the orthodox Hindus. Besides these there were eleven other important edifices, including a *vihāra* of the sandalwood statue of Buddha referred to above, two large *stūpas* of Aśoka, one of which contained the hair and nail relics of the Master, a stone dwelling of the Nāga deity 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of the city and the house of the nobleman Ghosira. General Cunningham identified the dwelling of the Nāga with the hill of Prabhāsa, which according to Cunningham is the only rock in the *Antarvedī* or the Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna. This hill is, however, 3 miles to the north-west of Kosam, instead of 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of it. I am inclined to think that the direction recorded by Hiuen Tsang must be wrong. As regards the distance, I agree with General Cunningham in thinking that the distance of the rock from the city might well have been 2 miles instead of 3 miles, as the remains of the city outside the fortified enclosure extend to a considerable distance on all sides except on the south, where on account of the river no buildings could be constructed outside the walled area.

It is curious that Hiuen Tsang mentions neither the Aśoka pillar, which is still standing in the middle of the fortified enclosure at Kosam, nor the other pillar, which is stated to have been transferred from that place to the Allahabad fort by the

Mughal king Akbar. The fact that there is no Aśoka inscription engraved on the former pillar appears to me to supply further evidence of the Allahabad pillar having originally been erected at Kauśāmbī, for had the existing pillar alone been set up by Aśoka in that city he would not have failed to inscribe some sort of a record upon it. The capitals of both these columns are missing. I had hoped, when I was engaged in re-erecting the pillar at Kosam, which had fallen down a few centuries ago, and was lying in an inclined position, to recover its capital. The excavation around the pillar was, however, limited to a small area and revealed no trace of the capital. It may, however, still be buried in the ground under the débris, and may some day be brought to light, like the capitals of the two pillars at Rampurwa.[1] My little excavation brought to light, however, a number of coins of the Kauśāmbī type and terracotta toys and other objects. I was also enabled to discover three Brāhmī inscriptions in the villages in the neighbourhood of Kosam. They have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica.* One of them records the erection of a stone railing (*vedikā*) by a certain householder who was the grandson of a votary of Maṇibhadra. Other inscriptions devoted to the worship of this *yakṣa* are known, and I may particularly mention one found at Bhīṭā, in the same district as Kosam. The other two inscriptions were installed in the reigns of certain Mahārājas named Śivamegha and Bhadramegha. These chiefs are not yet known from any other source. The remains of Kosam have yielded other images, which have been described in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1913–14, p. 262 seq. Nor should I omit a mention of a copper coin which was probably found at the same place and is now deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. It is engraved in Brāhmī characters with the name *Kosabi*, i e. Kauśāmbī.

The evidence brought together in this paper appears to leave no manner of doubt as to Kosam being the modern representative of Kauśāmbī.

[1] *Vide Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, pt. ii, for 1907–8.

The Moscho-Hittite Inscriptions

By A. H. SAYCE

TWO years ago, in the *JRAS.*, an article of mine was published on the leaden rolls with Hittite hieroglyphic texts discovered by the German excavators on the site of Assur (*JRAS.*, Oct., 1925, pp. 707 seq.). The chief purport of the article was to point out the verification the texts afforded of my decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions; where I had postulated the same phonetic value for two or more different characters, these characters are found interchanging with one another, while the geographical and personal names we should expect to meet with are to be read if we give the characters the values I have assigned to them. The nature of the texts, moreover, if my system of decipherment is accepted, agrees with what analogy would suggest it ought to be. What makes them so especially important for the purpose of verification is that they are long, complete, every character clearly defined, and, above all, that they belong to a locality and period when the script was affected by the contemporaneous use of the Phrygian alphabet and accordingly is phonetic rather than ideographic besides marking the divisions between the words.

Naturally the Assur texts have also shown that corrections must be made in some of my results both phonetic and semantic; more especially Dr. Cowley is proved to be right in the value he assigned to the character ; this is merely a variant of  *ka*, *ga*. Something has been done, too towards determining the value of the vowels; , for example, is not *ya*, but *yi* or *i*, and in the older texts appears to have been *wi*, *wĭ*.

Apart from the fragmentary and mutilated character of most of the texts we possessed and the uncertainty of the reading in so many passages, a great obstacle to the decipher-

ment of them was caused by the fact that they belonged to different localities and different periods of time. Thanks mainly to the discoveries at Carchemish and the leaden rolls of Assur this latter difficulty is now largely removed; we have, for instance, a well-defined Carchemish group and a Tyanæan group, each of which, and more particularly the Tyanæan group, can be arranged chronologically. In the Tyanæan group, for instance, the inscription of Karaburna is one of the earliest

The verification of my decipherment by the Assur rolls ought by itself to have been sufficient. But now has come another verification from which there is no appeal. In the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, vii, No. 1, a curious document relating to the ceremonies and dentistic operations connected with the cutting of a child's teeth has been published. The colophon states that it was originally composed by a certain female "doctor", as we should call her, and subsequently revised by two other "wise women", the third and last of whom, the last writer of the tablet, bore the name of Wa-at-ti-ti, a native of the city of Kunassar. She has endorsed the document by scratching her name in cursive hieroglyphics along the edge of the tablet, and they read—



The last character appears in the inscriptions in various forms, more or less cursive; the most pictorial representing an upraised arm and hand. To the three characters I had, before the war, severally assigned the values *mia* or *wia*, *ti* and *atti*, *itti*. *M* and *w* interchange as in Babylonian, and some years ago I suggested that the Babylonian pronunciation, which is wholly non-Semitic, was due to Asianic influence. The Babylonian  *wa*, *wi* is also *pi* and *mi*.

To this unexpectedly striking confirmation of the soundness of my results I can add yet another. The Art Institute of Chicago contains an exceptionally good cast of the famous Hittite sculpture of Karabel, near Smyrna. The name of the

king is clear in it and reads  This is *Tu(a)-ti* according to my transcription. Now in his recently published book, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization*, Sir W. M. Ramsay has settled and explained a well-known fragment of the Lydo-Greek poet Hipponax, describing the road past the Gygæan Lake and through Karabel to Smyrna, and has shown that the Pseudo-Sesostris monument of Karabel is called the monument "of Tôs" (*Τῶτος*), a name which meets us elsewhere in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor and is also written Tottês. The *Tu(a)* or *Tû* of the Hittite text has the same form as in the Tua-a-te-s of Messerschmidt, ii, 1. The latter name appears as Tuates in the Vannic inscriptions and *Τέα*. s in Greek, and seems to be merely a variant of Tottês (Nicolaus Damasc., Nr. 54), Tôs. It signifies the "charioteer".[1] Hipponax calls Tôs "son" or "descendant of Mutallis", *Μυτάλιδι* (*Μυττάλυδα* in the text of Hesychius, as Ramsay has shown, p. 155). He, therefore, traced his ancestry back to the Hittite monarch Mutallis (1320–1290 B.C.), the son and successor of Mursilis II, who had extended the Hittite Empire as far as Lydia. If he were the son of Mursilis, the Karabel stela would be as early as the thirteenth century before our era, and there is nothing in the forms of the characters to contradict this as none of them belongs to a late date.

The inscription attached to the Pseudo-Sesostris of Karabel can now be read in full, thanks to the Chicago cast and the squeeze I took of it in 1879. It runs (1) KU *Tû-ti* (2) KHALMI MIS (△△) (3) *amis-ku*, "Work of Tûtis (3), of the country of Kumba (?) (3) the high-priest." Khalmis, ideographically represented by a bird, was the goddess of Carchemish and Aleppo—whence the Assyrian Khalama-n(a) for Aleppo, Hebrew חילם (2 Sam. x, 16)—and corresponded to the Phrygian Kybelê. According to Hesychius Kombê, another form of Kybelê, was "Mother of the Kurètes", the

[1] Cf. the name of Bar-r(a)k(u)b, "Son of the Chariot," king of Sam'al.

Korybantes of Phrygia, and Ovid (*Met.* 7) tells us that Kombê was the daughter of Ophius, the inventor of brazen armour, and was herself changed into a bird. In agreement with this we have the glosses in Hesychius: κύμβαι· ὄρνιθες, and κύμβας ὄρνιθας.

In 1881 Sir W. M. Ramsay made an interesting discovery at the so-called "Midas-city", the early capital and sacred city or Hierapolis of Phrygia.[1] Here a road winds up to the level of the plateau, to the right of which a line of processional figures has been carved out of the rock-wall, of a similar character to those carved on the rocks of Yasili-kaya at Boghaz-keui. They terminate at the summit of the plateau in a rock-cut altar and a figure holding a caduceus and wearing the Hittite up-tilted shoes. Behind his back (according to Ramsay's drawing) is a curved object, and in a panel in front of him are three Hittite hieroglyphs which in Ramsay's drawing are the pictographs of the sacred stone, the bird of Khalmis, and the determinative of "district", the whole reading "the sanctuary of the district of Kombê" or "Khalmis". According to Stephanus Byzantinus the name of the "Midas-city" was Ambason, but it was also known as the metropolis of Phrygia, the name Metropolis, however, he adds on the authority of Alexander's *History of Phrygia*, being derived, not from the fact that it was the capital of Phrygia, but ἀπὸ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. It is possible that the name Ambason is connected with Amba, a bye-form of the name of the Mother-goddess Amma, but I should prefer to derive it from the word *ambassi* "a sacred grove" (more especially of vines) found in the Hittite cuneiform texts as well as in Assyrian, where it was one of the many loan-words from Asia Minor borrowed in the early days when Assyrian colonization extended as far north as the Halys.

Tûti or Tuates would consequently have come from the "Midas-city" of which he had been *amiskus* or High-priest. The title literally meant "dirk-bearer", and is accordingly

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii, 1, pp. 6–11.

usually accompanied by the picture of a dirk.[1] The king (*nawis*, ANA-MI) could be *amiskus* in virtue of his ruling over a Hierapolis or Sacred city; but, so far as I can at present see, the offices were generally distinct. On the column of the Nigdeh temple, for example (Messerschmidt, liii), we have the inscription *yi-is-a akŭwan es Ka-a-n(a)-ś i-yis-i-ti a-mi-s-ku-ś*, "This stone Kanas High-priest in the temple has erected," but we know that there were kings in the neighbouring city of Tyana. Carchemish, which was a Hierapolis—Knanamiya, as it is called in the hieroglyphic texts—was governed by a High-priest rather than by a king, but some of the authors of the inscriptions assume also the royal title; Khalmisyakime (?), for example, who begins his inscription with "High-priest of Carchemish", concludes it with *nawi-mei* "I am king". In Carchemish, ii, A 15, *b***, 3, the word is written *A(mis)-mi-s-ka-a-s* instead of *amiskus*, and in Carch. i, A 7, *b* 2, the ideographs denoting it are followed by the phonetic complement *-mis-ka-s*. It is expressed ideographically as  (Messerschmidt, xi, 2) and  (Carchemish, i, A 3, *a**, 4), where it is followed by the phonetic spelling *a(mis)-mis-kĕ-is*.

The frequent occurrence of the title "Holy City", Hierapolis (which is often denoted by the compound ), is another evidence that I have been on the right track. It had led me to identify the second part of the compound as *kuana* "holy" long before I discovered, thanks to improved copies of the inscriptions, that it formed part of the compound given above. So, again, my decipherment had resulted in my finding that the people of Carchemish were also termed the people of the Water-goddess Nana or Nina, represented ideographically sometimes by  (a sieve ?), sometimes also by the head of a horse; ten years later I found a passage in

[1] *Mi-* "dirk", *a-mi-* "dirk-man", confused in later inscriptions with the curved sword or scimitar used by the guard who "protected" the temple and citadel.

the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* which proved that Jerablûs was the site of the city called Ninus Vetus by Ammianus Marcellinus (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, i, 19).

But it is needless to enumerate further proofs. Those who wish to find them will do so in my many articles in the pre-war *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. It must be remembered that the articles were all concerned with tentative and pioneering work and were, therefore, full of errors, some of which have been corrected with the help of more extensive and accurate materials, while others, doubtless, still await correction.

There was one point, however, which caused me misgivings. Among the numerous characters used phonetically for the grammatical terminations I could find none which represented *l*. And in two others only, *khal* and (*i*)*lu*, was it to be discovered. And yet the liquid *l* plays a prominent part in the phonology and grammar of the Asianic languages. How could its absence be explained? But during the past few years we have learnt a good deal about Asianic phonology. Not only did *l* tend to disappear altogether (as in Scotland, where *co'* takes the place of *coal*, or, as Ramsay notices, Balquhidder becomes Bawquidder), but like *r* it had a vocalic rather than a consonantal sound in certain words, while in others it approximated to the sonant *n*[1] or resembled the Welsh *ll*, and was interchanged with *d* and *t*. Thus in Proto-Hittite *labarna* and *tabarna* "lord" interchange, while Ramsay and Weidner have shown that in personal and geographical names *l* and *n* repeatedly take one another's place. We may, in fact, divide the languages of Asia Minor into the *l* and *n* forms of speech. Now the Hittite hieroglyphs are polyphonous, like all other hieroglyphic systems of script, and in one case I believe I can point to what must be an example of this interchange of *l* and *n*. A common title in the inscriptions is *akŭniyas, akŭniniyas*, "powerful" (written phonetically *a-kŭ-ni-yas* by the side of its ideographic

[1] Cf. the familiar English "chimbley" for "chimney"!

expression in Carchemish, ii, A 15, *b***, 3). The word is evidently the Old Phrygian *akenanos*, which has the same origin as *keneman*, *knouman* "sanctuary", "tomb" (Hittite *kuani-mia*(*n*)) and signifies "great". The Phrygian word also appears as *akenano-lawos*, where the second word of the compound, *lawos*, seems to be related to the *λευς* of *βασιλεὺς*. At any rate, *akenano-lávois* corresponds exactly with the *akŭni*(*ni*)*-náwns* of the Tyanæan and certain Carchemish texts where *ná* is denoted by the bullock's head. I used to think the latter was merely a repetition of the previous syllable, but in the light of the Assyrian *lû* "ox" it must, I believe, be regarded as the correspondent of the Phrygian *lawos*. In Assyrian 𒉌 was both *ni* and *li*.

Certain historical and geographical facts may thus be now accepted as acquired. The hieroglyphic inscriptions, for the most part, belong to a comparatively late date. This is especially the case with the Tyanæan group, where Tyana, "the city of Mita" or Midas, as it is also called, was the capital of an empire, which was acknowledged at Carchemish as well as in Asia Minor. The founders of it were the Moschi or Meshech, whose name I had discovered in the inscriptions of Carchemish and Tyana long before Dr. Hogarth came independently to the same conclusion as myself upon archæological, and not philological grounds. Fifty years before the time of Tiglath-pileser I, they had descended from their homes on the Black Sea and established their power in south-eastern Asia Minor and northern Syria. It was the Cilician Empire of Solinus (*De Mirab. Mundi*, xlix; edit. Mommsen, xxxviii, 3),[1] the Second Hittite Empire as we may term it, though the name "Hittite" which I believed I had found in the hieroglyphic texts in the earlier days of

[1] "Cilicia antea ad Pelusium Ægypti pertinebat, Lydiis, Medis, Armeniisque, Pamphylia, Cappadocia sub imperio Cilicum constitutis. Mox ab Assyriis subacta in breviorem modum subacta est." The "Medes" are the Manda of the Hittite cuneiform texts (Madai in Gen. x, 2) who left their name in the classical Matiênê. The statement of Solinus has now been traced to Timagenes (first century B.C.).

my decipherment, does not exist in them. That the same conclusion should have been reached by Dr. Hogarth and myself independently and upon different grounds may be regarded as a further verification of my deciphering work.

In the earliest of the Carchemish inscriptions (Carch. i, A 1, *a*) "the city-lord" calls himself "a Sun-god" (*Masnis*) and "divine", but he does not assume the title of "king". That is also the case with Kanas, who, like his predecessor, describes himself as a *Mis-kas-n-is*, *Mis-kas-is(-s)*, or "Moschian".[1] But he claims to be "priest" (*Ku-a-ni-s*) of Carchemish, as well as of the land of Agusis, whose inscriptions have been found at Jerablûs and (by Hogarth) at Tel Ahmar, the Til-Barsip of the Assyrian texts; he was, moreover, "dirk-man" (*amis*) of Nâkuanas or Nâkanis and "lord" (*akûnis*) of Melid (Malatiyeh). An inscription found at Malatiyeh (Messerschmidt, xvi, 1) records the erection of a fortified palace there by Tarkamitus who was "dirkman" of the land (*mia*-MIA-*na*-NA) of the Kasians, and lord of Melid and Nâgis or Nâkanis.[2]

But while this Moschian empire, as we may call it, extended as far eastward as Malatiyeh, it extended westward to

[1] Written *mi-is*-KÊ-*ka-a-ni-is* in Carch. i, A 1, *a* 1. The phrase is: "A Carchemishian of the Moschian Tarkuians" (*Mi-is*-KÊ-*ka-a-ni-is* DET "god" *Tarku-wi-in iwa Kar*-KA-*kam-mi-mis*); KA is represented by the axe. In Carch i, A 11, *b* 3, we have MIS *mi-i-ka-a-wa-an* DET. *Tua-ua-wa-na* "Moschians of Tyana", and in Carch i, A 2, *Mis-kas-is Ku*-KU-*uan*-KUANA-*na-miya ana* "the Moschian lord of the Holy City". Further on in the same line we have. *Mis-n-is-wi Mis-n-i-miya ana* "I am the Sun-god, lord of the city of the Sun-god", who may, however, have been a goddess, like Khebe(t) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, since the words just quoted are preceded by a picture of a bird and the words *me-is-wi miya* "I have built the city of . . ."

[2] See also Carch i, A 11, *b* 2, where we have: "I have built for my Sun-god (*Mis-ni-mi*) in the land of N(a)-agus-si a sanctuary (?), I have built houses of *kalinas*-stone" (GÚ-ATTA *ka-li-na-yis*). Further on in the same inscription (*c* 5) we read· "supreme over the Tarkuians, lord of Melid (*Me-ilid-yi-s*), in the land of Karkamish (*Karka-mi-š*-MI-*i*) I have built a house (*li-mia*) and an ox-column" I should identify Nâgis and Naknanas, Nagis-nis with Nagiu on the Armenian frontier which Sennacherib in a letter to his father associates with Gurun and "the forts of Gamir" (Harper, *Letters*, 146).

Cilicia and the Tyanitis. Tyana, in fact, was the capital. Carchemish, on the other hand, was a Hierapolis, a holy city whose ruler was a high-priest and not a king, and who owed civil obedience to Tyana. At the same time he might also be king elsewhere; thus in Messerschmidt, xi, 3, the author of the inscription whose name is lost is entitled "the Carchemishian High-priest (US-*ka*-KUAN-*ni-s*) . . . Kasian king of Tyana" (where the name of Tyana, "the Double Fortress," is written as in the inscription of Andaval, Mess. xxxi, C, and in Carch. i, A 4, *a** 2. In the latter inscription the adjective "Tyanian" is written *Tua-uan-ni*-NIS-*s*-DET.). In Carch. ii, A 15, *b*** 4, "Imois (Yamêyês), priest of the Tarkusians, the Khalmisians, of Carchemish and Nakata" (Nigdeh),[1] refers to the vineyards of the Double Fortress and Tu-u-a-uana (). This same Imois, "priest of Khalmis, my Sun-god" (*Mis-n-is-me-i-s*), was also "supreme over" two countries, the names of which I cannot read (Carch. i, A 6, 1). They were, however, in the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh, since it is of them that Khaluwis calls himself *akŭnana-nâwis* (or *akenano-lawos* ?) in the Bogcha inscription (Mess. li, 1), while at Karaburna (Mess. xlvi, corrected by a squeeze) Sinas "king of the Sinasmians" is "king (*nais*) of Tyana", and Khalmis-Kumba has become a Cilician (*Khal-kan-na-wis-a*) deity. "I have conquered this land" (*y-a mé na*-NAS-*yi*), says the king, and "built the fortified city Sinas(mis) for the people of the Tyanian king" (DET. *wi*-MI-*wi-a nai Tua-uan-a-n-i*).

[1] This name is usually represented by the ideograph  But in the passage quoted above the phonetic characters *ka-ti* are added to it, and at Bulgar-Maden (Mess. xxxii, 5) *N(a)-ka-tu(a)-ka-mi-s* "Nakatu-town" occupies the place the name usually has in other inscriptions. The name of the (deified) city which precedes it at Bulgar-Maden has the phonetic complement *mi* attached to it at Carchemish (Carch. i, A 4, *a* 3), where it follows the name of "Khalmian Carchemish" and is followed by that of *Mu-ka-s*, the Mukis of the cuneiform texts. For "the Kuwarbis-gods of Mukis" (*Mukisenus*) see *JRAS.*, Jan. 1927, p. 88. The classical name of Nigdeh is unknown. It is situated near Andaval (Andabalis) and a little north of Bor (Tyana). Nagidos was on the coast.

Still further northward, on the southern bank of the Tokhma-Su, the name of Carchemish was acknowledged. The two inscriptions of Gurun (Gauraina, Ass. Guraniya), which, unfortunately, are in so mutilated a state as to render the name of their author uncertain,[1] are records of a "supreme king" who was "lord of Melid and High-priest of Carchemish". He was also a Mis-kas or "Moschian" and "city-lord" (ANA-MIYA) of the Wanatî. The Wanatî are the *Ἐνετοὶ* or Veneti of the classical writers, whose name may have been preserved in that of *Οὐηνάτα*, the later Vênasa. Uwinias, king of Tyana (Mess. xxxiii), describes himself as a Venetan prince (*Wĕ-na*-UANA-*tu-u-wis-yi*) and as building a palace and erecting a sacred stone in honour of Tarku-Sandes of the Veneti (*Uana-tu*(*a*)-*u-si-in*) At Ivriz (Mess. xxxiv) his son Tiyes is called the governor of the Venetan (*Uana-tu-ti*) province of Kêtis (*Kê-ti-is-s*-MIA), and the name occurs again at Izgin (Mess. xix, A 5), as well as at Carchemish. Here the High-priest of Carchemish declares himself to be "by race" (*a-mê*)[2] a "Venetan" (Mess. xi. 4), and the name (or word) is found elsewhere in the Carchemish texts (e.g. Carch. i, A 6, 8) The word itself means "a vine-grower", and therefore may not have an ethnic signification when no determinative of locality is attached to it. The vine was sacred as in Vannic Armenia, and like the Vannic kings, a High-priest of Carchemish chronicles his planting a vine (Mess. x, 2, *is-is uana*(*n*) *Aram-me* "who has planted the vine of Aramis").

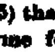
Another territorial name found both at Carchemish and in Asia Minor is that of the Kases (*Kas*, *Kuss*). Thus in Carch. i, A 6, 3, we have: *Khal-kas-si*

[1] In the photograph it looks like Nâ-i-yis, a title of the kings of Mer'ash (Mess xxi, 3, lii, 4, *nâ-â-yi-s nâ-a-yi-s* "king of kings"), but the following word is Khatti-kuanis "priest of Khatti". As *Khatti*, however, is not preceded by the ideograph of divinity, while the Kara Dagh king had the name of Khattê-ku-ani-s, the name may be that of the king himself.

[2] Or, perhaps, better *a-yê*. MIYA "city" is phonetically represented by *a-ya*, *a-yi*, and *a-i*, when it signifies "land" rather than "city" in the Greek sense. Cf. the Homeric *αἶα* and Phrygian *ουα* "village".

ka-KUAN-*n-i-s a-me-i*-MÊ *Kas-in-na akûna-ni kû-i-s at-ti-me*-MIA, "of the Cilicians the priest am I, who (have built) a palace for the Kasian overlord," while at Karaburna Tarkûtis (or Sandûtis ?) speaks of setting up inscribed tablets in "the land of Kus" (*Ku-wis*-MIA *mi-a*-NA-*na*, Mess. xxxii, 2). In an Assyrian letter published by Professor Pinches (*PSBA*., 1881, p. 13), the land of Kuśa in north-eastern Syria is defined as including the cities of Qarnê, Dana, Kullania, Arpad, and Iśana (cf. the Biblical Chushan in Chushan Rishathaim, king of Aram of the Rivers), but this cannot be the same as the Kas (or Kus) of Asia Minor, which represents the Kases of classical geography. It is possible that the title of "River-land" was similarly applicable to more than one country. In the Mer'ash and Carchemish texts, where "the River-land" is also defined as "the land of the 9 rivers",[1] it signifies the district in which the rivers of south-eastern Cilicia had their origin. But at Hamath we have not only "the River-land of Kânis" (*Ka-a-n*(*i*)-*nas*-MIA-DET. MIS *Tê* (?)-*ti-nas*, Mess. iv, 2), which may be Gania, near Kaisariyeh, but also *Mi-t*(*i*)-*a-na-s*-DET. MIS *Tê* (?)-*ti-i-s*, which could be Mitanni.[2] In Carchemish, i. A 11, *c* 3, mention

[1] "The 9 Rivers" are already mentioned in the Hittite cuneiform texts (*BKU*. xv, p. 30, 58). Cakes and birds were offered to them from the "sacred grove" (*ambassi*) and "forest", but unfortunately their geographical position is not indicated.

[2] *Ni*(*e*)  is "water"; ◇ is "water-basin" *asnes* (Mess. i, 3, xxxiv, C.), also *nis* (Carch. i, A 4, *a* 2);  is "river" *nis*, more exactly *ti*(?)*nis* (see Carch. ii, A 15, *b*** 2 and 4). *Nina*, *Nana*, the name of the Water-goddess, is derived from *ni*(*s*). A seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Mess. xliii, 8), first published by Layard, has on one side of it a figure of the flying horse known to the Greeks as Pégasos, from whom the fountain of Hippokrênê was sprung. Ramsay has pointed out (*Oriens*, i, 2, p. 5) that the Greek πηγή was borrowed from Asia Minor and signified "a divine fountain". Hence Pégasos will have been the "Fountain deity", and it must be more than a coincidence that the Hittite characters running round the figure on the seal read according to the values which I assigned to them more than ten years ago *Na-ana-si-is* "Nanas(s)is", a name, by the way, met with in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, a bye-form of which is Nânasos. The name signifies "son of the Water-goddess", who is symbolised by the head of a horse (Carch. i, A 11, *b* 6), as I also stated more than ten years ago. Here, therefore, is another verification of my reading of the texts.

is made of (NI-*is Khul-a-n-i yis-mia* MIS *Tuti* (?)-*mia Mi-ti-si*) "the river Khulanis of the Midas-people in this river-land", where the Khulanis must be the Khulana (also written ŠIG-*lanis* "the greenish-yellow" river) of the Hittite cuneiform texts. *Miti-si* "Mitian" is written as in the Hamath text, in the Tyanæan and Assur texts Tyana is repeatedly called "the city of Midas", but here the second syllable of the name is represented, not by *ti*, but by *tua*, *tê*, evidently a "rebus", the ideographs signifying "place of the chariot" (*tua*).

The name of Midas is also found in the Old Phrygian inscription discovered at Tyana by Professor Garstang, and in Assyrian appears as Mita As I have already indicated, the Tyanæan and Old Phrygian texts belong to the same age, and, I believe, influenced one another. In the Tyanæan texts the characters which express the terminations of the words have become to a large extent alphabetic, and the use of ideographs has fallen into the background. Moreover, the words are divided from one another as in Old Phrygian. As the bonstrophedon mode of writing seems to have been copied by the Old Phrygian and Greek alphabets from the Hittite script, I should infer that the use of a word-divider was also adopted by them from the same source. It was of very early date in Asia Minor, for we find it already in the cuneiform tablets of Kara Eyuk (2300 B.C), where it takes the form of a wedge.

In the Hittite script the wedge becomes a line which forms part of the word divider. The single line denotes the numeral 1, and since *u* signified "one", it also represented the vowel *u* when attached to another character. Different from it was the oblique line, attached to titles, special phonetic and ideographic values and the like, which corresponded to our "mark", "N.B." In the later inscriptions, however, the two lines are sometimes confused together, like certain other characters, the boot and the leg, for instance, or the chariot and bundle, the conventional forms of which tended to coalesce.

These later texts of the Tyanæan period have another characteristic. This is the frequent use of the word *kamis*, *kumis*, in local names. *Kamissa* "a fortress" is found in texts of all periods, but not *kamis* in the place of *miya* "city" or *aya*, *ayi*, *awi* "land". In the Assur rolls, for instance, we find *Uti-kamis* "town of Hydê", Kami-kuanis "Holy City". *Kamis* (also *kumis*) is evidently the Greek κώμη, κύμη, a loan-word from Asia Minor, as is shown by glosses in Hesychius, where we read: κώμη · ἄμφοδον, χωρίον; κώμητις · γείτων, κῶμαι γὰρ τὰ ἄμφοδα. As Sir W. M. Ramsay remarks, the old native "village-towns" on the high roads were distinguished from the πόλεις or "city-states" of the later Greek period. *Kami-na*, *Kuma-na*, Greek Komana, in fact, exactly corresponds to the earlier *mia-na* "city-district", written MAT ALI in cuneiform on the Tarkondêmos seal (cf. Mess. xxxii, 2).[1]

The seal belongs to the Tyanæan age. But it is still difficult to determine the dates to which the larger part of the inscriptions belong, since we have to allow not only for chronological but also for local differences. The forms and use of the characters in the "River-land" of Mer'ash, for example, differed from their forms and use in Asia Minor, and Carchemish, again, had a script of its own.[2] It is no longer

[1] It may be noted that the Hittite *-mé* "(am) I" is represented in cuneiform on the Tarkondemos seal by *me-e*. This does not mean, as I used to suppose, that the oblique line attached to the Hittite IIII had the phonetic value *e*, but that the numeral 4 was to be pronounced in a special way. The numeral was *mi*; see Carch. i, A 6, 6. I need hardly draw attention, by the way, to the striking confirmation of my system of decipherment this passage affords. Years before the discovery of the inscription it had led me to give the values of *kas* and *me* to the numerals 3 and 4 and the phonetic values of *ku* or *kĕ*, *is*, and *mi* to three other characters. And here we have the numeral 3 glossed phonetically as *kĕ-is* and 4 as *mi*, the values in every case being those which I had assigned to the characters in question.

[2] If we could be certain that the Us-khatti of the Bowl Inscription (Mess. i, 3) is the Us-khitti of Tuna who paid homage to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C. we should have at least one fixed date. And the commencement of the text favours the identification as it reads: "this work of art, a water-bowl, for the temple of Tarkus of Atuna I Us-khatti have made" (*Tarkuni isi-ti A-tu-na-a-i*, the last word being literally "of the royal land").

possible, however, to restrict the employment of the script, as I was formerly inclined to do, to the period which followed the fall of the (First) Hittite Empire. I have published in the *JRAS.*, October, 1912 (p. 1036), a fragmentary tablet from Boghaz Keui which contains the last three lines of the first tablet of an inventory of the Treasures in "the stone house of records", written by Arnuwandas the *khatiwis*, and endorsed with three hieroglyphs, which, if my interpretation were correct, would signify "in the presence of the great dog". And that my interpretation was correct has now been proved by similar endorsements in cuneiform which read *ina pani* "in the presence" of certain high officials, one of whom is UR-MAKH "the great dog." Since the use of the ideographic script is thus shown to have existed in Boghaz Keui (Khattusas) in the days of the Empire, I can no longer refuse to see in the hieroglyphic texts of the adjoining Yasili Kaya a monument of the same age

But it is possible to carry back the use of the script to a still earlier period. On the Cappadocian tablet from Ganis (Kara Eyuk) now in the Royal Scottish Museum, which I have published in the *PSBA.*, Nov, 1913, is a sealing which contains three hieroglyphs. They can be read more clearly now than was the case when I first copied them. The house or temple precedes the leg in its older form, and above the latter is the ideograph of "water". Their signification would, therefore, be "Water-priest of the temple" or "Priest of the Water-temple", and it is significant that the last two lines of a four-line cuneiform inscription attached to them read (3) [*ra* ?]-*me-ku-um i-ra-mu-ku* "the libationer (?) will pour water". The first two lines are unfortunately only partially legible. The sealing, however, takes us back to 2300 B.C.[1]

[1] The seal is very interesting, as it represents a long-robed deity seated on an altar and extending his right arm over a small child who stands and grasps the end of a long rod held by an advancing man behind whom is another man with a similar rod. At the back of the deity the same child stands naked on a stool while a priest with uplifted arms pours a libation

The language of these early texts is, of course, unknown. Just as the cuneiform characters were employed for various languages in Asia Minor, so also must the hieroglyphs have been. The ideographic values given on the Tarkondemos seal to the goat's head and house or temple, *tarku* (Grk. τράγος) and *dimme* (Grk. δέμω), are not met with elsewhere. In most of the texts, if not in all, that are known to us their values are *us* and *kuana*-MIA.

In most of these texts, moreover, the language is only dialectically variable. Like the proper names, it points to a single governing or conquering class, who, as we have seen, were the Moschians of the Assyrian inscriptions and Old Testament. For a time, somewhere about 1000 B.C., Tyana would have been the centre of government, but it does not seem to have been so for long. The various parts of this Second Hittite Empire broke up into more or less independent fragments; the High-priests, called kings by their neighbours, usurped the civil power and transformed the Sacred Cities into capitals, and it was only occasionally, under the stress of foreign invasion, as in the case of Mita or Midas the Moschian in the time of Sargon, that they were re-united for a time.

One of these fragments had its capital at Sinjerli, north of the Gulf of Antioch, where the German excavations brought to light not only Aramaic inscriptions, but also an inscription in the native language though in Aramaic letters. Unfortunately, it is in a very effaced condition, and I once spent many vain hours in the Stamboul Museum endeavouring to copy it. But there is one line which is intact as well as a few words elsewhere. The intact line is a résumé of the inscription below it, and runs 'חידני' אשם כין כתרא 'נב שמש·אלה; elsewhere we can read: נב חלבבה (l. 2),

over him from a vase. The hieroglyphs are written over the extended arm of the deity and the head of the child. The cuneiform inscription is: (1) *i-du-khu-su* (2) *su-khu-ur-ta* (?) (3) [*ra* ?]-*me-ku-um* (4) *i-ra-mu-ku*: "(1) They have offered him; (2) the child (*fem.*) (3) the libationer (?) (4) will baptise."

נב כין הכפהא ׳לרכבאל׳ אלה (l. 3), הכפה׳ לורמליה (ll. 4, 5). In the first line it is also possible to read: כין [חל] בב.

The name of the country Khalbabah or Khulbabah meets us again in the Aramaic inscription of Panammu I, king of Yâdi, found at Sinjerli, where we read: "Hadad and El and Rekub-el and the Sun-god gave into my hand the sceptre (חטר) of Khalbabah" (ll. 2, 3) and (in ll. 8, 9) "Hadad gave into my hand the sceptre of Khal[babah]." Khalbabah is evidently the *Khal-wi-wi-* of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts, where the character *wi* corresponds to *bi* as in the name of Khalib (Aleppo).

The introductory line of the inscription similarly corresponds with my reading of the hieroglyphic texts. This would be: *wiši ani(n) es-mi kuani(s) mê-tua nawi(s) Misni(s) ilit(ti)* "This holy place I have erected, being priest of this country, king (and) Sun-god". The final *-s* and *-n* of the nominative and accusative are sometimes omitted in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, *n* being doubtless a sonant *n*, while *s* is lost occasionally even in the middle of a word (e.g. *ami-mis* for *amis-mis*) and frequently in *ana* for *anas* "lord". Professor Jensen noted the loss of the final sibilant many years ago. *Mê-tua* is found in Mess. xxi, 3 (*akŭnana-s mêtua*) as well as in the Bowl Inscription (Mess. i, 3, *mi-a tua*). *Misnis*, also *Misnas* and *Masnis* (Greek Masnes, Manes), was the native name of the Sun-god, here at Sinjerli replaced by the Semitic Shemesh, while *ilit*, the borrowed Assyrian word for "goddess", and represented by the Hathor-head, is, as I have noted above, one of the two words in which I have detected the sound *l*. In Mess. xlviii we have a record of the dedication of nine stalls for the nine horses of the Sun-god, as well as of a bronze (?) chariot. As for הכפה its equivalent in the hieroglyphic texts would be *akŭ-wia* "sanctuary", a word of frequent occurrence.

With this last proof that my decipherment of the hieroglyphic texts must be in the main correct, I may fitly

conclude. I need only add that no one is more conscious than myself how defective it still is, more especially on the side of grammar and phonology, and how many corrections have been made and are still bound to be made in the values I have assigned to the characters. One of them, *ka* instead of *tu*, has been signalized above, and with the correction go naturally further consequences. Thus, in the inscription from Kirshoghlu (Mess. vii) there is no mention of the Hittites; the vine-jar preceding *ka* has the value of *uan*, not *khat*, and the inscription reads "ruler of the city-land (*akŭnayaś aya*-DET.), king of Uanqa (*atu*-MIA *Uan-ka-nas*), the Sun-god (DET.-*Mis-na-s*); in the town of Unqi (*Uan-kê-i-kamissa*) I have made . . . water-basins in the temple". Unqi is also the Assyrian spelling of the name, which still survives as the "'Umq" of Antioch.

The Conjugation of the Transitive Verb in the Principal Dialects of Shina

By D L R LORIMER

THE paradigms given below are the result of efforts to obtain what may be regarded as standard conjugational forms of the Transitive Verb in the chief dialects of Shina.

Shina (Şiṇ'a) is the principal language of the Gilgit Political Agency. It is the sole or primary language of the people inhabiting :—

1. The portion of the Indus Valley lying within the Gilgit Agency, i.e. from the neighbourhood of Haramosh to Thor; including the whole Chilas District;

2. The Gilgit Valley from Dahimal, 14 miles west of Gupis, to the junction of the Gilgit River with the Indus;

3. The lower portions of the Ishkoman and Hunza-Nagir Valleys;

4. The valley of the Astor River and its tributaries;

5. The Gurez Valley in Kashmir proper.

6. It is also the language of the people inhabiting the Darel and Tangir Valleys, situated in Independent Territory to the south of the mountain range that forms the southern boundary of the mid portion of the Gilgit Valley. These valleys drain southwards into the Indus. The use of Shina does not stop here, but extends further down the Indus Valley, according to Dr. Grahame Bailey, to a point more than half-way from Chilas to Amb.

Further, dialects of Shina are spoken in Dāh and Hanu in Eastern Baltistan and by some of the inhabitants of the Dras Valley; but of these I have no personal knowledge.

The Gilgit country consists of deep-cut, comparatively narrow main valleys separated by extremely lofty and precipitous mountain ranges, with their still narrower, steeper and more rugged affluent "nullahs". Till some thirty years ago there were no roads in the whole country, only narrow

and difficult tracks, and the communities into which the population was naturally divided by the physical nature of the country had little intercourse of a friendly nature. They were frequently involved in largely vicarious hostilities by the ambitions of the ruling families. These families were of foreign origin and had succeeded in establishing their authority usually on a precarious footing, in the various sections of the country.

Only with the effective advent of the British, about 1890, were road communications gradually created and improved, the perpetual petty warfare brought to an end, and general peace established under a single, or at most a dual, administration. Even now the various communities live to a considerable extent in a state of mutual isolation. Under the earlier conditions the Shina language, if originally one, had inevitably developed into a series of local dialects, which the better communications and unifying tendencies of latter days have not as yet served to break down and fuse into a single homogeneous form of speech. Nor is it likely that such a process will be accomplished at any early date. The elementary physical conditions remain unalterable, and the primitive state of civilization and the simple nature of the wants of the population, chiefly food and clothing which they can supply for the most part themselves, combine to discourage the growth of any general system of internal trade. Half a dozen petty bazars scattered through the country manned by Indian and Kashmiri shopkeepers form local trade centres for such trade as there is, consisting of the sale of foreign articles, cotton goods and iron, and the purchase of surplus local produce. The small bazar at Gilgit and the handful of shops at Gupis, Bunji, Astor, and Chilas and elsewhere tend to strengthen this mutual independence of the communities which they serve. A man of Astor will not make a journey to Gilgit or Gupis to buy imported cotton stuff for his shirt when he can purchase it in Astor. The petty traders who own these shops have also naturally established themselves at places

to which the various communities already looked as their meeting places for business of any description.

Enough has been said to show that it was inevitable that the population of these regions should have tended to divide into more or less self-contained communities and to remain so divided, and this is sufficient reason for the development and persistence of dialects of the common language. The question then follows, what dialects of Shina actually exist, where are they current, and how do they stand related to each other?

Without a full knowledge of each discoverable dialect or variant it is impossible to give to these questions answers which are of necessity scientifically accurate, but, generally speaking, certain dialects are definitely recognized as such by the local public, and with these, so far as they are known, we must content ourselves at present.

These dialects, or rather dialect groups, for all I think include many variants, are the following:—

1. Gilgiti	G.	5. Darēlı	D.
2. Puniāli	P.	6. Chilāsi	C. (a, b, c)
3. Tangīri	T.	7. Astōri	A.
4. Kūhi	K.	8. Gurēzi	Gu.

1. *Gilgiti* (G'ilte'i) centres round Gilgit Headquarters, and by people in Gilgit it is regarded as the standard speech, but how far the claim can be considered legitimate, or is recognized by the exponents of other dialects, is doubtful.

Gilgiti in varying forms is spoken in Gilgit proper; up the Gilgit Valley for some 20 miles including Sherot and Shakiot on the Punial border, and down it to its junction with the Indus; at Nomal 15 miles up the Hunza River; in the Bagrot Nullah below Gilgit on the left bank of the Gilgit River; at Haramosh up the Indus Valley; and in the Sa.i Nullah which joins the Indus on the right bank opposite Bunji.

I cannot here or later talk with any personal authority of variants, but every locality does, I believe, more or less stand

for a separate variant. That of the Sa.i Nullah is said to present affinities with the transborder Dareli dialect.

2. *Puniali* (Pū.'e.i) is the dialect spoken in the Gilgit Valley from the Gilgit Wazarat border, 20 miles west of Gilgit proper, to the border of Kuh some 33 miles further west. It also extends up the Ishkoman Valley; otherwise its limits pretty well correspond to those of the administrative district of Punial. The first village on the east where it is found is Gullapur, the last on the west, Hopar, and the head-quarters of the district are at Sher Qilah on the left bank of the Gilgit River 3 miles above Gullapur. Gilgitis have nicknamed it biri baṣ, "the male language," because, as is alleged, the Punial men use foul or improper language, without shame or reserve, in the presence of women.

3. *Tangiri* (Taŋire.i), the speech of the inhabitants of the transborder valley of Tangir, is said to resemble Puniali.

4. *Kuhi* is spoken in the Kuh district which extends westward up the valley of the Gilgit River from where Punial territory ends at Hopar for about 28 miles to Dahimal, 14 miles west of Gupis.

5. *Dareli* (Darel'e) is the speech of the people of Darel inhabiting the Khanbari Valley, which, starting in the mountains south of Punial, joins the Indus a little to the west of the western border of Chilas.

6. *Chilasi* is spoken in a series of variants in the Chilas District, which occupies both banks of the Indus from the junction with it of the Astor River to the mouth of the Thor Nullah about 20 miles down stream from Chilas Head-quarters, a total distance of about 70 miles. There is, however, practically no population until Gor is reached, about 15 miles down stream from the northern border. Gor is situated on the open mountain side 3,000 or 4,000 feet above the Indus on its right bank. Similarly the rest of the population of the district is mostly located high up above the Indus, in the narrow and precipitous side nullahs. These settlements are neither visible nor easily accessible from the

bottom of the Indus Valley along which the main road passes. The chief of these nullahs are cut in the mountain range on the left, here the southern, bank of the river. These nullah communities live largely as isolated and independent republics under the administrative supervision of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilas. Each tribal entity has its own communal life, lands, property, crime, and criminals. The latter assist it in maintaining relations with its neighbours which might otherwise sometimes languish.

In the circumstances described it would be natural to expect a considerable degree of differentiation, according to locality, in the common speech. My investigations so far as they have gone bear out such a supposition. From an hour or two's work with a Gor lambardar, it appeared that the Gor speech contained features in the verb resembling Gilgiti, in a general atmosphere of Chilasi. As an instance of Gilgiti affinities, the approved form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the preterite appeared to be identical with the Gilgiti **zamegu**, but Chilasi forms were also current. Work with men from Bunar and Thak, which are left bank nullahs upstream from Chilas Headquarters, and from Hodar, a right bank nullah below Chilas, yielded among other things the three paradigms of the Chilas verb which appear further on.

7. *Astori* is the form of Shina current in the Astor Ilaqa of the Gilgit Wazarat which extends along the course of the Astor River from the sources of its several contributory streams, including those descending from the Burzil and Kamri Passes, to its junction with the Indus, 7 miles below Bunji.

8. *Gurezi* is spoken at Gurez in the Kishanganga Valley, south of the Burzil Pass on the Kashmir-Gilgit main road. Dr. Grahame Bailey says that it is also spoken in the Tilel side valley. Geographically and administratively this region is situated in Kashmir proper.

I may now say a word regarding my sources.

The Gilgiti, Puniali, and Astori paradigms were worked out with the help of men of the upper classes, persons of social position and some education. They may therefore be regarded as, barring any accidental errors, "correct," that is as presenting the best form of speech for each dialect. In the speech of the lower classes there is a tendency to deterioration. Forms are employed which are corruptions of those used in better class speech, and not original forms of value as such. So in vulgar Gilgiti one gets **bu** for **bulu**, "he became," **thiyas** for **thigas**, "I did." Obviously the better class form is more interesting philologically as more complete and more original.

In Chilas there is no real aristocracy as in the districts just referred to, and I had to take what informants I could get on short notice. None were educated in the sense of being able to read or write. Hence the feeling for relationship between grammatical forms had to be painfully created. Shahdad, a lambardar (headman) of Bunar, was the best from the point of view of social status, and intelligence; Abdus Sadiq, a member of the Chilas Levy Corps, was a somewhat dull man of no social position. It was difficult to screw out of him so abstract a thing as a paradigm, but he gave me quite a good narrative. Khanjar Mola was an old man who had seen fit, no doubt for good reasons, to abscond before my last visit to Chilas. He was of the same type, but brighter than Abdus Sadiq, and he also gave a good narrative. Akbar Khan, lambardar of Gor, was a man of good status and intelligence.

My Kuhi informant was a man of intelligence, though uneducated.

The Dareli forms I owe to Abdul Ghani, who acts as "munshi" to the illiterate Elders of Darel. Despite his literary attainments he appeared to be of but mediocre intelligence.

My two Gurezi informants were an old man of no social standing and a local headman, both of Gurez.

I shall now proceed to examine the verbal paradigms with a view to noting their differences and peculiarities and ascertaining how far these throw any light on the relationships of the various dialect groups.

In comparing the differing verbal forms it will be convenient to work from some fixed base. For this purpose I shall make use of the forms of the Gilgiti verb. Gilgiti, as has been already said, is generally regarded, perhaps on extrinsic grounds, as the premier dialect, and its verbal forms are sufficiently perfect.

In the first place then we may consider the composition of the moods and tenses in this dialect.

First we have certain *non-composite* parts, i.e. parts formed by adding simple suffixes to the verbal root. These are :—

the *Past Participle Active*, and, allowing for personal endings,

the *Future* tense, *Imperative*, and *Optative*.

The remaining parts appear to be *composite*, i.e. formed from some developed part of the verb plus suffixes, or from the Fut. of the verb plus tenses of the verb substantive.

1. The Infin. Noun Agent and Pres. Pc. are probably to be referred to a verbal Noun in -o to which are added suffixes -ki (-k), and -j (-ʌjɛ), e.g. ʒamo (ɪ)ki, ʒamo·jɛ. This hypothetical Vb. Noun in -o would also provide the basis of the temporal forms in -siŋ and -bʌl, ʒamo·siŋ, ʒamo·bʌl.

2. The Pres. and Imperf. tenses are compounded of the Fut. tense (an aorist present) and the Pres. and Past tenses of the Verb "to be", viz. hʌnus, *I am*, ʌsus, ʌsulus, *I was*. A past form ʌsulusus is also found.

Both these auxiliary verbs are inflected for number, person, and gender, and are therefore regarded by Sir George Grierson as having originally been participial in nature.

In Gilgiti in composition, they are somewhat obscured.

The following may be considered average forms of the simple auxiliaries :—

	Sing m.	f.	Plur m. & f.
1	**hʌnos**	**hʌnis**	**hʌnɛs**
2	**hʌno**	**hʌnɛ**	**hʌnɛt**
3.	**hʌn(u)**	**hʌni, hin**	**hʌnɛ**
1.	**ʌsus**	**ʌsis**	**ʌsɛs**
2.	**ʌso**	**ʌsɛ**	**ʌsɛt**
3.	**ʌsu**	**ʌsi**	**ʌsɛ**

ʌsulus is similar with the interjection of the syllable **-ul-** in the masc. sing. and **-il-** elsewhere

The final vowel of the 3rd pers. is commonly dropped in composition.

The *Past Tenses* excluding the *Impf.*, have as a constant the root of the verb plus the theme **-ɛ·g-**, or, **i g-** To this base the *Pret.* adds personal endings approximating to those of **hʌnos**, and almost exactly similar to those of the Pret. of the verb "to go". Adding the **-g-** of the base we have practically the forms of that tense.

Similarly the *Perf.* consists of the base in **-g** plus endings approximating to the parts of **hʌnos**, less **h-**; and the *Plup.* consists of the base in **-g** plus endings approximating to the parts of **ʌsus**

As in the case of the Pret. if we prefix the **-g** to the endings we have a close approximation to the Perf. and Plup. of the verb "to go".

Two theories to explain the composition of these past tenses seem possible

1. That the bases in **-ɛ·g, -i g** are referable to obsolete participles in **-g ← -k** (**-k** participles existing in other allied languages) plus for the three tenses respectively the "participial" endings, the pres. tense **hʌnos** and the past tense **ʌsus**.

2. That the base is the form of the p.pc. act. plus respectively the Pret., Perf., and Plup. of the verb "to go".

I have considered the question in some detail in an article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. iii, pt. iii, 1924.

There remains the form of the Noun Agent in **-ɛ·ċo**, of which I have no explanation to propose, unless the **ċ** represents the Skr. tṛ, tr.

We may now proceed to compare the paradigms of the other dialects with each other and with that of Gilgiti.

Infinitive and Agent Noun

In G. and P. the suffix is **-'o·iki -'o·ɪk**, or, **-'o·k**, which is probably to be resolved into **-o** + **k**(i).

In the other dialects the characteristic of the suffix is **-n-** ; K., D , and C. **-'o no**, **-'o nɪ** ; Gu. **-'o·n** ; A. **-'o·n**, where the **-o-** again probably belongs to the verbal base.

-o·ɪki is found in both K. and A., but is, I think, to be regarded as a borrowing from P. and G.

The **-k-** of the first group recalls the Khowār infin suffix **-ik**, and Agent Noun suffix **-ak**.

As regards the **-n-** of the 2nd group, there are verbal forms in Kho consisting of the root + **-o·no**, and the root + **-i·n** which appear to be used in various senses, including those of the gerundive and pass. pc. Compare also Hind. infin. **-na·**.

Future

This tense is also used as a Pres Subjunc. and in some cases as a general Pres. Indic.

The forms are substantially the same in all dialects. The absence of final -t in the 2nd pl. in C.b. and c. is, I think, correct. but it is very difficult to get unsophisticated people to distinguish between the 2nd pl. of the Fut. and the Impv.

Present

This tense is seen most perfectly in Gu., where it consists of the complete Future of the verb plus the parts of **hanos** according to the Gurezi conjugation, in which the **-n-** is reduced to a nasalization and the vowels are contracted. There is no elision or contraction as between the principal verb and the auxiliary.

Of the remaining dialects, all lose the h-, and only K. preserves the -n- of hʌnʊs in the 1st pers. sing.

Perhaps a more critical difference is the absence of the -n- preceding the personal ending in the 2nd pl. It is present in G. zʌma·nɛt and in P. and C.b. and apparently in the prior-accent verbs in K. and the passive in A. My information regarding prior-accent verbs and passives is not complete for all dialects.

Where this -n- occurs, the final -t of the Fut. of the principal verb is lost.

In other cases than those mentioned the 2nd pl. is the full form of the 2nd pl. Fut. plus a suffix -a, or, -ən, e g

D., C.a., C.c. have -a e.g D. dʌgya ta.
K., A. have -ən e g. K. dʌgi.a·tən.

It is apparently a case of simplification by the omission of either the -t of the Fut. or the -ɛt or -nɛt of the auxiliary:

*zʌma·tʌnɛt, zʌma·nɛt, *zʌma·tʌn, *zʌma·ta.

Final -a also appears in place of -ən in the 3rd pl. in D., C.c., and A. e.g. D. dʌg'ɛ·na opposed to G. zʌm'ɛ·nən.

This suffix is further referred to on p. 735 (1) below.

Some difference appears in the 3rd sing. masc. The G. type zʌmɛ·nu, zʌmɛ·n is roughly followed by K. and C.b. The other principal type has -i.u·n, -i.ũ·, -õ· found in P., A., C.a., and C.c. D. stands by itself with -i·n for the masc. as well as the fem. D. is further unique in having an -r- instead of -n- in the 2nd sing. both m. and f. As it appears in all tenses, including those in which no -n- occurs, it is evidently something quite independent, and devoid of any temporal signification.

This -ṛ- appeared to me to be strongly cerebral under the strictest definition of the term.

Imperfect

The complete form of the Imperfect as composed of the Fut. of the principal verb plus the past tense of the verb "to be" is found in K., and again in Gu. with the omission only of the

initial vowel of the auxiliary. Both these dialects affect the **asulus** form of the latter.

G. uses **asus** forms, and P. follows it in the 1st persons and the 2nd pl. Both tend to discard final vowels in the 3rd person forms, and both drop the final -t of the 2nd pl. of the Fut. of the principal verb.

A. has **asus** forms in the Passive, combined in the pl. of all persons with the form of the 3rd pl. Fut. of the principal verb.

D. favours the **asulus** auxiliary, but the 3rd sing. m. and f. resemble the 3rd sing. f. of G.

It produces in the 2nd sing., apparently anomalously, the peculiar -ṛ- which we noted in the pres. tense. In the masc. it appears only in the principal verb; in the fem. in both the principal verb and the auxiliary

D. and P agree in having the form **asulul** for the 2nd sing. m.

Thus G., P., and A. passive, and K., D., Gu., and P. may be variously grouped together, all operating on the same general principles. A active and C. stand apart from these and from each other.

A. act. has in the sing. instead of the auxiliary **asus** or **asulus** forms -**lus**, -**lo**, etc., which are added in the same way to the inflected Future of the principal verb. In the 1st pers. where the Fut. ends in a consonant a vowel makes its appearance before the -l-

In the pl. A. act. follows G.

These -**lus** forms will be commented on when we come to the Pluperfect.

In C. the principle of formation is different. The Impf. appears to be obtained by adding a suffix -**a**, for the 1st pers. to the forms of the 1st pers. of the pres. tense of the principal verb, and for the 2nd and 3rd persons to the corresponding persons of the Future of the principal verb.

In C.a. the 2nd and 3rd sing. masc., **daŋ'e·en**, are an exception while the 2nd pl. is altered from the **daŋi.'a·ta** one would expect, apparently by a change of accent to **daŋ'e·eta**. C.b. and c. have forms as from a regular 2nd pl. Fut. in -**'a·t**.

THE PAST TENSES

Preterite

All the other dialects, with the partial exception of P., differ from G. in that they have no **-g-** in the second component of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons sing. masc. The endings are :—1. **-a·s**, 2. **-a**, 3. **-o**, **-o.u**, **-au.u**, etc., added to the root

As in every case, with the exception of Astori and Gurezi, a **-g-** makes its appearance in one or more of the remaining forms of the tense, it is possible that the sing. masc. also originally had a **-g-**, but lost it In that case the loss would seem to be connected with the nature of the following vowels, **a**, **o**, which do not occur in any of the forms in which **-g-** appears. P. has a final **-k** throughout the 3rd pers , but it is weakly and indistinctly pronounced in the 3rd sing. masc., **zamo·k**, where at first with this speaker I recorded it as *-γ*. In P. texts from other sources I have recorded forms from other verbs equivalent to m. **zamo·gu**, **zamo g**, **zamo.u** ; f **zamɛ·gi**.

The **-k** in the 3rd sing f and 3rd pl has probably arisen from **-g** falling into the final position, as in this situation Shina affects voiceless in preference to voiced plosives.

There is also a doubtful **-g** in the 2nd sing. f. In the remaining forms there is no trace of it.

If the ending **-o.u** for the 3rd sing m. stands for **-ɛ·gu**, then the **-k** of **zamo·k** has probably only been added on the false analogy of the **-k** in the other parts of the 3rd pers. The same remark applies to the 3rd sing. m. of the Perf. and Plup.

As regards the occurrence of **-g-** in the remaining dialects, we find it in K. and C.a. in the 2nd and 3rd sing. f. and the 3rd pl. K. also admits for the 3rd sing. m the G. form **zamɛ·gu**, but this may well be a borrowing.

In D. and C.b and c. it appears for certain only in the 3rd pl., but there is a suspicious **-y-** in the 2nd sing. f. of C.b. The fem. forms of C.c. have unfortunately not been ascertained.

In A. and Gu. there is no **-g-**, but the multiplicity of vowels in such forms as A. **kote.'ɛ·s**, Gu. **koti.'e·ɛs** might indicate the loss of a **-g-** which had first been degraded to **-y-**.

Perfect

There are two main types of formation of this tense :—

1. The Gilgiti type already described,

2. A type in which to the inflected forms of the Pret. are added :—

(*a*) The more or less completely inflected parts of the verb **hanus**.

(*b*) certain suffixes either invariable, or varying for gender and number, but not for person. These suffixes take the form of **-ʌn**, **-ən**, **-a** ; or a nasalized vowel

Type 1 is fully represented by G., and it appears in the forms of P. and K. which possess the **-g-**.

The 3rd pl of D. may be regarded as either Type 1, or as Type 2 a, and that of C.a. as Type 1 or Type 2 b.

K. also admits the full G. forms as alternatives.

Type 2 *a* is found perfect in Gu. and in K., and in A. subject to the correspondence with Type 1 in parts containing **-g-**.

P. has Type 2 a forms in the sing. masc.. 1st sing. f., and 1st and 2nd pl , with elision of the **-s** of the Pret. in the 1st persons, and **-t** in the 2nd pers.

D. has 2 a forms in the 1st sing masc., 3rd sing. m. and f., and 3rd pl. (or 2 b).

Type 2 *b* is found in C.a. and A., where we find the Pret. forms with the suffixes **-ũ** or **-õ** for the masc. sing. , **-ĩ** for the fem. sing., and **-ən**, **-ã** for the pl.

C.b. and c., so far as can be judged from the imperfect records, follow a similar plan.

These nasalized-vowel suffixes correspond to the vowels in the conjugation of **hanus** in Gu. and C. *Vide* the Gu. paradigm, noting that **hĩ** is an alternative form for **hai** in the 3rd sing. f. There seems, therefore, every reason to believe that these suffixes go back to **hanus** forms.

D. has forms in -a in the 1st and 2nd sing. f. and the 1st and 2nd pl. It has also 1st sing. masc. **heri.a·so**, beside, **heri.a·sunus**. The 2nd sing. has the characteristic -r- and is indistinguishable from the Pret. A different form of the tense, however, appears in the paradigm of **heri.o·no**, which is of Type 2 a throughout.

The C.b. and c. forms are not reliable. The 2nd and 3rd sing. masc. **çʌke.in** can scarcely be correct, unless they are reduced Type 1 forms for ***çʌkɛːgun**. The 2nd pl. **çʌke.esɛt**, if plup., would also imply an original Type 1 form ***çʌkɛ·gesɛt**. The plur. forms given in C.c. are probably in fact the Plup. forms with which they are identical.

Pluperfect

The Pluperfect also presents types corresponding to Types 1, 2 a, and 2 b of the Perf., but the case is further complicated by the existence of a Type 3. The scheme is as follows :—

1. As in Gilgiti, *vide* p. 724 above.
2. The inflected forms of the Pret. plus :—
   (*a*) more or less completely inflected forms of **ʌsus** or **ʌsulus**.
   (*b*) the suffix -a.
3. Verbal root plus -l- plus personal endings.

Type 1 is represented by G., and by the -g- forms of P., which as in the Impf. use the **ʌsulus** forms of the auxiliary.

K. appears to hesitate between Type 1 and Type 2 a. Type 1 forms are found in the 1st sing. masc, 2nd and 3rd sing. fem., and the whole of the plural. There is an alternative Type 2 a form for the 1st plur. and the rest of the parts are of this type. Had time permitted, two complete forms of the tense would probably have been obtained, as in the case of the Perf.

D. has the 3rd pl. of Type 1.

C.b. has a doubtful corrupt 2nd pl. of Type 1.

Type 2 *a* is found in Gu. throughout; in P. in the non -g-

forms; in K. 2nd and 3rd sing. masc. and 1st sing. fem., and as an alternative in the 1st pl.; in D. except the 3rd pl.

Type 2 b is found with suffix -a in C.a. in the 1st and 3rd sing. masc., 1st sing. fem., and 1st and 2nd pl. The 2nd and 3rd sing. fem. and 3rd pl. have the -g- base of Type 1, with the invariable suffix -a. C.c. as far as known agrees with this. C.b. appears to have a corrupt -g- Type 1 form in the 2nd pl.

Type 3 is found in A. It appears to be really the form of the Pret. of the principal verb plus -lus, etc., but a final consonant in the principal verb is dropped before the -l-. Thus: **kota·lus** for, ***kota·slus**; **koti.'e·lat** for, ***koti.e·tlat.**

The 3rd sing masc. **kota·lo** is to be noted; one would expect ***koto·lu.** The A. passive is also of this type, except in the 1st sing masc., which is of Type 2 b

Type 3 appears further in the 2nd sing. masc. of C.a. **daŋa·lo**, and C.c. **tha lo.**

This -**lus**-, -**lo**, etc., ending recalls that of certain Intrs. verbs, e.g. **bo ıki**, **bolus**, *I became*.

It has already been noted as occurring in the Impf. Act. of the Astori verb.

Imperative

The Imperative is allied to the Fut. and is essentially the same in all dialects. In some cases the pl termination is shown as -**a**, and in some as -**i.a.** There is everywhere a tendency, I think, to introduce an i or **y** sound before the -**a.**

Optative and Injunctive

The Optative, occurring only in the 3rd pers., has the same invariable ending for both sing. and pl. There is some difference between the various dialects. It is:—

-**'o·t** in G., P., and K.
-**'o·ta** in D.
-**'o·ita** in all the Chilasi dialects.
-**'e·ten** in A.
-**'on** in Gu.

All the forms in -**t**- are presumably related, and one may suspect that the -**o·ita** form is the more original.

Present Participle

There is a Pres. pc. formed from the verbal root plus **-o·jɛ**. It is probably a verbal noun in **-o** plus the adv. and postp. **ʌjɛ**, *on*. No special form for the Pres. pc. was found in P. or A. act I cannot speak for certain about C. In A. pass. there is a Pres pc in **-ō**, e g. **kutijō**, while D. has **-i.o** and Gu. **-i.ō**.

Past Participle

In all dialects there is a p.pc. composed of the verbal root plus **-ɛ**, or **-e**, or, in the case of the prior-accent verbs, **-i**. The final vowel is accented, and compared with that of the 2nd sing. Impv. (in the later-accent verbs) is long.

The forms in **-ɛ**, **-e** (and probably those in **-i**) are sometimes used with a suffixed **-ta**. This extended form I have found in G., D., C , K , and A.

Noun Agent

My information is not complete

1. In G., P , D., and Gu the form of the Infin. is used.

2. In G , P., K , D., and Gu. the 3rd sing or pl. of the Fut. with a suffixed **-k**.

Dr. Grahame Bailey states, I have no doubt correctly, that all persons of the Fut. with the **-k** suffix are used as Agent Nouns of the corresponding person

3. In G., K., D., and Gu. there is a form in **-ɛ·ço**, pl. **-ɛ·çɛ**.

4. In A. there is a form in **-ia k**, pl **-i.ɛ k**.

The English idiom " I should (have) ", " I would (have) ", etc., occurring chiefly in the apodosis of conditional sentences, is rendered by the Future tense followed by an invariable particle. This particle is in :—

G. **sik**.

P. **ɛskai**.

C.a. and c., A , Gu. **bɛlɛ**, **bɛlə**.

I have no record of the idiom in K. and D.

G. **sik** and P. **ɛskai** faintly suggest the Burushaski particle **tsɛ**, which is similarly used.

Prior-accent Verbs

Reference has been made above to Prior-accent Verbs. In Gilgiti while the majority of Trs. Act. verbs are of the type of **zamo·iki** there are a considerable number of a slightly differing type. The difference is caused, or accompanied, by a difference in accentuation. In the **zamo·iki** verbs the stress accent is in general on the syllable following the root, in the others in the Fut. and Fut.-derived tenses it is on the root. An example of these is **həro·iki**, *to take away*. The parts in which it differs noticeably from **zamo·iki** are given at the end of the G. paradigm, and may be summarized as follows:—

a short vowel in the last syllable of the 2nd pl. Fut., and in the penultimate syllable of the same person of the derived tenses.

no final vowel termination in the 2nd sing Impv.

P.pc. *ending in -i instead of -ε*

in the past tenses -i- instead of -ε- immediately following the root.

The same two classes of verbs occur, I think, in all dialects, with corresponding differences in the paradigms. Most of the critical forms of **həro·iki** are given in all the paradigms except those of C b. and c. In A. the pc. is by some anomaly **hərε**, not **həri**, and in Gu., also anomalously, the vowel of the last syllable of the 2nd pl. Fut. is **-a·-**, not -ε-.

Causative Verbs

Causative verbs are formed from both Trans. and Intrans. verbs. The former are Causative Passive, e.g. **thəro·iki**, *to cause to be done*, from **tho·iki**, *to do*; the latter are Causative Active, e.g. **nifai.əro·iki**, *to cause to arrive*, from **nifai.o·iki**, *to arrive*.

In G., P., and K. the Causative verb is obtained by adding **-ər-** to the root of the verb, and then subjoining the ordinary inflectional parts as for **zamo·iki**. e.g. G. and P. **zaməro·iki**; K. **dagəro·iki**, *to cause to be beaten*. Causative verbs are of the later-accent type.

In D., C., A., and Gu. a theme -e-, -i-, is added to the root instead of -er. In these cases the Causatives are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the ordinary transitive forms, as the latter sometimes tend to develop a similar internal -i-, -e- sound. *Vide* p. 735 (2).

In Gu. I obtained a distinctive Infin. in **-e.a·no**, or **-i.a·n**, e.g. **çʌke.a·no**, *to cause to be seen* (?), **koti.a·n**, *to cause to be beaten*. I do not know whether these endings are the rule in this dialect.

THE PASSIVE VOICE

Allowing for the difference of themes, the general mode of forming the tenses in the Passive is similar to that of forming the Active tenses. See the paradigms

The present base of the Passive is of the prior-accent type, so that the endings of the Fut. and Fut.-derived tenses are the same as those of **həro·ɪkɪ**.

A. is an exception in that its Passive does not strictly follow the pattern of its Active. The principal divergence is in the Impf., which in the Passive shows no trace of the -l- element and has the ASUS second component throughout of the G. pattern. The -**lus**, -**lo**, etc., turn up again, however, in the Plup.

The Past Base is **kotɪ·l-**. The Pret. has approximately the ordinary personal endings. The Perf. is true to the type of the Active, i.e. it is the inflected Pret. plus a nasalized vowel suffix. The Plup. shows divergence in the 1st sing. masc. where it has a Type 2 b form, **kotɪ lusa**, instead of the Type 3 form, which would be **kotɪ·lo(s)lus**, cp. the 1st sing. f. **koti·lɛlis** (for ***koti·lɛslis** ?).

The loss of the final vowels in the 2nd and 3rd sing. fem. is not significant.

There are slight variations in regard to final vowels in the Pres. tense. The 2nd pl. is of the G. pattern.

In Gu. the Passive appears to be of rare occurrence as one informant denied its existence.

The 2nd pl. Fut. has the accent on the final syllable, with the vowel -a·-, like a later-accent verb, **kotij'a·t**.

The Present tense theme -ij- is shown as maintained throughout the past tenses. I do not remember that this caught my attention when I was recording the paradigm. I presume that it is not due to an imaginative effort on the part of myself or my informant.

One or two points call for special remark.

1. *The* **-a** *suffixes.*

We have seen that a suffix -a occurs in different dialects in the Pres., Impf., Perf., and Plup. tenses.

In the Pres. and Perf. this -a seems to stand for -ʌn or -ã, a corrupted form of hʌn. Thus in the 2nd pl. Pres. we have D. dʌgya·ta, C.a. dʌŋi.a'ta, C.c. ca·ta, beside K. dʌgi.a·tʌn and A. kote.a·ten; and it occurs in various persons of the D. Perf. where in C.a. C.b., and A. we have a nasalized vowel or -en.

This -a in the Pres. and Perf. may be supposed to be one and the same, and to have its origin in hʌn.

Again, the -a suffixes which occur in the Impf. and Plup. of C.a. and C.c., in the Impf. of C.b. and in the 1st sing. masc. of the Plup. passive of A. are probably to be correlated. By analogy one would expect this -a to be a worn-down form of ʌs-, as the other is of hʌn-, but there is no positive evidence.

2. *An* -i- *or* -e- *following the root.*

It will have been noticed that in most of the paradigms an -i-, -e- or -y- sporadically makes its appearance following the root and preceding the ending.

In the 2nd pl. of the Fut., Pres., and Imperf., and of the Impv. this is, I think, to be considered as part of the ending. I do not myself find it in ʒamo·ɪki in G. and P., but I do find it in some verbs, and Dr. Grahame Bailey gives -ĕăt, etc., as the regular endings in G. ʒamo·ɪki. In some cases it is probably a question of individual idiosyncracy.

This disposes of the principal manifestations in K., D., C.a., C.b., and C.c., in which last ca·ta, etc., are probably a slurring of thya·ta, etc. It also disposes of A. and Gu. as regards the same parts when the -i- occurs in them.

We are left with the plur of the Pret. and derived tenses, and perhaps the 1st sing. fem. of Astori, in which we have **koti-** or **kote-** plus endings; and the Pret. and derived tenses of Gu., though the intrusive vowel is at least weak in the sing. masc; also perhaps in the plur. of P, K, and C.a, where, however, the double vowel may only be due to the changing of a long simple vowel into a diphthong.

In both A and G it is lacking in the 2nd pl. Fut and derivatives and the pl. Impv. of the prior-accent verb, **hero·ıki**. This accords with the forms in Gilgiti as found by both Dr Grahame Bailey and myself.

As regards the existence of this -i-, -e- in the Pret. in the cases in which it cannot be explained as the diphthongization of a long simple vowel, it is difficult to advance any plausible theory. It is, however, just possible that it is a relic of the **-g-** which is preserved in a few dialects. G. **the·gᴀs** || **thi·gᴀs** → **thiyᴀs** → **thⁱas** → P etc., **tha·s**

In the Prior-accent verbs we regularly have an -ı- in the past tenses G. **herı·gᴀs**, P., K., D, C a, A., and Gu **heri.a s.** This would, however, still leave the -i- of the Gu Infin. to be explained

Conclusion

We have now examined in detail the principal verbal forms of the dialects under consideration, and it remains to determine what, if any, clue they afford us to the relationship between these dialects, and how far they point to any system of grouping among them. I may say at once that the result of examination has been disappointing to me. The principal phenomena are not so distributed as to produce the maximum differentiation between the dialects in series of units or groups. They tend to be partially shared, and not to be exclusive property. Again the phenomena seem on the whole to be only variants of common themes, and hence to be illusive.

I give below in tabular form the distribution of the principal features which are either obviously distinctive, or which, if

1 Preterite Sing. Masc. ending.		2 Perf. and Plup.		3 Infinitive.		4 Impf. & Plup.	5 Past Auxiliary.		6 2nd Sg. ending.	7 Derived Tenses—last element.			
-ε'gas, etc.	-a's, etc.	Root + -ε'ganus, etc.	Inflected Preterite + Auxiliary or Suffixes.	-k-	-n-	-lus, etc.	asus, etc.	asulus, etc.	-r-	Full Auxiliary	Reduced Auxiliary.	Variable Suffix	Invariable Suffix.
G.		G.		G.			G.				G.		
	P.		P.	P.			(P)	P.			P.		
	K.	(K.)	K.	(K.)	K.			K.		K.	(K.)		
	D.		D.		D.			D.	D.	D.	D.		(D.)
	C.a.		C.a.		C.a.	(C a.)						C.a.	C.a.
	C.b.		C b.		C.b.							(C.b.)	C.b.
	C.c.		C c.		C.c.	(C.c.)							C.c.
	A.		A.		A.	A.	(A.)				A.	A.	(A.)
	Gu.		Gu.		Gu.			Gu.		Gu.			

sufficiently differentiated, would in my opinion indicate constitutional differences of importance. These features are :—

1. Preterite sg. masc. in -ɛ·gᴀs, -ɛ·ga, -ɛ·go.
   in -a·s. -a -o.u.
2. The formation of the Perf. and Plup.
   (*a*) by adding endings -ɛ·gᴀnus, etc., and -ɛ·gᴀsus, etc., to the root,
   (*b*) by adding to the fully inflected parts of the Pret. the inflected parts of hᴀnus and ᴀsus respectively, or variable or invariable suffixes.
3. Infin. with a -k- ; with an -n-
4. Impf. and Plup. with endings -lus, etc.
5. Form of past auxiliary, (*a*) ᴀsus, (*b*) ᴀsulus.
6. -ṛ- in terminations of 2nd sing.
7. Supplementing No. 2, the nature of the additions made to the Fut. in order to produce the Pres. and Impf. and to the Pret. (except in the case of G.) to produce the Perf. and Plup.

Of the above No. 1 is largely discounted by the occurrence of -g- in most dialects in some of the remaining parts of the tense, which raises a suspicion that the -g- originally existed in the masc. sing. and has only been dropped, perhaps for some phonetic reason. No 2 seems to me to be of real significance, but then it only serves to divide off G from the other dialects.

No. 3 is definite, but is merely a matter of a single form.

No. 4 is significant, but occurs only in A with traces in C.

No. 5 is only a matter of preference, not of exclusion. G. has both forms when used independently, and both occur in composition in P.

No. 6, the -ṛ- is curious but distinguishes only one dialect, D. No. 7, the categories are not absolute, as various dialects fall partially into more than one.

The point that clearly emerges from this statement is the independent position of Gilgiti. It stands alone in 1 and 2. In 3 it has only the company of P. and K., and K. forms which

favour G. in this and other cases I should suspect of having risen from borrowing facilitated by geographical proximity. In 5 Gilgiti is supported by P. and A. in a few forms. In 7 its position is more central.

Astori finds itself nearly alone under 4, but C.a. and C.c. are with it in the 2nd sing. Plup. forms, and A. and C. show some further degree of affinity under 7.

Dareli is with the majority in most points, but is unique in the possession of its -ṛ- in the 2nd sing. terminations, and under 7 it is with the primitives, or conservatives, K. and Gu., in maintaining on the whole the full forms of the auxiliaries.

The conclusion is that, if any definite scheme of relationship between the dialects exists, and is reducible to a statement, it must be sought and worked out on a broader basis than that afforded by the verb alone.

The Transitive Verb in Gilgit Shina

Active Voice

Infin. **zʌm'o·iki**, *to strike, beat*

Indic. Fut.

	Sing m and f.		Plur. m. and f.
1.	**z'ʌmum**	1.	**zʌm'o·n**
2.	**z'ʌmɛ**	2.	**zʌm'a·t**
3.	**z'ʌmɛ.i, z'ʌmei.i**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·n**

Pres.

	Sing. m.	f.		Plur.
1.	**z'ʌmumus**	**z'ʌmim'is**	1.	**zʌm'o·nɛs**
2.	**zʌm'ɛ no**	**zʌm'ɛ·ni**	2.	**zʌm'a·nɛt, -ʌt**
3.	**zʌm'ɛ·n, zʌm'ɛ·nu**	**zʌm'i·n, zʌm'i·ni**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·nen**

Imperf.

	Sing.			Plur.
1.	**z'ʌmum'usus**	**z'ʌmim'isis**	1.	**zʌm'o·nɛsos**
2.	**zʌm'e·iso**	**zʌm'ɛ·si**	2.	**zʌm'a·sʌt**
3.	**zʌm'ɛ·s, zʌm'ɛ·su**	**zʌm'i·s, zʌm'i·si, zʌm'i·š**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·nis, zʌm'ɛ·nisɛ**

Pret.

1. zʌm'ɛ·gʌs	zʌm'ɛ:gis	1.	zʌm'ɛ·gɛs
2. zʌm'ɛ·ga	zʌm'ɛ·gyɛ	2.	zʌm'ɛ·gɛt
3. zʌm'ɛ·gu, zʌm'ɛ·go	zʌm'ɛ gi	3.	zʌm'ɛ·gyɛ

Pres. Perf.

1. zʌm'ɛ·gʌnus	zʌm'ɛ·gɪnis	1.	zʌm'ɛ gənɪs
2. zʌm'ɛ·gʌno	zʌm'ɛ·gɪnɛ	2.	zʌm'ɛ·gənɛt
3. zʌm'ɛ·gun, zʌm'ɛ·gonu	zʌm'ɛ gin, zʌm'ɛ·gɪni	3.	zʌm'ɛ·gən, zʌm'ɛ·gənɛ

Plup.

1. zʌm'ɛ·gʌsus	zʌm'ɛ·gʌsɪs	1.	zʌm'ɛ·gɛsos
2. zʌm'ɛ·gʌso	zʌm'ɛ gɛsɛ	2	zʌm'ɛ gosɛt
3. zʌm'ɛ·gus, zʌm'ɛ·gusu	zʌm'ɛ·gɪsi, zʌm'ɛ·gɪs, zʌm'ɛ·giš	3.	zʌm'ɛ·gɪsɛ, zʌm'ɛ·gɪs

Imperative

2. z'ʌmɛ   2. zʌm'a

Optative, etc.

3. zʌm'o·t   3. zʌm'o·t

Participles

Pres. zʌm'o jɛ
Past zʌm'ɛ·, zʌm'ɛ·ta

Infin.

zʌm'o·ɪki, *to strike, the act of striking*

Agent Nouns

(1) zʌm'o·ɪki, zʌm'o·ɪk
(2) zʌm'ɛ·ço; pl. zʌm'ɛ·çɛ
(3) the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. of the Future tense are also used :—

z'ʌmɛ.i; pl. zʌm'ɛ·n

or with the substantival suffix -ɛk

zʌm'ɛ.ɛk; pl. zʌm'ɛ·nɛk

Examples :—

mas zame bam, *I shall be a striker*
tus zame bai.i, *you will be a striker* (but cf. next page).
ani manu·je zame·en hane, *these men are the strikers*
zamo·iki anu hon, *this is the striker*
tus zamo·ik be.eno, *you are a striker*
zame.i manu·jo, *the man who strikes*

It is often, however, difficult to diagnose the exact force of the **zamo·iki** form owing to its use as an infinitive and as an equivalent of, or substitute for, the gerund and gerundive.

Thus with **bo·iki**, used in its sense of " to be able ", we have

mas zamo·iki bamus, *I am able to strike*

while **mas zamo·iki hanus**, *or* **zamo·kunus**, means *I am to, must, should, ought to, strike*.

Similarly, **mas zamo·kusus**, *I had to strike ;* **tus zamo·iki hano**, *or*, **zamo·kuno**, *you must*, or, *ought to, strike*, etc.

This construction is also used impersonally, or passively :— **anu ašpo zamo·kun**, *it is necessary to beat this horse*, or, *this horse ought to be beaten*.

There are certain verbs in which an -i- vowel appears in certain parts at the end of the base of the verb.

These are of two classes :—

1. Verbs whose root ends in -i. e.g. **vi 'o iki**, *to throw*.

2. Verbs with roots ending in a consonant, in which the -i only appears in certain forms.

her'o·iki, *to take away*, may be given as an example of the latter. The following are the parts in which it varies from verbs of the **zamo·iki** type :—

2nd plur. Fut.	**h'eret**
2nd plur. Pres.	**h'erenet**
Pret.	**her'i·gas**, etc.
Perf.	**her'i·ganus**, etc.
Plup.	**her'i·gasus**
Imperative sing.	**her**
Past Pc. Act.	**her'i·**

Verbs of the **vi.o·ɪki** type (including **pi.o·ɪki**, *to drink*) are similar. Thus :—

v'i·ɛt, v'i·gʌs, vi, vi·

Pi.o·ɪkɪ, *to seize*, has ·

pi.'a·t, pi.'ɛ·gʌs, pi.ɛ, pi.'ɛ·

So also, **vi.o·ɪkɪ**, *to open.*

Compound Tenses.—Apart from the uses just dealt with, the following compounds are to be mentioned.

Any tense of the Indicative fully inflected may be used followed by **baɪ.i (bai, bɛ, bei)**, which is apparently the 3rd sing. fut. of **bo·ɪki**. This produces a sense of doubt or possibility, etc.

Thus : **mʌs zʌmʌm baɪ, tsos zʌma·t baɪ**, etc., *perhaps I may strike*, etc.

There is also the following tense ·—

Sing	Plur.
mʌs z'ʌmɛ baɪ.ʌm	**bɛs z'ʌmɛ bai.o n**
tʊs z'ʌmɛ bai.ɪ	**tsos z'ʌmɛ bai.ɛt**
ro·s z'ʌmɛ baɪ.ɪ	**ris z'ʌmɛ bai.ɛn**

This also appears to mean, " possibly I may strike," " perhaps I shall strike." I have been unable as yet to ascertain exactly how it differs in sense from **mʌs zʌmʌm bai i**, etc.

" I would (strike)," " I would have (struck)," are rendered by the Future Tense followed by the invariable particle, **sɪk**.

mʌs zʌmʊm sɪk, *I would strike, I would have struck*

rɪs zʌmɛ·n sɪk, *they would strike, they would have struck*

I have omitted to mention that the Infin. **zʌmo·ɪki** is capable of inflection like an ordinary noun, e.g. locative, **zʌmo·ɪkɛr** (generally used in the sense of " immediately after striking "), abl. **zʌmo ɪkɛjo**.

With the postposition **-siŋ** meaning " till ", " so long as ", an apocopated form of the infin., or it may be an original verbal noun, **zʌm'o·** is used.

tʊs ro zʌm'o·siŋ, *so long as you beat him*, or, *till you beat him.*

tus ro ne zamo·siŋ, *so long as you don't beat him, until you beat him.*

This form **zamo-** is also probably the base of the Pres. Partic. **zam'o·jɛ = zamo· + ajɛ.**

Note.—In the above paradigm, as elsewhere, I have aimed at giving only what may be regarded as sound average forms. It is scarcely practicable, and would only be confusing, to state all the permissible variants arising from slight differences in the vowels of the inflectional endings. All short unaccented Vowels may be said to be liable to variation.

Passive Voice

Present Base **zamı·j-**

Past Base **zam'ı·t-**, or **zam'i·d-**

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the Pres. Base is identical with that of the Active Voice of a verb of the **həro·ıki** type.

Indicative Fut.

Sing. m. & f.		Plur	
1.	**zam'ı·jam**	1.	**zam'i·jo·n**
2.	**zam'i·jɛ**	2.	**zam'ı·jɛt**
3.	**zam'i·je.ı**	3.	**zam'i jɛn**

Pres. **zam'ı·jomus**, etc.

Impf. **zam'i·jomusus**, etc.

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the Past Base is identical with that of Neuter Verbs. The variable endings are nearly the same as those of the Active Verb.

Pret.

Sing.	m.	f.	Plur.	
1.	**zam'i·dus**	**zam'i·dis**	1.	**zam'i·dɛs**
2.	**zam'i·do**	**zam'i·dɛ**	2.	**zam'i·dɛt**
3.	**zam'i·do**	**zam'i·di**	3.	**zam'i·dɛn**

Perf. **zam'i·dunus**, etc.

Plup. **zam'i·dusus**, etc.

Imperative

2.	**zam'i·j**	2.	**zami·j'a**

Participles

Present **zʌmij'o jɛ**

Past { (verbal) **zʌmij'i·**
(adjectival) { (1) m. **zʌm'i·to**; f. **zʌm'i ti**; pl. **zʌm'i·tɛ**
(2) m. **zʌm'ɛ·go**; f. **zʌm'ɛ·gi**; pl. **zʌm'ɛ·gɛ**

Infinitive

zʌmij'o·ɪkɪ

The above was given me with the theme -i·d- in the Past Base. The theme -ɪ t- is also permissible in this case, and is, in my experience, generally preferred for Passive, as distinguished from Neuter, Verbs.

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN **Puni.ali Shina** (Authority: Gushpūr Zamurrad Khān, brother of the Rāja, of Puni.āl)

Active Voice

zʌm'o·k, zʌm'o ɪk, *to strike, beat*

Indicative

Fut.

	Sing. m & f.	Plur. m. & f.
1.	**z'ʌmɪm**	**zʌm'o·n**
2.	**zʌm'ɛ**	**zʌm'a·t**
3.	**z'ʌme**	**zʌm'ɛ·n**

Pres.

	m.	f		
1.	**z'ʌmɛmus**	**z'ʌmɪmɪs**	1.	**zʌm'o nas**
2.	**zʌm'ɛ·n**	**zʌm'e·n**	2.	**zʌm'a·nɛt**
3.	**zʌmi.'u·n**	**zʌm'ɪ·n**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·nen**

Imperf.

1.	**z'ʌmum'usus**	**z'ʌmɪm'ɪsɪs**	1.	**zʌm'o·neses**
2.	**zʌm'ɛ·usul**	**zʌm'e·ɪsɪlɛ**	2.	**zʌm'a·ʌsɛt**
3.	**zʌm'i·usul**	**zʌm'i·ɪsɪl**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·nɛsɪl**

Pret.

1.	**zʌm'a·s**	**zʌm'ɛ·s**	1.	**zʌm'ɛ·es**
2.	**zʌm'a·**	**zʌm'e.i(g)**	2.	**zʌm'ɛ·et**
3.	**zʌm'o·k**	**zʌm'e.ik**	3.	**zʌm'ɛ·k**

Pres. Perf.

1.	zʌm'a·nus	zʌm'ɛ·nis	1. zʌm'ɛ·nes
2.	zʌm'a·n	zʌm'ɛ·gin	2. zʌm'ɛ·nɛt
3.	zʌm'o·gun	zʌm'ɛ·gin	3. zʌm'ɛ·gen

Plup.

1.	zʌm'a·sus	zʌm'ɛ·sɪs	1. zʌm'ɛ·eses
2.	zʌm'a·usul	zʌm'ɛ·gɪsil	2. zʌm'ɛ·esɛt
3.	zʌm'o γusul	zʌm'e gɪsɪl	3. zʌm'ɛ·gesel

Imperative

Sing. — 2. zʌm'ɛ

Plur. — 2. zʌm'a

Optative, etc.

3. zʌm'o t — 3. zʌm'o·t

Participles

Pres. and *Past* } zʌm'ɛ·

Infinitive

zʌm'o·ɪk, zam'o·k, *to strike, the act of striking*

Agent Nouns

(1) zʌm'o·ɪk

mʌs zʌmo·ɪk bom, *I shall be a striker*

(2) zʌm'e·ɛk plur. zʌm'ɛ·nɛk

šɪlo·kɛ la·o de·ɛk mʌnu ʝo, *a great story-teller*

Gr. Zamurrad Khan does not admit the Gilgiti simple forms, zʌmɛ.i and zʌmɛ·n; nor the Gilgiti zʌmɛ·ço.

The "apocopated Infin." Plus. -sɪŋ, zʌm'o siŋ, occurs as in Gilgiti.

Compound tenses

I am to, must, etc., strike.

1. mʌs zʌm'o·kunus	1. bɛs zʌmo·konɛs
2. tus zʌmo·kun	2. tsos zʌmo·konɛt
3. o·s zʌmo·kun	3. ɛ·s zʌmo·kɛn

ʌnu zʌmo·kun, *it is necessary to beat this, this ought to be beaten.*

In apodoses of conditional sentences, "I would (strike)," "I would have (struck)," are rendered by the Future tense of the verb plus the invariable particle, **ɛskai**, corresponding to the Gilgiti **ɪk** :—

mʌs zʌmɪm ɛskai, *I would strike, I would have struck*
o·s zʌme.i ɛskai, *he would strike, he would have struck*

Certain verbs have a characteristic -ɪ- of which **həro·ɪk**, *to take away*, may be taken as an example to illustrate the variations from the above type which they display.

2nd pers. pl. Future : **h'ərɛt** 2nd pers. pl. Pres. **h'ərɛnɛt**
2nd sing. Imperative . **hər**

Pret. (similarly Perf. and Plup)

1.	**həri.'a·s**	**həri.'ɛs**	1.	**hər'ɛ.ɛs**
2.	**hərɛ.'a·**	**hər'ɪ·γ**	2.	**hərɪ.'ɛt**
3.	**həri.'u·k**	**hər'i k**	3.	**hər'i·k**

Past Partic. : **hər'i·**

NOTE.—The final **-k** (sometimes **-g**) of the 3rd sing. masc. Pret. and the final **-γ** of the 2nd sing. fem Pret. are often scarcely audible.

Passive Voice

The same general remarks apply as in the case of the Passive in the Gilgiti dialect (q v.).

Present Base **zʌm'ɪ j-**
Past Base **zʌm'ɪ t-, zʌm'i·d-**

Indicative Fut.

	Sing. m. & f.		Plur.
1.	**zʌm'i·jən**	1.	**zʌm'ɪ·jo·n**
2.	**zʌm'i·jɛ**	2.	**zʌm'i jɛt**
3.	**zʌm'i·je.i**	3.	**zʌm'i·jɛn**

Pret.

	m.	f.		
1.	**zʌm'i·dos**	**zʌm'i·dɪs**	1.	**zʌm'i·dɛs**
2.	**zʌm'i·du**	**zʌm'i·dɛ**	2.	**zʌm'i·dɛt**
3.	**zʌm'i·do**	**zʌm'i·di**	3.	**zʌm'i·dɛ**

Imperative

2. zʌm'i·j

Participles

Present (?) zʌmij'i·

Past zʌm'i·to, -ı, -ɛ ; zʌm'i·do, -i, -ɛ

To the Past Partic. the nominal (?) suffix -k is commonly added. Thus : zʌm'ı·tʊk (sing. m), zʌm'i·tɛk (pl.).

Infinitive

zʌmij'o·k

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN **Kuhı Shina** (Authority : Shērū, of Sumal)

Active Voice

Infin. dʌg'o ıki, dʌg'o·no, dʌg'o·nı, *to strike, beat*

Indic.

Fut.

	Sing. m & f.		Pl. m. & f.
1.	mʌsɛ dʌg'ɛm	1.	bɛsə dʌg'o·n
2.	tusɛ d'ʌg'ɛ	2.	tsosɛ dʌgi.'a·t
3.	ʌso·sɛ dʌg'e.i	3.	rı s dʌg'ɛ n

Pres.

	Sing. m.	f.		Pl. m. & f.
1.	dʌg'ɛmʊnʊs	dʌgəmınıs	1.	dʌg'o nɛs
2	dʌg'e no	dʌg'e.əni	2.	dʌgi.'a·tʌn
3.	ʌso·sɛ dʌg'e·yən	ʌsɛ s dʌg'eʸını	3.	dʌg'ɛ·nən

Imperf.

1.	dʌgɛm'ʊsʊlʊs	d'ʌgəm'ısılis	1.	dʌg'o·nʌsəlɛs
2.	dʌg'e.ʊsʊlo	dʌg'e.əsılɛ	2.	dʌgi.'a·tʌsəlɛt
3.	dʌg'e.ʊsʊlo	dʌg'e.isıli	3.	dʌg'ɛ·nʌsile

Pret.

1.	mʌsɛ dʌg'a·s	dʌg'ɛs	1.	bəsə dʌg'e·ɛs
2.	tusɛ dʌg'a·	dʌg'ɛ.gyɛ	2.	tsosɛ dʌg'e.ɛt
3.	ʌso·sɛ dʌg'au.u or dagɛ·gu	ʌsɛ·s dʌg'ɛ·gi	3.	ri·s dʌg'e·gɛ

Perf. (A form).

1. dʌg'a·sunus	dʌg'ɛ·sonɪs	1.	dʌg'ɛ·ʌsʌnɛs
2. dʌg'a·uno	dʌg'ɛ·gʏmi	2.	dʌg'ɛ·otonɛt
3. dʌg'au.un, dagʌwun	dʌg'e·gʏmi	3.	dʌg'ɛ·gonɛ

Perf. (B form).

1. dʌg'ɛ·gʌnus	dʌg'ɛ·gmɪs	1.	dʌg'ɛ gonɛs
2. dʌg'ɛ·gʌno	dʌg'ɛ·gmɪ	2.	dʌg'ɛ gonɛt
3. dʌg'ɛ·gun	dʌg'ɛ·gmi	3.	dʌg'ɛ·gonɛ

Plup.

1. dʌg'ɛ·gusulus	dʌg'e·ɛsɪlɪs	1.	dʌg'ɛ sɛlɛs, dʌgɛ·gɛsɛlɛs
2. dʌg'a osɪlo	dʌg'ɛ·gɪsɪlɛ	2.	dʌg'ɛ·gosɛlɛt
3. dʌg'au.ʌsulu	dʌg'ɛ·gɪsɪli	3.	dʌg'ɛ·gɛsɪlɛ

Imperative

Sing	Pl
2. dʌg'ɛ	2. dʌgi.'a

Optative, etc.

3. dʌgo·t	3. dʌgo t

Participles		*Noun Agent.*
Pres.	dʌgo jɛ	1. dʌg'ɛ·ço
Past	dʌg e	2. dʌgo·k
	dʌg'eta	3. dʌge.ɛk, pl. dʌgɛ·nɛk

ʌnu dʌgo·k hʌn, *this is the striker*
ʌni dʌgɛ·nɛk hʌno, *these are the strikers*

Causative

Infinitive

dʌgero·ɪki, *to cause to be beaten, etc.*

(In G., P., and K. the extended forms of the nominative are used for the subject of all tenses and persons of the Active Voice.)

Passive Voice

Infin.

dʌgijo·ɪki, *to be beaten*

Indic.

Pres.

1st sing. masc. **ma dʌgi·jumus,** *I am being beaten*

Pret.

1st sing. masc. **ma dʌgɪ·tus,** *I was beaten*

Partic.

Past adjectival, **dʌgi·to,** *beaten*

Prior-accent Verb

Infin.

hero·ɪki, *to carry away, etc.*

Indic.

Fut.	2nd pl.	**tsos h'ərɛt**
Pres.	2nd pl.	**tsos h'ərənɛt**
Pret.	1st sing. masc.	**mʌs həri.'a s**
Perf.	1st sing. masc.	**mʌs həri.'a sunus**
Plup.	1st sing. masc.	**mʌs həri gusulus**

Imper.

2nd sing. **hər.** 2nd pl. **hərа**

Partic.

Past **h'əri**

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN **Dareli Shina.** (Authority: 'Abdul Ghani, son of Minnat Shāh of Dudōkot, Darèl, Munshi to the Darèl Jɪrgadārs.)

Active Voice

Infin.

dʌg'o·nɪ, dʌg'o·no, *to strike, beat*

Indic.

Fut.

Sg. m. and f.		Pl m. and f	
1.	**m'ʌsɛ d'ʌgəm**	1.	**b'ɛsɛ dʌg'o·n**
2.	**t'usɛ dʌgɛ**	2.	**ts'osɛ dʌgi.'ʌ·t**
3. m.	**r'osɛ dʌge.i**	3.	**r'ɛsɛ dʌg'ɛ'n**
f.	**r'ʌsɛ dʌge.i**		

Pres.	Sing. m	f		Pl. m. and f.
1.	d'ʌgumus	d'ʌgɛmʌs	1.	dʌg'o·nʌs
2.	dʌg'e·ṛo	dʌg'e·ra	2.	dʌgy'a·ta
3.	dʌg'i·n	dʌg'i n	3.	dʌg'ɛ·na
Impf.				
1.	d'ʌgumusulus	d'ʌgɛmısılis	1.	dʌg'o·n'ʌsılɛs
2.	dʌg'e·rʌsulul	dʌg'e·rʌsılyɛrə	2.	dʌgye.'a·t'ʌsılɛt
3.	dʌg'i·s, dʌg'i·š	dʌg'i·s, dʌg'i·š	3.	dʌg'ɛ·nʌsılɛ
Pret.				
1.	mı dʌg'a·s	mı dʌg'e.ɛs	1.	ʌs'eja dʌg'e·ɛs
2.	to.e dʌg'a ṛo	to.e dʌg'e rə	2.	ts'e.ıja dʌg'ɛ·t
3.	rɛsɛ dʌg'au.u	rʌsɛ dʌg'e.i	3.	rɛn'ɛja dʌg'e·gɛ
Perf.				
1.	dʌg'a·sunus	dʌg'ɛ·sa	1.	dʌg'ɛ ɛsa
2.	dʌg'a·ṛo	dʌg'ɛ·ṛa	2.	dʌg'ɛ ta
3.	dʌg'o.un	dʌg'i ni	3.	dʌg'ɛ·gan
Plup.				
1.	dʌg'a·sʌsulus	dʌg'e.ɛsʌsilis	1.	dʌg'e.ɛs'ʌsılɛs
2.	dʌg'a·rʌsulul	dʌg'e·rʌsılyer	2	dʌg'ɛ·t'ʌsılɛt
3.	dʌg'au.u.ʌsulo	dʌg'e.ʌsılı	3.	dʌg'ɛ·g'ʌsılɛ

Imperative

2. sing. tusɛ dʌg'ɛ   2. pl. tsosɛ dʌgy'a

Optative, etc.

3. sing. rosɛ dʌg'o·ta   3. pl. rɛsɛ dʌg'o·ta

Participles

Pres. dʌgi.'o (dʌgi.'o), d'ʌgɛ d'ʌgɛ
Past d'ʌge dʌg'ɛ ta

Agent Noun

1. dʌg'e.ɛk, pl. dʌg'ɛ·nɛk
dʌge.ɛk ko.e ʌsulo, dʌgɛ·nɛk ko.i ʌsulɛ,
who was the striker? *who were the strikers?*

2. dʌg'ɛ·ço ʌnu hʌn, *this is the striker*

3. nu dʌg'o·no hʌn, *this is the striker*

Causative

Infin. dʌgi.'o·ni, *to cause to be beaten*

Indic.

Fut. 1st sing. dʌge.ʌm

Pret. 1st sing. masc. mi ro dʌgi.'a·s, *I caused him to be beaten*

Gerundive ro dagi.'o·nō, *he is to be caused to be beaten*

Prior-accent Verb

Infin. heri.o·no (?), *to carry off, etc.*

Indic.

Fut. 2nd pl. h'eri.ʌt (?)

Pres. 2nd pl. h'eri.ʌta (?)

Pret.

	Sing. m	Sing. f		Pl. m. and f
1.	mi heri.'a·s	mi heri.'ɛs	1.	ʌsɛja heri.ɛs
2.	to.i heri.'a·r	to.i her'e·r	2.	tse.ija herɛ.ɛt
3.	rɛsɛ heri.'au.u	reso her'e.i	3.	rɛnɛja her'i·gɛ

Perf. (A form.)

1.	heri.a·sonos	heri.ɛs hʌnyis	1.	herɛ.ɛs hʌnɛs
2.	heri.a ṛ hʌnol	heri.eṛ hʌnyɛṛ	2.	heri.'ɛt hʌnɛt
3.	heri.au hʌno	here.i hʌni	3.	her'i·ga hʌn

Perf. (B form.)

1.	heri.a·so	herɛ·sa	1.	herɛ sa
2.	heri.a·ro	here ṛa	2.	her'ɛ.ɛta
3.	hera·n	herya ní	3.	heriga·n

Plup.

1.	heri.'a s ʌsolus	heri.'ɛs ʌsilis	1.	heri.ɛs 'ʌsɛlɛs
2.	heri.a·r ʌsolol	here r ʌsilyeṛ	2.	heri.'ɛt ʌsɛlɛt
3.	heri.au ʌsolo	here.i ʌsili	3.	heri gɛ ʌsilɛ

Passive Voice

Infin. dʌgijo·no, *to be beaten, etc.*

Indic.

Pres.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m. and f.
1.	ma dʌg'ijumos	ma dʌg'ijimis	1.	bɛ dʌgijonɛs
2.	tu dʌg'ijeṛo	dʌg'ijeṛa	2.	tso dʌg'ijata
3.	ro dʌg'ija hʌn	ra dagij'a·ni	3.	rɛ dʌg'ijena

Pret.

1. dʌgi·tʊs	dʌgi·tɪs	1.	dʌgi·tɛs
2. dʌgi·tʊl	dʌgɪc'ɛr̥	2.	dʌgɪ·tʌt
3. dʌgi·to	dʌgɪ tɪ	3.	dʌgi·tɛ

Perf.

1. dʌg'i tʊnʊs	dʌg'ɪ·tɪnis	1.	dʌg'ɪ·tɛsa
2. dʌgit'or̥	dʌg'ɪ čɪs, dʌg'i·čer	2.	dʌg'i·tɛta
3. dʌgit'ʊn	dʌg'i·tini	3.	dʌgit'a·n

Plup.

1. dʌgi·tʊs ʌsʊlʊs	dʌgɪ tɪ ʌsɪlɪs	1.	dʌgi tɛ ʌsɪlɛs
2. dʌgi·to ʌsɪlʊlʊl	dʌgi ti ʌsɪlɪer̥	2.	dʌgɪ·tɛ 'ʌ -'-t
3. dʌgɪ·to ʌsʊlo (?)	dʌgɪ tɪ ʌsɪli	3.	dʌgi·tɛ ʌsɪlɛ

(In my MS. for the 3rd sing. masc. Plup. there is dʌgɪ·tɪ but this is probably a slip of the pen for dagɪ·tasul = dagi· asulo on the analogy of the Active Voice form.)

The Pronoun forms are throughout the same as in th Pres. Tense.

The Transitive Verb in Chilasi Shina, A. (Authority Lambardār Shāhdād, of Būnar Nullah.)

Active Voice

Infin. dʌŋ'o·ni (also dʌ'ŋo·no), *to strike, beat*

Indicative.

	Sing. m and f	Plur. m and f
Fut.	1. d'ʌŋʊm	1. dʌŋ'o·n
	2. d'ʌŋɛ	2. dʌŋ'a·t
	3. d'ʌŋe.i	3. dʌŋ'e·ᵊn

Pres.

m.	f		
1. m'osɛ d'ʌŋʊmʊs	dʌn'imis	1.	b'ɛsɛ (or, ʌs'a) dʌŋ'o·nʌs
2. t'usɛ d'ʌŋõ	dʌŋ'e:ɛn	2.	ts'osɛ (or, tsa) dʌŋi.'a·ta
3. ʌs'o·sɛ d'ʌŋõ	ʌs'ɛsɛ dʌŋ'e·ɛn	3.	ʌs'ɛsɛ (or, sɛn'a) dʌŋ'ɛ·ᵊnɛn

Imperf.

1.	d'ʌŋomusa	d'ʌŋɪmisa	1.	dʌŋ'o·nasa
2.	dʌŋ'e·ɛn	dʌŋ'e·ya	2.	dʌŋ'ɛ·ᵊta
3.	dʌŋ'e·ɛn	dʌŋ'e·ya	3.	dʌŋ'ɛ·ᵊna

Pret.

1.	mo dʌŋ'a·s	dʌŋ'ɛ·ɛs	1.	bɛ'sɛ (ʌs'a) dʌŋ'e·es
2.	to dʌŋ'a·	dʌŋ'ɛ·gɛ	2.	ts'osɛ (tsa) dʌŋ'e·ɛt
3.	ʌs'ose dʌŋ'o·u	ʌs'ɛsɛ dʌŋ'ɛ·gi	3.	ʌs'ɛsɛ (sen'a) dʌŋ'ɛ·gɛ

Perf.

1.	dʌŋ'a·sũ, dʌŋ'a·sõ	dʌŋ'e.esI	1.	dʌŋ'ɛ·esɛn
2.	dʌŋ'a.õ	dʌŋ'ẽ·i, dʌŋ'e·ŋi (dʌŋ'e·gi ?)	2.	dʌŋ'e·etã
3.	dʌŋ'ṍ·	dʌŋ'ẽ i, dʌŋ'e·ŋi (dʌŋ'e·gi ?)	3.	dʌŋ'e·gã

Plup.

1.	dʌŋ'a·sa	dʌŋ'ɛ·sa	1.	dʌŋ'ɛ·esa
2.	dʌŋ'a·lo	dʌŋ'e·ga	2.	dʌŋ'ɛ·eta
3.	dʌŋ'o·wa	dʌŋ'e·gi.a	3.	dʌŋ'ɛ ga

Imperative

2. dʌŋɛ   2. dʌŋi'a

Optative, etc.

3. dʌŋ'o·íta   3. dʌŋ'o·íta

Participles

Pres. ?

Past dʌŋ'e (i)
dʌŋ'e·ᵊta

Infinitive

dʌŋ'o·ni, dʌŋ'o·no, *to strike, the act of striking*

Agent Nouns (?)

The forms of the -*i*- verbs in the Pret. are as follows :—

	Sing. m.	f.		Pl.
1.	heri.'a·s	her'i·ɛs	1.	heri.'ɛs
2.	heri.'a·	her'ɛ·gɛ	2.	heri.'ɛt
3.	heri.'ú·	her'e·gi	3.	her'e·gɛ

Compound Tenses

a· muṡa dʌŋo·no hõ, *that man is to be beaten, it is necessary to beat that man*

a· ce.i dʌŋo·no hõ, *it is necessary to beat that woman*

a· ce.i dʌŋo·ni hĩ, *that woman is to be beaten*

tuse ko.iga ne dʌŋo·no hõ, *you are not to beat anyone*

bese ko.iga dʌŋo·ne na hã·s, *we are not to beat anyone*

The idiom "would", "would have", in the apodoses of Conditional sentences is rendered by the Future Tense followed by the invariable particle, bɛlɛ, bɛlə.

mose tom dɛr pu·rɛm bɛlɛ, *I would fill my belly*

NOTES.—This informant preferred the form dʌŋo ni for the infinitive, but admitted dʌŋo·no.

The final *-t* of the 2nd plur. Fut. is very indistinct.

The form dʌŋi.a·ta for the 2nd Plur. Pres was repeatedly checked and was maintained by the informant.

The extended forms of the nom. are used for the subject as shown in the Pres. Indic. with all parts of the verb except the 1st and 2nd persons sing. of the Pret., Perf., and Plup.

Passive Voice

The Passive follows the same principles in Chilasi as in Gilgiti.

Pres. Base dʌŋ'i·j-
Past Base dʌŋ'i·d-

Indicative

Pres. (mo) dʌŋ'i·jomus, etc.

Pret. sing. m.

1. (mo) dʌŋ'i·dus
2. (to) dʌŋ'i do
3. (ʌso) dʌŋ'i·do

Participle

Past Chilasi appears to affect the dʌŋ'ɛ·go form.

Thus: bɛla dʌŋ'ɛ·go muṡa ʌś wʌtun, *the man who-was-beaten yesterday has come to-day*

bɛla daŋ'ɛ·gɛ sɛ mulɛ, *yesterday beaten those men*
daŋ'ɛ·gi a· ce.i watin, *the beaten woman has come*

The *-k* suffix may be added :

daŋ'e·gek, *the beaten (persons)*

THE TRANSITIVE VERB in Chilasi Shina, B. (Authority : 'Abdus Sādiq, son of Mir Wāhid of Hodar.)

Active Voice

Infin. **çʌko·ni,** *to look at, observe*

Indicative

Fut.

	Sing. m. and f.		Pl. m. and f.
1.	**mo·s çʌkʌm**	1.	**bɛs (ʌs'a) çʌko·n**
2.	**tus çʌkɛ**	2.	**tsos (tsa) çʌkɛ.a**
3.	**aso·s çʌke.i**	3.	**a·sɛs (ʌson'a) çʌkɛ·n**

Pres.

	m.	f.		m. and f.
1.	**çʌkumus**	**çʌkım'is**	1.	**çʌko·nʌs**
2	**çʌk'ɛ·m**	**çʌke·ni**	2.	**çʌkɛ.a·nɛt**
3.	**çʌk'e m**	**(ʌsɛ·s) çʌki·n**	3.	**çʌkɛ·non**

Impf.

1.	**çʌkumusa**	**çakɛmisa**	1.	**çʌko·nʌsa**
2.	**çʌke·ya**	**çʌke·ya**	2.	**çʌke.a·ta**
3.	**çʌke·ya**	**çʌke·ya**	3.	**çʌke·ona**

Pret.

1.	**mo çʌk'a·s**	**çʌkɛ's**	1.	**çʌkɛ·os**
2.	**to çʌk'a·**	**çʌke·ye**	2.	**çʌkɛ·t**
3.	**ʌso·s çʌko·u**	**çʌke.i**	3.	**çʌkɛ·gɛ**

Perf. and Plup.

The witness was very difficult to handle in regard to these tenses. I got the following forms, but I do not consider them very reliable :—

	Sing. m.		Pl.
1.	**çʌka·sũ**	1.	**çʌkɛ·osɛn**
2.	**çʌke.in**	2.	**çʌke.osɛt**
3.	**çʌke.in**	3.	(?)

All these forms except the 2nd pl. are probably of the Perf. tense. The 2nd pl. agrees in form with the Puniali 2nd Pl. Plup.

Imperative.	2nd sing. **çʌkɛ**	2nd pl. **çʌkɛ.'a**
Optative, etc.	3rd sing. **çʌko·ĭta**	3rd pl. **çʌko·ĭta**

Gerundive. **anu ko·m çako·no hõ,** ***this business is to be seen to***

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN **Chilasi Shina, C.** (Authority: Khanjal Mōla, son of Rahmat Nūr, Ṣhiṇ, of Thak.)

Active Voice

Infin. **tho·no,** *to do*

Indicative

Fut.

Sing. m. and f.	Pl. m. and f.
1. **mo·sə thʌm**	1. **bɛsə (as'a) tho·n**
2. **tusɛ the**	2. **tso·sɛ (tsa) caiya**
3. **ʌso·sɛ the**	3. **ase·sə (asen'a) the·n**

Pres.

m.	f	m and f.
1. **thʌmus**	?	1. **tho·nʌs**
2. **the·yõ**	?	2. **ca·ta**
3. **the·yõ**	?	3. **thɛ·na**

Impf.

1. **thʌmusa**	?	1. **tho·nʌsa**
2. **the·ya**	?	2. **ca·ta**
3. **the·ya**	?	3. **the·na**

Pret.

1. **mo tha·s**	?	1. **as'a thɛ·es**
2. **to tha·**	?	2. **tsa thɛ·et**
3. **aso·se tho.u**	?	3. **asen'a the·ga**

(**mo** and **to** are similarly used with the 1st and 2nd sing. of the Perf. and Plup.)

Perf.

1. **tha·sõ**	?	1. **thɛ·esa (?)**
2. **thõ·**	?	2. **thɛ·eta (?)**
3. **thõ·**	?	3. **the·ga (?)**

Plup.

1.	tha·sa	?	1. thɛ·esa
2.	tha·lo	?	2. thɛ·eta
3.	tho·wa	?	3. thɛ·ga

Imperative

2. thɛ — 2. ca, thya

Optative

3. tho·šta — 3. tho·šta

Infinitive (Gerundive, etc.)

tho·no, *to do, the act of doing*

a.ũ ko·m tho·no mišto nɪš, *it is not good to do this*

a.ũ ko·m tho·no hõ, *this is to be done, it is necessary to do this*

tuse tho·no hõ, *you are to, you must, do this*

mose tho·no hõ·s, *I am to, I must, do this*

a.ũ ko·m tho·nɛjo ne.i tho·no mišto hõ, *it is better not to do this than to do it*

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN Astori Shina. (Authority: Gushpūr Wilāyat Khān, brother of the Rāja of Astōr.)

Active Voice

kut'o·n, *to strike, beat*

Indicative

Fut.

	Sing. m. and f.	Pl. m. and f.
1.	kut'ɪm	1. kut'o·n
2.	kot'e.i	2. kute.'a·t
3.	kot'aɪ.ɪ	3. kut'ɛ·n

Pres.

	m.	f.	
1.	m'osɛ kut'ʌmus	kut'ɪmis	1. b'ɛsɛ kut'o·nɛs
2.	t'usɛ kut'ɛ·on	kut'ɛ·eni	2. ts'osɛ kute.'a·ten
3.	š'osɛ koti.'ũ·	š'ɛsɛ kut'e·ɪ	3. š'ɛsɛ kut'ɛ·na

Imperf.

1.	k'otum'ulus	kotɛm'ilis	1. kot'e·nases
2.	kut'e·lo	kot'ɛ·li	2. kote.'a·sʌt
3.	kut'e·lo	kot'ɛ·li	3. kot'ɛ·nɪsɛ

Pret.

1.	**m'osε kot'a·s**	**kot'e·εs**	1. **k'ote·'ε·s**
2.	**t'usε kot'a·**	**kut'e·**	2. **kot'i·εt**
3.	**ź'osε kot'o·**	**kut'i·**	3. **kot'i·ε**

Perf.

1.	**kot'a·sũ**	**kot'ε·sĩ**	1. **kut'e·εsã**
2.	**kot'a·ũ**	**kut'e·ĩ**	2. **kut'e·ʌtən**
3.	**kot'o·ũ**	**kut'ɪ·**	3. **kutɪ.'ã·**

Plup.

1.	**kot'a·lus**	**kot'e·lɪs, kot'ε·lis**	1. **kut'e·lεs**
2.	**kot'a·lo**	**kot'ε·li**	2. **kuti.'e·lεt**
3.	**kot'a·lo**	**kut'ɪ l**	3. **kotɪ.'e lε**

Imperative

2. **kutε** — 2. **kuti.'a**

Optative, etc.

Sing. 3. **kut'o·tən** — Pl. 3. **kut'o·tən**

Participles

Pres. and past 1. **kotε**
2. **kut'ε·ta**

Infinitive

kut'o·n, *to strike, the act of striking*

kuto n dʌŋ, *till striking, etc.* (Gilgiti, **zʌmo siŋ**)

Agent Nouns

Sing. **kut'ɪ'a·k** — Pl. **koti.'ε·k**

The following are the variants of verbs with the characteristic *-i-* vowel :—

Infin. **hər'o·n**, *to take away*

2nd pers. pl. *Fut.* **h'ərεt**

2nd pl. *Pres.* **h'ərətən**

Pret.

	Sing. m.	f.	Pl.
1.	**heri.'a·s**	**heri.'ε·s**	1. **hər'ɪ·εs**
2.	**heri.'a·**	**hər'i·**	2. **hər'i·εt**
3.	**heri.'o**	**hər'i·**	3. **hər'i·**

Imperative

2. **her** 2. **h'era**

Participle

Pres. and Past **her'e·, here**

Compound Tenses

As in Gilgiti **bɛ·, bɛ.i** may be used after any tense of the Indic. giving the sense of "perhaps", "possibly".

mosɛ kotɪm bɛ·, *possibly I shall strike*

tsosɛ kot'a·t bɛ·, *perhaps you will strike*

mosɛ ŝo kota·s bɛ·, *perhaps I struck him, I may have struck him*

Combinations with the Infin. (Gerund and Gerundive ?).

mosɛ ʌnu koto·no hã·s, *I am to, must, strike this (man)*

tusɛ ʌnu koto·no ha.ũ, *you are to, or must, beat this (man)*

ʌni ĉe.isɛ a· ba·l koto·ni hɪ·, *this woman must beat that child*

ʌnu (nɛ) koto·no hũ· (ʌsolh), *this man is (was) (not) to be beaten*

ʌni koto·ni hɪ·, *this woman is to be beaten*

The Infin. **koto·n** does not appear to be used in oblique cases. For "after striking" I have been given, **kotɛ· ᴅfʌto**; and for "he died of being beaten", **koto·ɪkɪ gi mu·**, which seems to savour of Gilgiti.

"Would," "would have," in the apodoses of Conditional Sentences is rendered by the future tense followed by **bɛlɛ** (as in Chilasi).

ŝo wʌtʌl to mos kotɪm bɛlɛ, *if he came I would beat him*

Passive Voice

kotij'o·n, *to be struck, beaten*

Indicative	Sing. m. and f.	Plur. m. and f.
Future	1. **kot'i·jom**	1. **kot'i·jon**
	2. **kot'i·jɛ**	2. **kot'i·jʌt**
	3. **kot'i·jɛ**	3. **kot'i·jɛn**

Present

	m.	f		
1.	kʊt'i·jomʊs	kʊt'i·jəmis	1.	kʊt'i·jʊnʌs
2.	kʊt'i·jɛno	kʊt'i·jī	2.	kʊt'i·jʊnɛt
3.	kʊt'i·jā	kʊt'i·jī	3.	kʊt·i·jɛna

Imperfect

1.	kʊt'i·jʊm'ʊsʊs	kʊt'ɪ·jəm'ɪsɪs	1.	kʊt'i·jən'ʌsɛs
2.	kʊt'i·jəsɛ	kʊt'i·jɛsɛ	2.	kʊt'i·jən'ʌsɛt
3.	kʊt'i·jəsɛ	kʊt'i·jɪsi	3.	kʊt'i·jən'ʌsɛ

Preterite

1.	kot'ɪ·lʊs	kot'i·lɪs	1.	kot'i·lɪs
2.	kot'i·lo	kot'i·li	2.	kot'i·lɛt
3.	kot'i·lu	kot'i·li	3.	kot'ɪ·lɛ

Perfect

1.	kot'i·lʊsõ	kot'i·lɪsī	1.	kʊt'i·lɛsā
2.	kot'i·lau.ũ	kʊt'i·lin (*or*, -lī)	2.	kʊt'ɪ·lɛtʌn
3.	kot'i·lũ	kʊt'ɪ·lɪn (*or*, -lī)	3.	kʊt'ɪ·lā

Pluperfect

1.	kot'i lʊsa	kot'i·lɛlis	1.	kʊt'i·lɛlɪs
2.	kot'i·ləlo	kʊt'i·lɪl	2.	kʊt'ɪ·lɛlɛt
3.	kot'i·ləl(o)	kʊt'i·lɪl	3.	kʊt'i·lɛlɛ

Imperative

2. kʊt'ɪ·j — 2. kʊtɪ·j'a

Optative, etc.

3. kutij'o·t — 3. kutij'o·t

Participles

Present kʊtij'õ

kʊtij'õ mu·, *being beaten he died*

Past

Verbal kʊtɪj'i·, *having been beaten*

Adjectival kʊt'i·to (-i, -ɛ), kʊt'i·lo (-i, -ɛ)

kʊt'i·tʊk, *the, a, beaten person*

Infinitive kʊtij'o·n

THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN Gurezi Shina. (Authority: Nūra Shē<u>kh</u>, son of Wahāb Shē<u>kh</u>, of Gurēz.)

Active Voice

Infin. koti.'o·no, *to strike, beat*

Indic.

Fut.

	Sing. m and f.		Pl. m and f.
1.	mɔsɛ kot'ɪm	1.	bɛsɛ kot'o·n
2.	tosɛ kot'ɛ	2.	tsõsɛ koti.'a·t
3.	ƶosɛ kute.i	3.	ƶɛsɛ kot'e·n

Pres.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m and f
1.	mɔsɛ kot'ɪm hõ·s	kot'ɪm hɛ̄·s	1.	bɛsɛ kot'o·n hā·s
2.	kot'e hū·	kot'e hɛ̄·	2.	koti.'a·t hā·t
3.	kot'e.i hõ·	ƶɛsɛ kot'e.i hæl	3.	kot'e·n hā·

Impf.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m and f
1.	mɔsɛ kot'ɪm solos	kot'ɪm sɪlyɛs	1.	bɛsɛ kot'o·n silɛs
2.	kot'e.i solo	kot'ɛ.i sile	2.	koti.'a·t silɛt
3.	kot'e.i solo	kot'e.i sili	3.	kot'e·n silɛ

Pret.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m and f
1.	me.i kot'a·s	me.i kot'e·ɛs	1.	as'alƶi koti'e·ɛs
2.	thõ koti.'a·	thõ kot'e·e	2.	tsalƶi koti'e·ɛt
3.	ƶosɛ kot^{i}'au	ƶɛsõ kot'i·	3.	ƶɛn'e.iƶi kuti'e·

Perf.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m and f
1.	me.i kot^{i}'a·s hõ·s	kot'e·ɛs hɛ̄·s	1.	as'alƶi koti'e·ɛs hā·s
2.	kot^{i}'a· hõ·	kot'e· hē·	2.	koti'e·ɛt hā·t
3.	kot^{i}au hū·	kot·i· hæl	3.	koti'e· hā·

Plup.

	Sing. m	Sing. f.		Pl. m and f
1.	me.i kot^{i}'a·s ʌsolos	kot'e·ɛs ʌsilyɛs	1.	as'alƶi koti'e·^{ɛ}s silɛs
2.	kot^{i}'a· solo	kot'e·ɛsilɛ	2.	koti'e·t ʌsilɛt
3.	kot^{i}'au ʌsol^{h}	kot'i· mil	3.	koti'e· sile

Imperative

2. Sing. tusɛ kutɛ — 2. Pl. tsɵ̃sɛ kut'i'a·

Optative, etc.

3. Sing. ʒosɛ kut'o·n — 3. Pl. ʒɛsɛ kut'o·n

Participles

Pres. kuti.'o kuti'o

Past kut'e·i

Would, would have

a· a·lo to mosə kutım b'ɛlɛ, *if he came I would beat him*

Agent Noun

1. kut'e·ɛk	Pl.	kut'e·nɛk
2. kut'e·ço	Pl.	kut'e·çɛ

Gerund and Gerundive

kutı'o·no

tsɵ̃sɛ a· kutı'o·no hã·t, *you are to beat him*

bɛsɛ a· kuti'o·no hã·s, *we are to beat him*

a· kutı'o·no hũ·, *he is to be beaten*

a· ce i kuti'o·ni hĩ, *that woman is to be beaten*

Causative. (Authority: Dilbara A<u>kh</u>on, son of Akrama, of Gurēz.)

Infin. kuti'a·n

a·se mʌnu·ʒɛ hʌti a·se bojı kutı'a·n, *it is necessary to have him beaten by (the hand of) that man*

Indic.

Fut.

Sing.		Pl.	
1.	kut'e·ɛm	1.	kuti ã·
2.	kuti'e·	2.	kuti'a·t
3.	kuti'ɛ·	3.	(kuti'e·ɛn ?)

Pret.

1. kuti.a·s

	Trans.	*Causative*
Infin.	çʌki.o·no, *to look*	çʌke.a·no
Fut.	çʌkɛm	çʌke.ɛm
Pret.	çʌka·s	çʌke.a·s

Prior-accent Verb.

Infin. **heri'o·no,** *to take away*

Indic.

Fut. 1st sing. **herım** 2nd pl. **hər'a·t**

Pres. 1st sing. **herım hō·s** 2nd pl. **hər'a·t hā·t**

Pret.	Sing. m	f	Pl. m and f
1.	**həri'a·s**	**heri'e·ɛs**	**həri'e·ɛs**
2.	**heri'a**	**her'ᵃe·**	**heri'e·ɛt**
3.	**heri'au**	**hər'i·**	**həri'e·**

Impv. 2 sing. **hər** Pl. **h'əra**

Partic. *Past.* **h'əri**

Passive Voice

(Authority : Dilbara Akhon, son of Akrama, of Gurēz.)

Infin. **kʊtij'o·no,** *to be beaten*

Indic.

Fut.	Sing.	Pl.
	1. **mo kʊt'ijım**	1. **be kʊt'ıjon**
		2. **tso kʊtij'a·t**
		3. **sɛ kʊt'ijɛn**

Pres.

1. **mo kʊtijom hū s**
3. **a· kʊtije hō**

Impf.

1. **mo kʊtijom solos**
3. **a· kʊt'ijɛ solo**

Pret.

1. **mo kʊt'ijolos**		1. **kʊt'ijılıs**
2. **tu kʊt'ijolo**		2. **kʊtij'olɛt**
3. **a· kʊt'ijolu**		3. **kʊtıj'ilɛ**

Perf.

1. **kʊtijolos hōs**

Plup.

1. **kutijul'usulus**

Impv.

2. sing.	**kut·iš**	2. pl.	**kutij·a**

Optative, etc.

3. sing.	**kutıj'on**	3. pl.	**kutij'on**

Participle

Past **kutij'ı**

15th June, 1925.

Statuette of Gudea

BY S. LANGDON

(PLATE VI)

THREE years ago the native Arabs of Tello discovered a group of remarkably fine statuettes in low ground on the western side of *Tablet Hill*, mound V on the plan of de Sarzec, where Captain Cros found a small headless statuette of Gudea in 1903. The head, however, had been previously found by de Sarzec, and was joined to the torso by Leon Heuzey.[1] A photograph of this statuette is published on plate I of the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. VI. The monuments recovered by the Arabs from the temple of the god Ningishzida in the *Tablet Hill* are curiously enough all statuettes. All, with the exception of one, which is published in this communication, were illegally transported out of Iraq, and fortunately one was secured by the Louvre, where it rightfully joined the magnificent group of Gudea statues in the national museum of France. This is a fine alabaster statuette of Ur-Ningirsu, son of Gudea, 46 centimetres high, in standing position, and headless. It is reproduced in *Monuments et Memoires publié par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome XXVII, *Statuettes de Tello*, par F. Thureau-Dangin, plate IX; the circular base is sculptured in *relief* with two files of four figures each, which meet just below the feet of the patesi of Lagash. See *ibid.*, plate X. The Ur-Ningirsu statuette is also dedicated to the god Ningishzida, a form of the dying god Tammuz.[2]

One of the Gudea statuettes in private possession, at Paris, was published by Professor Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*,

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vi, 9 and 18. Statue I in Thureau-Dangin, *Altsumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften*, p. 86. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, pp. 431–2, where the location of the temple of Ningishzida was erroneously located at Girsu and not in mound V.

[2] See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 7, n. 2; 36, n. 2; 117–19; 122; also Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, 122, 8 = Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, v, 16, 144, where Ningishzida is associated with Gilgamish.

xxii, 41–3, and plates I–II, a standing figure, fortunately complete, which represents the patesi as a young man. This is also made from alabaster, and is dedicated to Ningishzida and Geshtinanna It is a record of the building of a temple to the goddess Geshtinanna, and it must be presumed that the temple in mound V was built to Ningishzida and his consort Geshtinanna. This statuette I shall designate as statue M. Its height is 41 centimetres.

The largest of the Gudea statuettes was sold to the Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg in Copenhagen, and is published by Dr. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Stauettes de Tello*, pp. 1–5, 7–8, and plate VIII, a standing figure 63·4 centimetres high, of grey steatite. It is completely preserved, and shows the patesi as a middle-aged man, practically identical in features with statue I. The inscription and dedication are identical with statue M (Scheil) save for the name which was given to it by the patesi himself or his scribes. We possess, therefore, three authentic portraits of Gudea. Statues I, M (Scheil), N (Copenhagen), all of which belong to statuettes from the temple of Ningishzida and Geshtinanna.

The Baghdad Museum received one small diorite statuette entirely identical with the one found in 1903 by Captain Cros, statue I. Miss Gertrude Bell spared no effort to secure all the monuments found by the Arabs at Tello, but succeeded in securing this one only. Statue I is 45 centimetres high, but it now has its head.

The Baghdad statuette is only 10 inches high from the top of the shoulder to the upper face of the base, and 6¼ inches broad across the shoulders.

I designate this monument as statue O (Baghdad). Both I and O have the inscription on the lap and knees of the figure, but the Louvre monument has a longer text in five columns, and states that Gudea, having built temples to the god Ningirsu (who had made Ningishzida divine patron of the land of Lagash) and the goddess Ninā, built also a temple to Ningishzida. He named the statuette " To Gudea, builder

of the temple, has he granted life", a name in keeping with the age of the patesi as represented by the head.

The short inscription on O (Baghdad) has no cartouche dedication, as on M (Scheil) and N (Copenhagen), and is dedicated to Ningishzida, not Gestinanna. The text resembles almost verbally the inscription on the back of the statuette of Ur-Ningirsu. It reads:—

COLUMN I

^{d}.*Nin-gis-zi-da*	For Ningishzida,
dingir-ra-ni	his god,
Gù-de-a	Gudea,
pa-te-si	priest-ruler
Lagash-(ki)	of Lagash,
lù- É-ninnū	who built Eninnū
^{d}.*Nin-gir-su-ka*	of the god Ningirsu,

COLUMN II

in-dū-a	
alan-na[1]*-ni*	his (Gudea's) statue
mu-tud	sculptured.
é-mu ni-gub	" In my temple it stands,"[2]
mu-šú mu-na-sà	he named it.
é-a-ni-a	In his temple
mu-na-ni-rû[3]	he dedicated it to him.

[1] *Alam*, statue = *ṣalmu*, is probably from an original *al* + *an*, i.e. a noun formation from *al*. Note that the sign *ALAM* is glossed *al* in *RA*. 11, 146, 41, and cf. *gurun* > *gurum*, *BE*. xxix, 2, 15 = Reisner, *SBH*. 123, Obv. 18; also *gin* > *gim*, shekel; *šukun* > *sukum*, values of [illegible]; *nugig* > *mugig*, and § 42 of the writer's *Sumerian Grammar*. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 206, states forcible arguments for reading *nun-na* = *ṣalmu*, since *ALAM* interchanges with *nad*, *na*, *nu* = *salâlu*, to repose, in Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 26 Rev. ii, 25–41; cf. my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 336, 12–15. It is also possible that *alam-dim-mu-u*, Bezold *Catalogue*, 2140b.; *Babyloniaca*, iii, 299, 30; *KAR*. 44 Obv. 6, is to be read *nudimmû*, on analogy of the title of the god ^{d} *Nu-dim-mud*, where *nudim* clearly means *nabnitu*, *bunnânu*, creation, form, figure. Delitzsch also notes that (*nu*) is a common word for *ṣalmu* image. Thureau-Dangin, *Statuettes de Tello*, now renders *na* by the word *abnu*, stone, i.e. " his statue of stone," which is not

probable Cf. *sag-alan-na-bi*, Genouillac, *Textes Économiques*, 4042 Rev. i 6. For the root *al*, v Thureau-Dangin, *URUK*, 101 Rev 6, *al* = *allu*, Syn. *amēlu*, man, and *al* = *ṣīrum*, high, eminent, *CT*. 12, 48*b*, 26

[2] Cf. *Urukagina*, Cone B, 9, 11 + 16, *Gudea*, Cyl A, 5, 5.

[3] Thureau-Dangin, *Statuettes de Tello*, 8, n 2, questions the value *tur* for *REC*. 145, in these passages After passages like Samsuiluna, year date 6, *alam* . . *Ebarra* . . . *i-ni-in-tu-ri*, it is natural to suppose that *REC*. 145 is for 146, *tur* = *erēbu*. It will be noted that the sign on the Baghdad statue is *REC* 56, which has certainly the value *tur*, Myhrman, *BE*. iii, 64, 6; *RA*. x, 208, *BM*. 103435, 4; *CT*. x, 16, ii, 31, etc. The reading *tur* seems to be demanded by all the information at our disposal But the solution is probably solved by *SAK*. 2 *a*, ii, 7, *a-mu-na-a-ru* (*REC*. 56) = *išruk*, variant of the ordinary *a-ru* = *šarāku*, and for *TU*(*ru*), v Schroeder, *KAH*. 84, 107 *a*, *e-ru-ub*. This value *ru* is supposed to belong to the sign *REC*. 220, value *gur*, *kur*, *uru*, *ru* In any case *TU* in *CT*. xi, 3, iii, 27, *ku-u* *ḫu-u*, *ǵu-du-uš*, is *REC*. 147 = *tud*, create, beget, as the early list of Syl. A, *CT*. 5, 9, Obv iv, 8 proves. See the sign name *ḫu-du-uš* in *CT* xi, 21, 34912, Obv. 5.

ERRATA

p. 523. *For* "the normal Armenian *r ṛ*" *read* "the normal Armenian *r ṙ*".

p. 523. *For* note 1 *read* note 2, and vice versa.

Pictographic Reconnaissances: Part VIII

(Continued from page 486, 1926)

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE VII)

THE enlightened generosity of certain anonymous Japanese gentlemen has given to the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien* the power to publish the outcome of some thirty-five years' researches on the ancient writing of China in the splendid form in which it now appears. As a scholar thus allowed to see such a result in his own lifetime, Mr. Tadasuke Tanata should be a happy man.

A year's familiarity with these fascinating volumes proves (to me at least) that no future investigations in the same branch of inquiry can be of any serious value that do not take the fullest account of the Japanese scholar's labours and their results. Not that every opinion of his will be accepted, every argument prevail, every identification convince. With such a difficult and entangled subject, much of its material but recently brought to light, that could not be. But Mr. Tanata has lifted this study as a whole to a plane from which it cannot again fall back. The pages that follow have been contributed in that conviction.

Wu 武, armed force; military action; military; (2) in certain classical passages, a footprint. This character is one of the two singled out in the Preface of the *Shuo Wen* to illustrate the class of 會 意 *hui i*, that is, Suggestive Compounds, or Ideographic Combinations. And in his explanation under the character itself in the body of the work, Hsü Shên adopts the view of its significance enunciated in the *Tso Chuan* by a certain Viscount of Ch'u for the behoof of his Minister, which is thus related by Legge,[1] "The Viscount said 'You do not know what you are talking about. The

[1] *Chinese Classics*, vol v, pt i, pp. 315 (text) and 320 (English).

character for "prowess" is formed by those for "to stay" and "a spear".'" In the text the passage runs, 夫文止戈爲武 *fu wên chih kuo wei wu*, and the Viscount goes on upon a high didactic note, that "military prowess is seen in the repression of cruelty, the calling in of the weapons of war, the preservation of the great appointment", and so on and so on.

But these admirable sentiments, acclaimed with enthusiasm as they would surely be in any Assembly of the League of Nations, were, in practice, too lofty in the combative turmoil of the Spring and Autumn period when the Viscount of Ch'u lived and fought. And assuredly they were beyond even the theoretic morality of the remote ages when Writing began its eventful career. Their art declares the feelings and the motives that prevailed with the commanders of armies in antiquity, such as Naram-Sin of Akkad, or those early kings of Egypt in the third and fifth dynasties, of whom Spearman writes,[1] "There is one idea, and almost only one, that found constant expression in their art. That expression was so satisfying to their narrow souls that it was repeated without any essential variation for two thousand years or more. The subjugation of the weak or the slaughter of an unresisting foe is the *leit motiv* of all their compositions, a motive which still [illegible] the heart-strings of Europeans with Asiatic minds [illegible]s with early art, so with early writing. The character [illegible] hoever were responsible for its birth, was, we may [illegible] devised to teach us a moral lesson, but to suggest [illegible] place idea—the movement of armed force This it [illegible] utting together the signs for *foot*, symbolizing m[illegible] dvance, and *halberds*, representing weapons in ge[illegible] *same element* 止 *chih, with the* same ideograp[illegible] ince, reappears in the archaic characters [illegible] n 追 *chui* "to pursue", [illegible] the modern 逐 [illegible] chase", and in others.

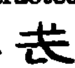
[1] [illegible] *Art*, pp. 216–17.



Such I venture to urge (though the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien* seems to concur in the orthodox Chinese view) is the *Significance of the archaic forms.*

Figs. (Bronze) 1 to 5. (Bones) 6 to 7.

The exact identity of *type* in the examples from Bronze and from Bones will be remarked. And this early identity disproves the view of Chêng Ch'iao, put forward in the 六書略 *Liu Shu Lio* Section of his 通志, *T'ung Chih*, and adopted by Tai T'ung, in his 六書故 *Liu Shu Ku*, that the character *wu* was really one of the Phonetic Compound Class, and that 亡 *wu*, not 止 *chih*, was the phonetic in question. But this, though an error, is found already in popular usage in early Han times, thus in No. 258 of the Stein collection edited by Chavannes in *Documents Chinois*, occurs a clearly written instance .

A still more contracted form is found in No. 449 of the same collection, viz. .

Lei 耒, the plough, more strictly, the plough-handle, as distinct from 梠 or 耜, *ssŭ* " the plough-share ".

The exhumation of this implement of tillage from the accumulated debris of the ancient writing under which it has long lain hidden has been no easy task. But the researches of Mr. Tadasuke Tanata in Japan, and of the present writer in England, upon the Honan relics, working independently, but reaching an identical conclusion as to the above character, appear to be worthy of confidence, despite the fact that a different solution has been proposed by a great scholar, the well-known Mr. Lo Chên-yü.

The question which of these two identifications is the right one much exceeds any interest that may be awakened by the examination of archaic forms pursued in previous papers of mine in the *Journal*. For the reason that if the view held by Mr. Tanata and myself can hold its own, it will be demonstrable proof that when the characters under review

were devised, the Chinese—if Chinese they then were—must have been in the stage of racial development known as Hoe-culture, a stage that knew not the ox-drawn plough. And that must be a very far cry.

It is hoped to show, by the evidence of the archaic forms recently recovered of several Chinese characters, the strong probability, if not the certainty, that the prototype of the character 耒 *lei*, was a figure representing ***not a plough but the thrust-hoe***, or Dutch hoe, as it is also called.

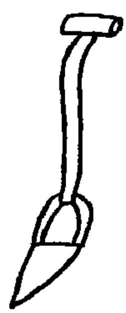
And first let us start from the proposition that nothing can be termed a plough that is not hauled from in front (whether by oxen, yaks, horses, or even men), and nothing was a hoe except an implement worked by hand from behind. This will scarcely be disputed by Occidental readers, but it seems to some extent to run counter to a statement of the Chinese compilers of the *T'zŭ Yuan*, a Dictionary of our own day, under the word 犁 *li* "a plough". For after describing the *li* as a means of opening the soil and extirpating the roots of weeds, they add that its blade is called 耜 *ssŭ*, and is made of iron let into a bent wood handle known as 耒 *lei*. "Oxen are used to drag it, or it may be pushed by man power," 用牛挽或人力推之. A figure is given showing a simple form of plough but with a pointed flat blade set parallel to the soil (and not as with us), and looking like a flat-iron.

Turning to the *K'ao Kung Chi* addition to the *Chou Li* or "Chou Ritual", we shall find that "The Cart-wrights make Plough handles", 車人爲耒, the three lengths into which the handle was divided being named and their measurements specified. These were the 庛 *t'zŭ*, or foot, the 中直 *chung chih* straight mid-piece, and the 上句 *Shang kou* (not *chu*), or upper grip. No mention is made of the *ssŭ* or blade, because as a plate of metal it did not fall to the cartwright to make it.

The illustrations appended to the Imperial Edition of the *Chou Li* provide a figure of the *Lei-ssu* 耒耜 (*chüan*

47, p. 24), and if it can be relied on, it proves by itself that we have to do only with an Eastern version of the thrust-hoe, and not with a plough. I add a reduced copy of the figure below.

A well-known and ancient tradition attributes to the legendary sovereign Shên Nung, or "Divine Husbandman", the merit of having "hewn wood into blades, and bent wood into handles" (斲 木 爲 耜 揉 木 爲 耒), which appears to imply an age previous to the use of metals, though it does not decide the issue as between plough and thrust-hoe. From the above statements available for a long time to research, we can now turn to new evidence furnished by ancient bronze vessels, and more especially by some remarkable forms appearing on the Honan Relics.



First we will take the testimony of a bronze known as the 耤 田 鼎 Chi t'ien ting, or Chi t'ien caldron. An excellent facsimile of its inscription of seventy characters appears in *chuan* 31, pp. 67–8 of the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, with transcription and notes. The text of this ancient document is naturally not free from difficulties of decipherment and interpretation, but fortunately the general sense is clear and the obscurities are relatively unimportant. Summarily stated, we have an episode in which the Chou Sovereign had been carrying out the great annual ceremony of Tilling the Imperial Field at a spot called 諆 Chi. After the noonday meal, the sovereign and his suite practised archery and offered

the customary sacrifice. Probably when all was finished, the hour was late, for the text mentions that in the return from the fields of Chi, the Imperial order was to drive with all speed, and promise of reward was made if the charioteer should reach the palace in time. This must have been done, and the last words of the inscription record the returning of thanks to the King for his gracious gifts on this occasion.

Now the third character of the inscription is a very striking one, which up to the publication of Wu Shih-fên's *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* had baffled the epigraphists. It is seen in Fig. 8 of Plate VII, and Wu transcribes it by 耤 *tsi* (or *chi*), *the ceremonial ploughing of a furrow by the Sovereign*, and he analyses it as consisting of 上 作 人 推 耒 形 下 從 昔 *shang tso jên t'ui lei hsing, hsia ts'ung hsi*, "In the upper part a figure of a man pushing a *lei*, and below, composed with *hsi* [as the Phonetic]." This decipherment has been approved, and carries conviction. I should perhaps explain that the  of the original is the modern 昔 *hsi*, and a valid phonetic for 耤 *tsi*.[1]

The rest of our character shows the crudely drawn and linearized profile of a man grasping some object having a long handle ending in what Wu sees as a blade. The whole implement he renders by the word *lei*, including of course the *ssŭ* or "blade." And *lei*, or *lei-ssŭ* together, is usually rendered "plough", as in historical times they have become. But I would call attention to the fact that Biot, following closely the Chinese commentators, does not employ the French *charrue* "plough", but *bêche* "spade", though he rightly adds that the figure (see the Fig. reproduced above), "ressemble à notre sarcloir plutôt qu'à notre bêche". The *sarcloir* is the Thrust or Dutch hoe.

Among the specialists who have approved Wu Shih-fên's decipherment of the old form of 耤 *tsi*, is the great Japanese scholar, Mr. Tadasuke Tanata, who cites the element 

[1] See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p 234.

in that example, as the primitive pictogram of the *lei*,[1] which it is obvious cannot be, ***in point of form***, the parent of the Lesser Seal and modern 耒 *lei* character, but only their pictographic predecessor.

Now to claim the name of plough, the tilling implement must be hauled from in front as well as guided from the rear, whether the haulage is provided by human, animal, or mechanical power. And of such traction, or of any means of attaching it to the implement, there is no trace in the primitive figure under discussion.

But with the exhumation of the Honan bone relics, more evidence can be called in support of the identification of 耒 *lei*, with the instrument of tillage figured above.

The three curious forms given in the Plate,[2] Figs. 9, 10, and 11, are held by Lo Chên-yü to represent the modern character 埽 *sao* "to sweep", and his note adds, "Depicts a man holding a broom and sweeping away [dust]. Should be (當 爲) the original character of 埽 *sao*. The *Shuo Wen* makes the latter to be composed with 帚 and 土, *chou* and *t'u* [viz. *broom* and *earth*], which is probably a character of later invention, thus converting a pictogram into a suggestive compound, 變 象 形 爲 會 意 矣."

I was never able to accept this equation with *sao* "to sweep", as is shown by the copy of the pencil note I made on the page at the time, now perhaps ten years ago, when I reached the passage. This runs, "I quite disagree in this identification. It is a character containing 耒 *lei* 'a plough', perhaps 耕 *kêng* or 耤 *tsi*. In the first case [I meant the first example, shown in *chüan* 7, p. 15, of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*] the next two characters are 受 年 *Shou nien* = harvest; in the second and third cases the following character is 臣."

Lo's identification with *sao* "to sweep" is the more surprising as it immediately succeeds his examples and note

[1] *Ku Chou P'ien, chüan* 83, p 37.

[2] And see Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p 48, where the references are given.

on the word 帚 *chou* "a broom". These examples, of which  is an average type, in no way resemble the object held by the man as seen above. But since it is with great reluctance that I venture to contest a judgment of so acute, cautious, and splendidly equipped a critic and scholar as Lo Chên-yu, I was the more gratified when I discovered, on receiving the *Ku Chou P'ien*, that Mr. Tadasuke Tanata, its distinguished author, had reached the same conclusion as my own.

Under the character 耕 *kêng* "to plough" (*chuan* 83, p. 38), the *Ku Chou P'ien* cites from the Honan relics, Fig. 12 of Plate VII, and describes it as depicting a man holding with his hands a plough[1] and ploughing. This, it says, "is the most ancient character for *kêng* 'to plough', and so the ancient character for 耤 *tsi* 'ceremonial ploughing by the Sovereign', is composed with it." Other examples of the same type may be seen in Lo Chên-yu's *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i*, ch. 6, p 18 (see Fig 13), and in the late Mr J. M. Menzies' *Oracle Records of the Waste of Yin*, p. 153, No. 1436, from which I cite it (see Fig. 12)[2] The small bone fragment on which this last occurs contains no other character, and the example is unknown to both Lo and Tanata. Now while the last two may easily be only an ampler version of the other three, which both Mr. Tanata and myself hold to represent a man tilling the soil, and consequently, as the Japanese author believes, or most probably, as I prefer to write, to stand for the modern 耕 *kêng* "to plough", yet, on the other hand, they may possibly be a separate type and stand for a different word. The general aspect of the combination is like the others, but there are differences of detail. The human figure has a singular crest with an irregular and angular outline, found however in the Honan relics fairly often on human

[1] I do not wish to veil the fact that Mr. Tanata regards the *lei* as a plough, while I hold it to be a thrust-hoe.

[2] Published by Kelly and Walsh, Ltd, Shanghai, 1917.

figures in the place where the head ought to be. The object held has a rather differently shaped blade. On the whole, I incline to think that this figure, at any rate, may be the parent form of [illegible], a rare variant of 稷 *tsi* "the god of agriculture". There is little violence in this conjecture really, the only point of serious doubt being whether the thing grasped by the human figure (which resembles an axe) is a mere variant of the plough or thrust-hoe, whichever it may be, in the other figures. I may mention that this same axe-like object appears in the variants of what is presumably a distinct as well as an unidentified archaic form occurring on the Honan bones. See Fig. 14 on Plate VII.

Here we have a linearized figure, the head in course of reduction to the shape of an eye (and having an absurd incidental likeness to a rather fatigued white tie), facing to the left, one stylized foot emphasized, the remnant of one arm directed forward while the other appears to drag behind the man what is clearly the same axe-shaped instrument of tillage as in Figs. 12 and 13.

The significance attributable to this enigmatic group eludes us, consequently also the modern verbal and graphic equations. In short, we know not what word it betokens. But we may hazard the conjecture that it relates to tillage.

Finally, it is clear at a glance that none of the forms we have passed in review can be the parent of the Lesser Seal and modern character 耒 *lei*, which consists of *mu* "wood", crossed above by three strokes whose significance in the composite structure is not evident. The Lesser Seal character must have derived from some separate type. Mr. Tanata, in his *Ku Chou Pi'en*, cites from a bronze *tui*, a form 
which he perhaps rightly identifies with *lei*, and conjectures to be here used as a proper name.

And thus I cast my conjectural bread upon the waters of instructed criticism.

Chên 眞, true, genuine.

The explanation of the construction of this enigmatic character, and consequently of its true significance, is new and conjectural. It may not, probably will not, be accepted at first, but when the grounds on which the conclusion rests are duly considered they will perhaps appear less easy to neglect than at first sight.

It is at least remarkable that so common a word as *chên* "genuine" should, to all appearances, be conspicuous by its absence in archaic Chinese documents. One instance of the character, recognizable as such, occurs in the Stone Drums, if those time-worn relics can justly be claimed as presenting archaic inscriptions, and one other and closely similar form makes part of a compound character on one other ancient inscription, and that is all. Now this seeming absence from the oldest writing certainly needs to be accounted for.

Let us then begin the quest by starting from the *Shuo Wen's entry on the Lesser Seal scription.* This *entry* is of rather unusual nature, and runs thus, 眞，僊人變形而登天也從匕目乚八所以乘載之  古文眞 that is, "The Immortal Man having been transfigured ascended to Heaven. Composed with 匕 *hua* 'to change', 目 *mu* 'the eye', 乚 *yin* 'to hide', and 八 *pa* 'eight',[1] whereon he is conveyed. The figure [fourth from the end] is the ancient form of *chên*."[2]

The resolution of a Chinese character into four components is very rarely justified, and it is not perhaps to be hypercritical to suggest that in this instance such a quadruple dissection was an analysis of despair on Hsü Shên's part in presence of a morphologic enigma. He may have seen in

[1] The figure here written as 八 *pa*, 8, is in Tuan Yü-ts'ai's edition printed as two short vertical lines

[2] This alleged ancient form, not found elsewhere, is, I believe, a corrupted version of some old variant of the homophonous character 貞 *chên* "pure, steadfast".

the technical Taoist usage of the character 眞 *chên* the only way out of much analytic gloom.

However that may be, surely we may affirm that *non tali auxilio* were the early makers of characters constrained when such a simple and ordinary word as *true, genuine,* required a visible shape.

Let us attack the problem from another point Such a point is furnished by a hitherto unknown character occurring in a remarkable Bronze, known as the Caldron of the Duke of Mao, or *Mao Kung Ting* (毛 公 鼎), remarkable not only as having the longest archaic inscription yet discovered, but for the fine condition and legibility of the document itself. Wu Ta-ch'êng, in his *Ku Chou Pu*, makes abundant appeal to its contents.

The character in question is reproduced in Fig. 15, Plate VII, and in the clause containing it, transcribed in modern Chinese below, is there replaced for convenience sake by 某 *mou* (the Chinese equivalent of *x*, or "so-and-so"). We shall see in a minute the bearing of this on our problem.

About the middle of the document[1] is a clause running 俗 我 弗 作 先 王 某 *su wo fu tso hsien wang yu*, as transcribed by the editor Wu Shih-fên, who equates the last character with 憂 *yu* "grief". This would mean (reading 欲 *yu* for 俗 *su*), "Desiring that I should not make the late Sovereigns grieve."

But the editor appends an annotated version of the text by 徐 籀 莊 Hsü Chou-chuang, who in the clause under examination transcribes the last character as 傎 a variant of 顚 *tien* (which might have here the less usual sense of "sad" and be then read *t'ien*). But Hsü glosses the word by 顚 覆 典 型 *tien fu tien hsing* "to overthrow the Constitutional laws". We have, then, two different decipherments of the character from these two scholars.

But how does Wu Ta-ch'êng dispose of the enigma? He responds to the challenge, as the Duke of Wellington is

[1] See the *Chên Ku Lu Chin Wên*, vol. ix, pp 53 and 57

said to have spoken French, "avec courage." He enters the character under the word 顛 *tien*, and writes as follows: 古顛字仆也從頁從象顛沛之形. "The ancient character for *tien* 'headlong'. Composed with 頁 *yeh* 'head', and  *tso* 'the left hand'; depicts overthrow." Then quoting the three (strictly four) passages in the *Odes*, where the word 塡 *t'ien* is found, he adds that for that word should be read the character now under discussion, the strokes  having been wrongly converted to 土 *t'u* "earth".

Now it is strange (and characteristic of Chinese scholars) that having brought us to the very verge of a conclusion (in this case a very striking one), they constantly abstain from explicitly drawing it. So here Wu states, and I venture to think rightly, that this Mao Kung Ting character is the archaic form of 顛 *tien*, and further that it consists of 頁 *yeh*, plus a figure of an *arm and hand*. If so, the archaic form of *tien* was 頁 *yeh* plus the *arm and hand*. But this would give a modern form , a version so like 眞 *chên* that though Wu himself does not make the point, is it really possible to contest the equation?

And if this is accepted, what consequences follow? In the first place, that the sounds of 眞 and 顛 must in the second millennium B.C. have been identical or virtually so. Nothing surprising in that, in view of the occurrence of 眞 as a phonetic in characters now pronounced *chên*, but also in others, almost as numerous, pronounced *tien*.[1] Perhaps the then sound of both (as we should now say) was approximately the English word "ten". Again, an English rendering of the sentence from the Mao Kung Ting would then read, more or less, "Desiring that I should not cause the late Sovereign's overthrow," meaning probably the overthrow

[1] See e.g. Callery, *Systema Phoneticum Scripturæ Sinicæ*, pp. 325–6, and Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 286, and pp. 338–9.

of the Chou dynasty. Next we should have to admit that in the archaic Chinese writing a word meaning "true", "genuine", not otherwise easy to fit with a written form, was conveniently lent the graphic garment of a homophonous syllable meaning "crest", "summit", "top", as well as to "topple over", to "overturn", "headlong". No one who has studied archaic Chinese script will find any inherent difficulty in accepting such an explanation.

There remains to be considered the *Significance of the archaic form*. We have seen that Wu Ta-ch'êng describes it as "depicting overthrow", or "falling headlong". That, however, does not seem altogether convincing. What we see is an upright human figure with an outstretched arm pointing towards his head. Might this not be an indication of an appropriate gesture? Might not the sense of "crest", "top", have been that selected by the artist to illustrate, or rather to suggest, by drawing a hand pointing to the head as though to say "Look where I point, there is the meaning"?

Such is the theory of the origin of the form 眞 *chên* and of the identity of its ancient sound with the contemporaneous sound of 顚 *tien*, and of the consequent use of a character properly composed to represent the latter word, to stand for another word, pronounced in the same way, but having the altogether unrelated sense of "true", "genuine".

But I must not seem to ignore the fact that the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien*, whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration, puts forward quite a different solution. Mr. Tanata scornfully rejects Wu Ta-ch'êng's reading of the character in the *Mao Kung Ting* as *tien*, and argues in favour of its identification with 擾 *jao* to "trouble", "annoy".

His long note on the point is in *chüan* 54, p. 39, of his great work. But, personally, I am not greatly impressed by the reasoning, nor can I see why Wu Ta-ch'êng's view is called "a mere guess".

But the future alone will decide whether the Japanese or the Chinese scholar is right, and also whether my own

conjecture as to the origin of the character 真 *chen* can be sustained.

The occurrence in the Mao Kung Ting Bronze inscription of the unique character discussed above prompts me to call attention to the distinction and historical value of this relic of Chinese antiquity. Since its exhumation in the Province of Shensi some decades ago—I do not know the exact year, but Yuan Yuan, who died in 1849, did not know of it—it has proved an increasing attraction to Oriental antiquarians, who have published in facsimile the lengthy text of 497 characters, and appended running commentaries thereto. Wu Ta-Ch'êng, and later Mr. Tadasuke Tanata, are enthusiastic over the interest of its substance, and the high epigraphic value of its form. Wu Ta-Ch'êng, indeed, takes it as certain that this and another Bronze known as 南公鼎 *Nan Kung Ting*, both record Imperial Patents (or Announcements, as Legge styles them) granted by Ch'êng Wang, second Sovereign of the Chou dynasty, who reigned from 1115 to 1078 B.C. He believes that had Confucius seen these inscriptions, he would certainly have included them among the *Books of Chou* not to be excluded from the *Shu King*. "True indeed," writes Mr. Tanata, and striking a lyrical note, adds: "such vessels as these are the rarest gems of the Orient world, gems of the entire Universe indeed!" (如此器者東球之至寶而亦全世界之寶已矣).[1]

Yü 玉 jade.

We are now able to say for certain that in the oldest Chinese documents existing, equally on Bronze vessels and Bone fragments, this word appears in two seemingly unrelated forms, a purely linear reduction, by far the commoner, and a more realistic, yet stylized and diagrammatic version.

For the identification of this latter with the familiar linear form we are indebted to the acumen of Mr. Takata, the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien* (in Japanese *Ko chū hen*). That this

[1] *Hsiao Ku Fa Fan, chüan 5*, pp. 46–7.

identification was not easy to reach is shown by the fact that Wu Ta-ch'êng had conjectured the form to be a variant of  *hsiang*, modern 享 "to offer sacrifice",[1] and on the other hand, a character of the same type, occurring in composition, and having an oval in place of an angular centre, is regarded by Lo Chên-yü as the figure of a cross-bow, ( 象人發弩形 *hsiang jên fa nu hsing* "depicts a man shooting with a cross-bow"). And I had in my MS. notes helped to darken counsel by suggesting either 食 *shih* "to eat", or 㚔 *nieh*[2] "an implement of punishment", as the solution.

From this confusion and doubt, Mr. Takata has brilliantly extracted the true equation.

Explaining the Lesser Seal Form, 王, the *Shuo Wen* describes it as "three (pieces of) jade strung together vertically by (the stroke) 丨". This implies some ornament or other object constructed of at least three pieces of jade. And already in his *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, under the character 車 *ch'ê* "carriage", Mr. Takata had surmised that the forms found in certain compounds,  and , were the true character for 玉 *yü* "jade", and not *ch'ê*, as had been guessed. But the point is confirmed and developed more elaborately in his monumental work, the *Ku Chou P'ien*.[3] Here, strengthened in his previous surmise by new evidence from the Honan find, he proves convincingly that the type round which variants such as   and  revolve, depicts in more or less summary fashion the 佩 *p'ei*, or 玉佩 *yü p'ei*, or 佩玉 *p'ei yü*, that is, the pendant chatelaine of jade pieces worn at the girdle in Chinese antiquity. Of these the true form as a whole is not known, though examples of the various

[1] *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, Additional, p 19.
[2] That is, when found in composition, as in 報 *pao*.
[3] *Ch'üan* 7, pp. 1–2.

component elements still survive. It is rather odd that Takata in this passage does not actually make use of the word *p'ei*, though citing the individual elements that, when assembled, compose it. The Sung scholars, who were no doubt "doing their best", have left us what they hoped was a "restoration" of the *p'ei* in the illustrations to the Imperial Edition of the *Chou Kuan*, or *Ritual of the Chou Dynasty*,[1] of which I give a diagrammatic form in Fig. 16 of Plate VII.

With this "restoration" before us, let us hear what the *Ku Chou P'ien* has to say under the entry 玉 *yü* "jade", and specially referring to the form , occurring on a Bronze, as well as on the Honan Bones :—

"Thus then," we read, "that this figure (篆 *chuan*) is the ancient form of the character 玉 *yu* 'jade' is still more evident. The  of this (figure) are the  of the characters following below, the  is the vertical stroke of the forms above (e.g. of 王, the linear archaic variant of *yu* 'jade'), the | being a single thread, and  being a pair of threads—analogous formations. Thus the upper triangle (上 △) is the 衡 *hêng* or 'cross-piece', the lower triangle (下 ▽) is the 璜 *huang* 'lower cross-piece', while the median ◇ in one case, and median — in the other, signify the 衝 牙 *ch'ung ya* or 'opposite teeth' These shapes were contracted to three horizontal lines by later scribes."

This account, as will be seen, while fully explaining the linear and yet contemporaneous complex from which the Lesser Seal and modern character are derived, seriously differs from and conflicts with the received reconstruction of the Sung schoolmen. It suggests, as does the figure itself, a

[1] The 欽 定 周 官 義 疏; the figure is copied in Couvreur's *Dictionnaire Chinois Français*, p. 605.

pendant of three pieces, not of seven as in the "restoration", which is a more elaborate affair. Incidentally I may mention that Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Ku Yu T'u K'ao*, or *Ancient Jades Illustrated and Examined*, can supply examples of only two out of the five components described by the *Chou Li*.[1] It is possible, no doubt, that the *p'ei yu*, of the remote age when this character was designed, was of simpler make than the chatelaine of the *Record of Rites*.

Summing up, the *Significance of the archaic forms* may be safely pronounced to be the contour of a girdle pendant (*p'ei*) of several pieces of jade.

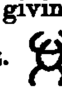
We should note the simultaneous currency in the most archaic Chinese writing accessible to us of a naturalistic and of a mere linear and diagrammatic reduction. The former, however, with a very few possible exceptions, survives only in composition, even in that remote period, while some of the ancient linear variants justify the presence of the dot in the modern character which now alone distinguishes it from 王 *wang* "king".

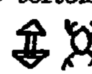
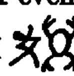
Here I should have stopped were it not for the temptation to bring to notice a fascinating conjecture put forward by Mr. Tanata in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, which introduces, if his theory is destined to hold its own, a new and special—almost esoteric—form of the character 玉 *yu*. At the same time his conjecture throws much light, if the illumination is not yet complete, on a curious formula found on the Honan relics, which has defied all comprehension or decipherment hitherto. It is, therefore, specially attractive to workers in this field.

The enigma is a formula of three words. It is usually written horizontally from left to right, or the reverse, not in the normal vertical alignment. All that was really known was that the first character was 不 *pu* "not", and it seemed likely that it opened some technical statement by the professional diviner on the result of the operation of scorching the bone

[1] Of the seven pieces of the "restoration", there are two pairs of duplicates

and the scrutiny of the ensuing crackling marks. Considerable variation round the norm is found in the last two characters, as is shown in Figs. 17 to 20, and 21 to 25, on Plate VII

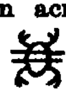
In brief, Mr. Tanata believes these three archaic forms to correspond to the modern characters 不 玉 䵷 *pu yü wa*, giving, word for word, the sense " not ", " jade ", " frog " (the modern scription of *wa* " frog " is 蛙). So far, the phrase seems entirely meaningless. But Tanata calls in evidence an apparently, in part, similar expression 弗 其 玉 *fu ch'i yu*, word for word, " not that jade," also occurring on the Honan Bones. Still we do not seem to have advanced towards a meaning. But under the entry 卦 *kua* (chuan 29, pp. 19–20), the Japanese scholar explains the faith that is in him, and how he came to hold it. Let him speak for himself. After giving three variants, of which I need here copy only one, viz. , he writes :—

" From the tortoise-shell fragments, in each case in the expression 不 , I have discovered," he says, " that the second character is 玉 *yü* ' jade '. As for the third, a prolonged investigation having failed to determine it, I eventually saw a fragment with the characters written 不 珏 . Hence I infer that  is a pictographic form of 䵷 *wa* ' frog ' [now written 蛙 *wa*], and that the third of the above three characters [having 女 *nu* ' woman ' on the left] is the modern character 娃 *wa*. In 䵷 the element 圭 is phonetic, as it is also in 娃.[1] Accordingly, 娃 *wa* ' wanton ' can be composed with 䵷 *wa* for the phonetic, compositions in either of these cases being alike borrowed to write the word 卦 *kua* ' Diagrams of divination '.

" The syllable 不 *pu* is [? here] an initial vocable, 發 聲 之

[1] In modern Chinese 圭, when independent, is pronounced *kuei*, but Karlgren gives *kʷei* as the " ancient " or sixth century A D sound.

詞,[1] as in the passage under 龜 *Kuei* 'tortoise', in the *Erh Ya*, 左 倪 不 類 右 倪 不 若 'looking to the left very congenial, looking to the right very agreeable'. Further, [the character 不] sometimes has the sense of 丕 *p'ei* in the expression 丕 顯 *p'ei hsien*, that is, to speak highly, or make much, of something. Which of these two senses is here meant cannot be determined."

So much for the first of the three cryptic syllables in the exceptional passage cited above. Tanata then proceeds to the second word, with which we are most concerned. "珏 is also analogous with 玉 *yu*, and comes under the term 'borrowing of ampler forms' 繁 文 假 借 *fan wên chia chich*." But parenthetically we may object that this doubled 玉 *yü* is said by the Dictionaries to have the sound *kio* or *ku*, not *yü*, with which therefore it cannot be identical, even if it is "analogous", 同 意. The words used in the *Chou Li*, 玉 *yu*, 瓦 *wa*, and 原 *yuan* "jade", "earthenware", and "plain", are the terms for divination fissures 卦 兆 *kua chao*.[2] Tanata next essays to explain the two horizontal strokes drawn across the alleged frog's body in certain examples, e g. . Deeply influenced by Chinese symbolism as he is, he sees a symbolic significance in these strokes (sometimes reduced to one), which represent the Yin and Yang principles. And inasmuch as the character for Frog is here borrowed to write its ancient homophone 卦 *kua* "divination diagram", much emphasis is laid on these strokes that

[1] If I have understood Mr Tanata's argument rightly, these words imply that the syllable *pu*, usually meaning "not", is not used in that sense in the three words on the Bones, nor in the curious passage quoted from the *Erh Ya* that follows In this accordingly I have treated 不 as being equivalent to 丕 *p'ei*, as it often is on ancient Bronzes I do not grasp what Tanata understands by "an initial vocable"

[2] See the *Chou Li*, *chüan* 24, p. 1, under the 大 卜 *ta pu*, or Chief Augur, and Biot's translation of the Editors' note: "Les morceaux de jade ont des traits de fêlure, des stries sans qu'il y ait une veritable cassure. Quand on brûle l'écaille de la tortue et que les traits de fissure sont très minces, ils ressemblent aux stries de jade"

they may serve as a "local habitation" for the sense, 故殊倚畫以寓意于此耳.

Mr. Tanata then goes to meet a relevant objection that might be brought forward to his theory. "You have already established in the oracular sentences," the supposed critic points out, "the form  as the character 卦 *kua*. What reason then for a further borrowing of the Frog character to represent the same word *kua* 'diagram'?" The reply is that it is the practice of the oracular sentences "when a character is the same, but the sense has been to some degree shifted, or there is a distinct meaning, that then either a character of different structure is used, or a borrowed character is employed, so as to make the distinction (字同而義少轉者又別義者或用異體或用假字以爲分別)."

Having given a couple of examples of this practice, he asks why in this case doubts should be felt about the simultaneous use of two different characters for the same word, and "awaits the decision of coming sages, 竢來哲云"

Pending the arrival of these gentlemen, the proposed answer to this riddle must be left "on appro", as they say in commerce. But Mr. Tanata's solution is so ingenious and plausible as to fascinate those who have been familiar with the problem and attacked it in vain. Still there are difficulties that should be mentioned. The first character, 不, whether = *pu* or *p'ei*, is certain. The second, personally, I accept as 玉 *yü* "jade". But the equation of the third character as a pictographic predecessor of the character 蛙 *wa* "frog", borrowed to write 卦 *kua* "diagram", seems a more hazardous conjecture, and I am less convinced. But this is not the place to discuss that point in detail.

List of References for Figures in Plate to Part VIII

Abbreviations

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chun Ku Lu Chin Wên* 攈古錄金文
H. = Hopkins' Collection

I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編
K.C.P. = *Ku Chou P'ien* 古籀篇
Oracle Records of the Waste of Yin
S.W.K.C P. = *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* 說文古籀補
Y.H S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契

FIG

1 to 5.—S.W.K C P, ii, 73.
6—Y.H.S.K., i, 10.
7— „ iii, 23.
8—C K.L C W., vii, 67.
9—Y.H S K., vi, 17.
10— „ vii, 15.
11.— „ vi, 17.
12—Oracle Records of the Waste of Yin, p. 153, No. 1436.
13—Y H S K., vi, 18
14—I S T P., vol iii, Hou Pien 上 p 24.

FIG.

15—S W.K C P., ii, 51
16—*Chou Li*, Imperial Edition, Plates, ch 46, p 6
17—H, 641.
18—H., 645
19—H, 637
20—K C P, vii, 2.
21—H., 637
22—H, 641
23 to 25—K C.P, xxix, 20.

Phoenician Inscription from Ur

By ERIC BURROWS, S.J.

(PLATE VIII)

THIS was found at Ur during last season's excavation by the British Museum and University Museum of Pennsylvania Joint Expedition. I thank Mr. Woolley, the Director of the Joint Expedition, for leave to use the Expedition's photograph and for permission to publish.

The object shown in the photograph is the ivory lid of a box, 11 × 5 cm. It is at present in the British Museum temporary exhibition (U 7801) It was found beneath Nebuchadnezzar's pavement of the north-east chamber of the sanctuary E-nun-maḫ, and is the first Phoen. inscription found in Iraq.

Inscription: ארן · [ז]ן · מגן · אמתבעל · בת · פמאס' אמת · אדנ[ן]
מתת · לעשתרת · ארתי · תברכי · בימי · אדנ[.] .]א' בן · יסד

Box which (or *This box*) *Amat-Ba'al, daughter of Pat-Esi, handmaid of our lord* (?), *offered* (*as*) *a gift to Astarte on his behalf. Mayst thou bless in his days our lord . . . , the son of Yasad* (?).

Notes.—ארן: hitherto only found for *sarcophagus* in Phoen. (sarcophagi of Aḥiram, Tabnit), but also generically for *box* in the other north-Sem. languages.—זן: probable restoration, the word occurring in CIS I, I (thrice) and Aḥiram l. 2 (ארן זן as here).—מגן: מְגִנָּה, without final letter, as in Phoen. For the verb cf Prov. iv, 9.—פמאס: *p*ꜣ-*dj*- ꜣ*s* (-*t*), "whom Isis has given": cf. Aram. papyri פמאס'. The name probably occurs in various forms (vocalization *Pat*—) in cuneiform business documents of the Persian period; cf. Ranke, *Keilschriftl. Material z. altägypt. Vocalization*, pp. 39, 40, 42, 43, 49. — אׄדׄנׄן: restoration suggested by l. 2, 6, *q.v.*—מתת: Hb. מַתַּת, and a good Phoen. form as regards the

assimilated first radical (whatever it be): cf. מתן in Phoen. names.— ארתי. Almost certainly the second letter is ד, not ב (= of his/her fathers) and not ר, which has a notably longer stroke. The word occurs in the inscription of Eliba'al (*Syria* vi, 1925, 109). I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Cowley. I take the suffix to be masc (ארתיו), because the latter part of the inscription seems to show that the dedication was made on behalf of the man ארנג..א. ׳ is regularly used for 3rd pers. masc. suffix in Phoen. (except at Byblos) (cf. Cooke, *Text-Book of North-Sem. Inscr.*, 6, 5; 18, 3; 21, 1, 3; 24, 1; 27, 5; also probably בימי below), whilst it is rather exceptional as fem. suffix (*ibid.* 10, 2, 3; 27, 4).—תברכי · apparently 2nd sing. fem. The 3rd pers. (*may she bless him/her*) would be more according to the analogy of Phoen. dedications; but this would require in the sequel—*in the days of* ארנג..א, and what would be the point of this limitation of the blessing?[1]—ארנג..א. In itself this could be a proper name, e.g Akk. *Iddin-N . . .'* (Iddin-Nabo ?), or Phoen. *Adoni-N . .'* But the first four letters seem to agree with the traces left at the end of l. 1, where also a person must be denoted; moreover, if ארתי is "on *his* behalf" (i.e. on behalf of ארנג..א) the pronoun *his* must refer back to a person already mentioned, who can only be the person mentioned at the end of l. 1, who is therefore identical with ארנג..א. Now it is obviously impossible to supply a whole name at the end of l 1 (where probably nothing is missing); therefore ארנן is a *title* substituted for the *nom. prop.* in l. 1, and prefixed to it in l 2. It must therefore be "our lord", with reference to a king or some such personage. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the dedicatress calls herself the אמת of the man in question, although she can hardly have been his slave in the ordinary sense (if only because her father's name is given): אמת as correla-

[1] It may be doubted also whether the construct plural would be *plene scriptus*

tive with "our lord" creates no difficulty.[1] The *nom. prop.*, probably of three letters, ending in א, could be חנא, so written already in Phoen. (CIS. i, 115), if the remains of the second letter can be נ: perhaps, however, it is rather ל that is indicated. יסד.—If ד is right the name is probably Yasad or Yēsed, from יסד *established* (abbreviated theophorous), about synonymous with Hb. *n. pr.* Yakīn. (The word could not be read as Babylonian, so far as I know.)

Palaeography.—The writing, with the exception of two letters, is of early north-Sem type, and resembles especially the Aramaic of Nērab (seventh century ?). The interesting exceptions are the י and the ט, both of which have a form that first appears elsewhere in the Phoen. of Athens (Piraeus) fourth century.[2]

The division of words by punctuation is paralleled in the very earliest north-Sem. inscriptions: earliest Phoen. (Aḥiram, Eliba'al)—division of words or phrases by strokes; earliest Heb. (Siloam), Moab., earliest Aram. (Zenjirli)—division of words by points as here. But the points appear again in Phoen. of Cyprus in the fourth century, and so are of little use as criteria of age.

Dialect.—The only features to notice are: (1) ארן without the article, as in the oldest Byblos inscriptions, against הארן in Tabnit (c. 300); (2) י as 3rd masc. suff. as in common Phoen., against Byblian, which had ה and later ו for *ahu*, *au*.

Provenance.—Was the inscription made at Ur or in Phoenicia? Probably in Phoenicia. As to the proper

[1] אדנן used absolutely is surprising and perhaps implies some special usage unknown to us (e g this was the designation of a high-priest, or of a priest-king in his sacred capacity as priest of Astarte, Amat-Ba'al being a priestess, and perhaps his wife).

[2] Sidonian colony (cf. Cooke, *op cit.*, p 95) From this point of view, perhaps, if the foundation was old, it would be a reasonable hypothesis that our script is from a Sidonian hand of about the seventh century. Anyway, the *yod* is not in all respects an indication of late date, for although its horizontal position has affinity only with late scripts, in shape it is related rather to the oldest known *yod*, that of the Aḥiram sarcophagus.

names, *Pat-Esi* is indecisive (cf. above the cuneiform documentation), but *Amat-Ba'al* and probably *ben-ISD* are Phoenician; the style is no less Phoen. than the language; and certain other ivory objects found in the neighbourhood of the box are likely to have come from Phoenicia.

If there is any special significance in the fact that the dedication is made to Astarte, probably on behalf of "our Lord", it is worth recalling that the princes of Byblos, Tyre (according to Menander) and especially Sidon were particularly associated with Astarte.

Date.—Besides the indecisive evidence (for about the seventh century ?) from palaeography and language there is the definite external evidence of the pavement beneath which the box was found; the lower limit is the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, 604–562.

Conclusion.—The box probably reached Mesopotamia in the course of the Syrian wars, some time between the campaign of Ašurnaṣirpal 876 and the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar 573 (not improbably in the seventh century, e.g. after Esarhaddon's siege of Sidon). It may have reached its final resting-place in the E-nun-maḫ because it was dedicated to Astarte, identified with Ištar = Ninni.

A New Kind of Old Arabic Writing from Ur

By ERIC BURROWS, S.J.

THE two following inscriptions were found last season by the British Museum and University Museum of Pennsylvania Expedition to Ur. My thanks are due to the Joint Expedition, and to Mr. Woolley acting on its behalf, for permission to publish them.

1. U 7815

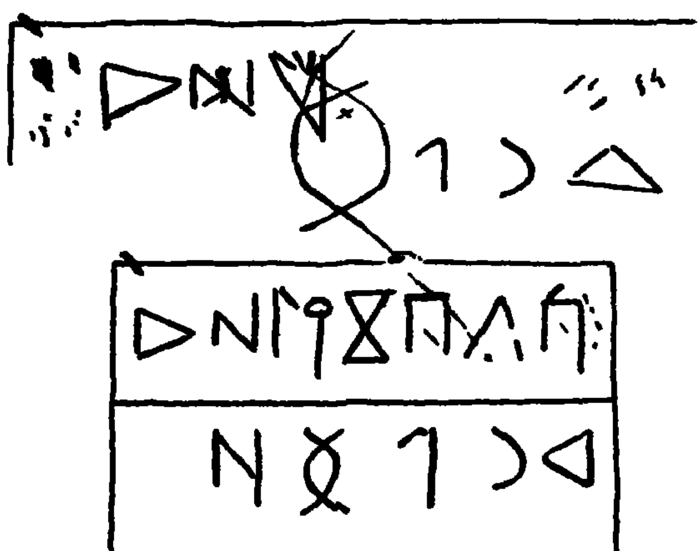
Irregular fragment of brick or clay pavement, found a little below Nebuchadnezzar's pavement in E-nun maḫ, having on its face this inscription (9 × 8 cm.).

A 1

2

B 1

2



The first part (A) is scratched roughly; the second part (B) is more carefully done on a well smoothed sunken surface. It seems that A is a duplicate, so far as it goes, of B, and that the first line of letters in A corresponds to B, line 1, letters 1 to 4 (numbering from left to right), and the second line of letters in A to B, line 2, letters 2 to 5.

We have, therefore, ten letters, as follows: (1) ▷ △ ◁, (2) N, (3) ᚴ 1, (4) ϙ, (5) X, (6) П, (7) Λ, (8) ℏ, (9) ɔ, (10) X. It will be seen that seven of the ten correspond with letters of the south-Arab. alphabet (Minaeo-Sabaean, etc.), and that the remaining three, while having recognizable affinity with south-Arab., correspond more closely with letters of the Phoen.-Greek alphabet from which south-Arab. originated. This, then, is a proto-Arab. script, and an important link in the history of the alphabet.

The Letters in Detail.—(1) *d* of all the north-Sem. and Greek alphabets: it has not yet acquired the additional stroke which is peculiar to south-Arab. (▷|, etc.)

(2) *n* of the common-Sem. and Greek alphabet, in the form which came to prevail in Greek, and which already begins to appear in the oldest Greek inscriptions. (In A 1 the writer began to write И, but on second thoughts preferred N, which he keeps in his fair copy.)

(3) *g* of the common-Sem. and Greek alphabet, akin rather to earliest north-Sem. and Greek than to south-Sem. forms.

(4) *y* in a pure south-Sem. form (Min.-Sab., old Ethiop., Liḥyan., Saf., Tamud.) which is not found in north-Sem. or Greek.

In A 1 apparently (3) and (4) are ligatured: cf. ligatures in Tamudaean. Here the top of the *y* is not circular as in B 1, but has what seems to be a single line on the *left* of the stem at the top. If this was really a variant form of ϙ it would be a link between the northern 𐤉 (Byblos), Ƨ (Greek), etc., and Min.-Sab. ϙ. Cf. old-Eth. ᑭ (= ᑫ), and Tamud. (sometimes) ᑫ.

(5) *z* in its peculiarly Min.-Sab. form.

(6) *b* of Min.-Sab. and other old south-Sem. scripts.

(7) Either *l* or *g*: probably *l* of (3) is *g*: nearer to south-Arab. (Min.-Sab., old Eth., Tam., Liḥ.) or to Greek than to north-Sem. forms.

(8) Min.-Sab. *k*.

(9) Min.-Sab. *s*.

(10) *r* of pure old south-Arab. form.

Direction of the Writing.—It seems clear that A 1, and therefore also B 1, read from left to right. This is also the direction, as will appear, of the unilinear inscriptions U 7819, U 6900. Starting from the left we can read the whole either from left to right throughout, or boustrophedon. The boustrophedon direction is made nearly certain by the variation in the directions of the *g*'s and *d*'s, and by the space at the left of B 2.

Division into Words.—One's first thought was that the rough graffito A contained the first, and (excepting a final *n*) the last words of the inscription, an intermediate word being added in B; thus the division would be DNGI·ZBLK·DRGSN. But I now suspect that this was a false clue. Perhaps rather the writer's procedure was as follows: he first sketched the framing lines of A, and wrote therein the first part of his epigraph—DNGI. He did this badly, beginning the N in the wrong way, and bungling somewhat the GI, and he also found that his framed space would be too large. He then prepared the smaller and better smoothed framed surface B,[1] and wrote fairly in B 1 the whole first line DNGIZBLK. Then above in A 2 he roughly practised the rest of the inscription which he had in mind as far as the penultimate letter, and then wrote this neatly in B 2.

If this is so, A is not an inscription that gives sense by itself and it does not indicate the division of the words. We operate, therefore, with DNGIZBLKDRGSN, without prejudice as to the division.

Interpretation.—ZBLKDR gives exactly the familiar (Assyrian!) term *zābil kudur(i)* = bearer of tribute, etc. This may be an extraordinary accidental coincidence, but the first attempt to interpret the inscription will naturally be an examination of this reading. How would *zābil kuduri* combine with (*a*) the four letters before and (*b*) the three letters after it?

[1] The tail of the [glyph] in A 2 proves that A as a whole cannot have been completed before B as a whole was begun; the preparation of the sunken smooth surface of B, if done subsequently to the writing of the [glyph], would have removed the tail.

(*a*) would naturally be a proper name, and DNGI does in fact at once suggest the well-known name, *Dungi*. It is out of the question, of course, that the inscription should date from the time of king Dungi (twenty-third century), but this is not to deny that it could have reference to him. His monuments and stamped bricks abounded at Ur. Was an Arab amusing himself by composing a new epigraph in his honour, or by faking a Dungi brick-inscription? The character of the inscription, with its preliminary rough sketch, suggests that it had no very serious purpose, and its finished form in the sunken rectangular frame does look like the imitation of a brick-stamp. As a title of Dungi, the apparently Assyrian political term *zābil kuduri* might have its supposed original sense of "basket-bearer" with reference to the king's foundation of a temple, and perhaps to a monument of the well-known type which shows a royal founder with the workman's basket.[1]

(*b*) The word after *Dungi zābil kudur*, so explained, might be the name of a building or of a divinity; but no such reading of *gsn* seems satisfactory—hardly so *gisāni* (Bab. for *kisāni*, "of the foundations"), or *gasan* (for emesal *Gašan*, "of the Lady"). On the whole, therefore—although something anomalous may be expected if the graffito was a faked brick-inscription done by a foreigner for amusement—a reference to Dungi can scarcely be maintained.

If, alternatively, *Dngi* is the name of the writer (not necessarily related to the name Dungi, perhaps foreign, or if Akkadian possibly = Danqī, for Damqī, Tallqvist *Ass. Pers.*

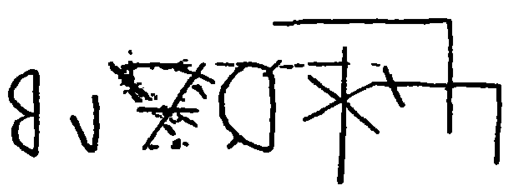
[1] The name of this king has of late (since Zimmern, *Ber. d K Sächs Ges.*, 1916, No 5, 31) commonly been read Šul-gi [*šul*=hero] DUN having also the value *šul*; but no proof of the new reading has been given Deimel, *ZA*, 22, 47 (1908) first proposed it, appealing to a nom prop. DUN-la (Šul-la). In *Pantheon*, No 776 (1914), however, he assumed *Dungi*, and suggested *sus arundinis* [wild boar? cf. Psalms lxviii, 31, lxxx, 14]. There is, in fact, no reason why the name should not contain *dun* in the sense of boar; cf names like *Eberhard* Langdon, *OECT*., i, 29, considers *Dungi* possible even with the assumption that the first element means *mighty man*.

Names, 69), we can give *zābil kudur* its most obvious meaning: "D., bearer of tribute (service)." *gsn* would be perhaps "of Gsn", tribal or local proper name [1]—*Non liquet*. (Cf. also below p 806 on *gsn*.)

Date.—(1) *Zābil kuduri*, if read, would indicate a date (early ninth century ?) only if it were taken in its Assyrian political sense. (2) The find-place, under a Nebuchadnezzar pavement, gives the reign of that king, 604–561, as lower limit.[2] (3) The writing, being intermediate between that of Phoen.-Greek, and the well-fixed monumental form of Minaean inscriptions (beginning c. 800 ?) suggests a date in about the tenth or ninth century.

2. U 7819

This graffito is roughly and faintly scratched on a clay pot found by a workman at Ur last season. The pot does not represent an Ur type; it is thought that it may be of the Kassite period.



The letters (numbered from the left) are: (1) south-Sem., and especially, old Min.-Sab., *m*; (2) *l*. As having the angle at the bottom the letter is of north-Sem. or early Greek form. It has the angle at the left probably because of the direction of the writing. (3) The sign is very difficult to read, but on the right we seem to have *samek* (of north-Sem. and early

[1] I know no such name, except قوسان (dual), in southern Iraq, Tab 3, 1517 (quoted by B Moritz, *Haupt Festschrift*, 194).

[2] The other objects collected from the filling are of very various periods; objects in ivory (Phoenician ?) and a Phoen inscription, and also inscribed material from the time of Akkad, Ur III, and Larsa (U 7798, 7799, 7800, 7807, 8811, 8812).

Greek form). The rest of the scratches might be regarded as an imperfect *z*, which was abandoned in favour of *samek* (*ś*), or as *y* of north-Sem and Greek form ligatured with the *samek*; but probably they represent a *samek* with horizontal lines which was abandoned in favour of a slanting *samek*.

(4) Probably the south-Sem. *p*.

(5) The only letter much like this in south-Sem. is Liḥy. *t* ⚹; but this is not to be thought of here, for the other letters go back to very primitive forms (*m* is of the oldest Minaean form, *l* and *samek* go back to the northern prototypes, and *p* perhaps to the primitive Sem. form of *pē* "mouth"). The letter may be either *aleph* or *h*. If the former, it is a carelessly scratched north-Sem. form, but I know no counterpart (unless ⋇ *a* of the Cypriot syllabary is to be considered). Probably the sign is south-Sem. *h*, Min.-Sab Y, Saf. Ψ, etc., from original Ψ < ш < ∃.[1]

[1] The following table shows that this Phoen letter is, with various

Phoen ∃ *h*												
	∃ ⋟	є	Ψ	ᴪ	m ʌ	ʎ	✱ ✱	x	≠	+	Y	Y
Min.-Sab.			ḥ								h	ḫ
Saf	h	ḥ	h	ḫ	ḥ	h		ḫ				
Lih.	h				ḥ							
Tam.	ḥ		ḥ		ḥ			ḫ	ḫ		h	
UR							h					
Lyc.			K < ḫ							h		
Car			Kh				Kh	h		h		
E.Gk.								Kh				
W.Gk.			Kh									

differentiations, probably the origin of *h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*-letters in south-Sem, in Lycian and Carian, and in Greek (cf. already similar suggestions in Praetorius, *ZDMG* 56, 1902, 676, Evans, *Scripta Minoa* 91 f; Dussaud,

(6) Probably a carelessly scratched equivalent to Min. ከ, Ur 7815 ከ, old Eth. ከ, ኸ, Tamud. ከ, etc., *k*.

The letters are therefore: M·L·I(?)Ś·P·H or '·K. If the penultimate is the graphic *h* found in Minaean (alternatively graphic aleph) we have Meliśipāk, i.e. almost exactly the Kassite *nom. prop.* Melišipak.[1]

Letters 1, 4, 5 (probably) and 6 are essentially of old south-Sem. form; 2 and 3 are nearer to Phoen.-Greek. These indications agree with those of U 7615; probably both inscriptions are pre-Minaean. Comparing U 7615 with the present inscription, we find that letters 2 and 3 are in this inscription nearer to those of the originating northern alphabet. The inscription may, therefore, be considerably older than U 7615—considerably older than a date in the tenth-ninth century (*supra*, p. 799). Consequently Melišipak the distinguished king early in the twelfth century, may be referred to.

3

Another south-Arab. inscription is U 6900, which had been found at Ur before last season, and is being published in a collection of inscriptions by Mr. Gadd and Dr. Legrain. By kind permission I have been able to copy from the MS.

On rim of clay bowl, 0·015 wide, found on surface near Ur:



The letters (from the left): (1), (3), (5) are the ordinary

Les Arabes en Syrie . 78) Our ✱ would be like ✶ Carian *ḥ*, and X Carian *h*, Saf Tam. and east-Greek *ḫ* (*kh*) The table seems to indicate that the south-Sem. alphabet was not borrowed directly from the pure Sem alphabet of Canaan, since it did not borrow the letter *heth* for *ḥ* and *ḫ*, but used differentiated forms of *he* for these sounds [the loss of *heth* is paralleled in Lydian, Lycian, and Phrygian], and to show positively that it was connected in origin with Greek and Asianic alphabets

[1] *ś* for *š* makes a difficulty; unless Bab *š* was pronounced *ś* in this name (*cf.* Middle Bab *š* for Egypt *ś*).

Min.-Sab. *k*, *ś*, *p* ; (2) is the Min.-Sab. *r* with direction reversed as often in Tam., Saf. ; (4) is *n* as in U 7815 ; (6) is *ḫ* nearly as in Min.-Sab. and exactly as in old Eth. Thus the writing is practically identical with that of the earliest known south-Sem., but has the *n* which is characteristic of the Ur alphabet.

The reading, due to Mr. G. R. Driver, is *Kirsi nappāḫu* or the like : *Kirsi the smith*. Or the second word can be read as Arabic or Aram. with similar meaning. For *nom. prop.* Kirsi (or Kirsu) cf. Tallqvist, *loc. cit.* 116, 291 ; Clay, *Names of the Cass. Per.* 100.

The Alphabet of the New Inscriptions

According to the most probable identifications, fourteen of the primary letters are represented in the two older inscriptions ; none of the additional letters of south-Sem. occur. The following table shows the position of the Ur alphabet.[1] Letters 1, 5b, 6a, 7, 8b, 9, 12, 13 and 14 are nearer to south-Sem. than to northern forms ; letters 3, 8a, 10 and 11 are nearer to Phoen.-Greek. (In U 7819 the southern character is present in the proportion 3 : 2 ; in U 7815 in the proportion 7 : 2.)

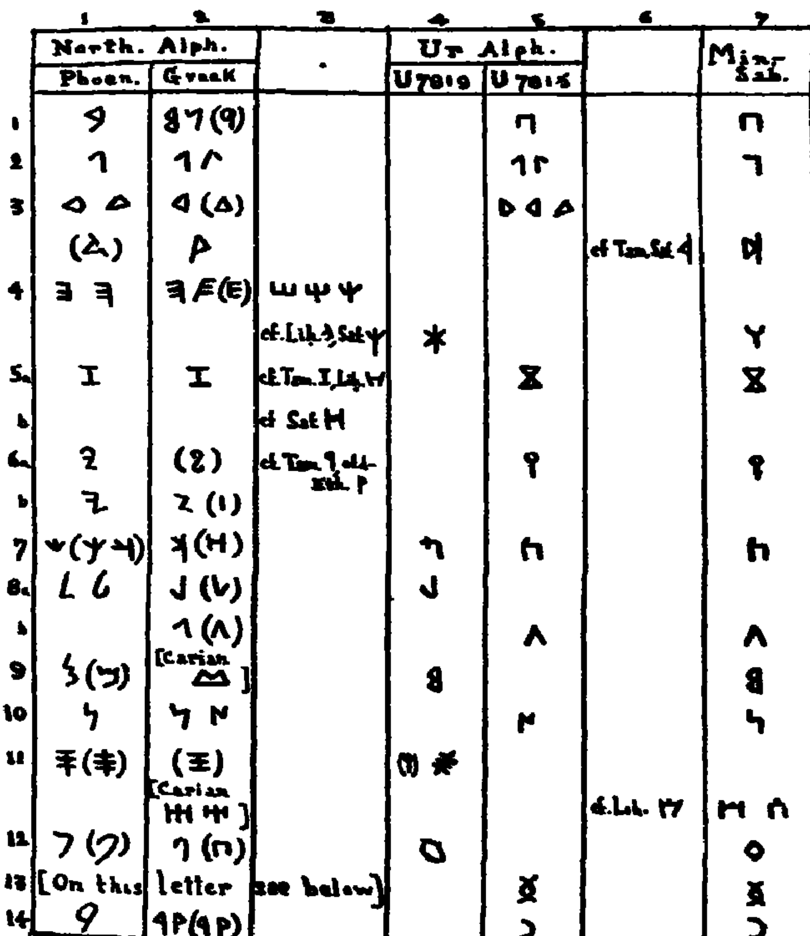
Comparing further the letters of Ur with Phoen. and Greek respectively : 8b, 9, and 10 (also 4 according to p. 800 note) are nearer to Greek (with Carian) than to Phoen. forms ; and it is not clear that any letter[2] is nearer to Phoen. than to Greek.

R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie* . . . 78, has suggested that the south-Sem. alphabet was borrowed from the Greek. There is now, in the alphabet of Ur, new evidence for a connexion between the two scripts, but there are also new

[1] Col 1 = oldest Byblos ; a few others, including old Aram., in brackets. Col 2 = Archaic Greek after Jensen, *Gesch d Schrift*, 158, and a few others collected (I hope with sufficient accuracy) from various sources Col 3 and 5 = suggested links exemplified from minor Arab alphabets Col. 7, No. 11, first form, occurs once according to Hommel, *Sudarab. Chrest*,, p. 4

[2] Except No. 13 according to the hypothesis made below (cf. p. 804[4]) but ex hypothesi the exception would not prove Phoen. origin.

chronological considerations (cf. pp. 799, 801) opposed to a direct borrowing of the south-Sem. from Greek. I would suggest rather the following indirect connexion: the Greek



and Asian (e.g. Carian) alphabets were derived from southern Asia Minor, and the old Arabic was brought down the Euphrates route from the neo-Hittite eastern fringe of the same Asianic region.

Additional Note on the Letters Samek and Ṣade

In the above table the identification of the Phoen. letter, which originated south-Arab. [sign] was postponed. Further, it has been assumed throughout that [sign] and [sign] have in our inscriptions their later (south-Arab.) values of *s* and *ś* respectively, although these values are not necessarily primitive. (They are certainly in need of explanation. Why has *samek*, north-Sem. *s*, the value of *ś* in south-Arab. ?)

[sign] is usually derived from a juxtaposition of [sign] and [sign]; but the writing of pure *s* by a double *ś* would be hard to explain, and there is certainly no trace of this origin in the earliest instances of [sign] in U 7815. Perhaps rather [sign] is derived from *ṣade* [sign]. Materially there is no difficulty; it is evident that the south-Sem. *ṣ*-letter (Sab.-Min. [sign], [sign], old Eth. [sign], Tam [sign], etc.) comes from the Phoen *s*-letter [sign] > [sign] > [sign], and obviously the same prototype could equally well have originated a sign with crossed lines at the top ([sign] > [sign] > [sign]).[1]

Why then did the south-Semites use the north-Sem. *ṣ*-letter for pure *s* ? This use would be hard to explain if they borrowed the alphabet directly from a pure Semitic source; it would be explicable if they borrowed it from an Asianic source. Probably in most of southern Asia Minor there was no use for a letter *ṣ*,[2] whilst on the other hand there was need for a letter to represent a special Asianic sibilant. I suggest that at a certain date in this region the Phoen. *ṣ*-letter was commonly used for pure *s*, and the Phoen. *s*-letter for the special Asianic *s*; and that Greeks, Carians (and others ?) on the west, and northern "Arabs", through traders, on the east borrowed a form of the young Phoen. alphabet that had become thus Asianized as to its sibilants. Both sides borrow a *ṣade* used as pure *s*.[3] The Asianized *samek* was used in

[1] Materially, at least, the Tamudaean var. of *ṣ*, [sign] (Jaussen et Savignac, *Miss. en Arabie*, Tam inscr, No. 26), is intermediate between [sign] and [sign].

[2] Cf. the languages of the Hittite Empire, and Lycian and Carian.

[3] Earliest script of Thera ([sign] < [sign] < [sign]): similarly Carian. South-Sem. [sign] < [sign] < [sign]. The Phoen. letter is in this case intermediate between the more open Greek and the more closed south-Sem. form

Greek, which had no corresponding sound, variously as = ζ (Thera) and as *x*; in Carian (and locally *also* in Greek) for the Asianic *s*[1]; and by the south-Sem. it was adopted for the special Sem. *ś* for which the Phoen. alphabet had not provided. Thus :—

North-Sem.	Conjectured intermediate (Asianic) usage.	Greek.	Carian.	South-Sem.	
ǂ *s* >	Asianic *s* >	Τ (Ξ)	ᚺ ᚺ	ᚺ ⩚	Asian *s*, Sem. *ś*.
ᚴ *ṣ* >	*s* >	[ᴧ] ᴧ		[ᛟ] ⊠	*s*

The rest follows easily as regards south-Sem.

(1) A sign for the Sem. *ṣ*-sound was needed, *ṣade* having lost that value. That letter was therefore differentiated by a diacritical stroke into a letter for *ṣ*, viz. * Ẋ > ℞ which is the parent of all *ṣ*-letters in south-Sem. (By differentiation, likewise, this letter produced later on, in Min.-Sab. a new letter for *ẓ*.) (2) The further history of *samek* in south-Sem. is well known; the sound *ś* was lost in Arabia, with the result that in the various scripts *samek* became pure *s* instead of *ś*, and Ẋ

[1] *Samek* turned over is Car. ᚺ, ᚺ, ᴍ; obviously Halicarnassian *san* Τ, used as the equivalent of σσ, is the same letter; and both are identical with south-Sem. ᚺ, ⩚.

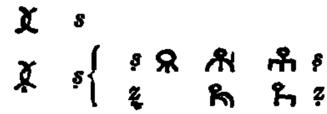
The Greek name *sān* is generally derived from *šīn*; but perhaps rather it comes from *sank* < *samk*, or from *sam* < *samk* with *n* for *m* by assonance with the neighbouring *nūn* and *'ain*. Similarly Eth. *sāt*, name of the same letter, may go back to *san* (*t* for *n* by assonance with *bēt*, as in *šaūt* for *šīn* by assonance with *haūt*). If this is right, south-Sem. nearly agrees with Asian Greek in the form, the phon. value, *and the name* of the letter—against Phoen. in each respect.

[The names of *samek* and its neighbours in the alphabet from which both Greeks and south Semites borrowed were perhaps about as follows: moim-nun-san-oin-pe. The south-Sem., making some retranslations, arrived at māi-nahās-san < sat-'ain-af (cf. kaf.); the Greeks of the main [illegible] (with ξ = *x*), dropping final consonants, arrived at mo (μω)-nu-xa-o-pe, and then, with two vocal assonances: mu-nu-xei-o-pei).]

(the pure *s*-letter derived from *ṣade*) disappeared as being superfluous. To complete the above table :—

South-Semitic

	keeping *ś*	losing *ś*
Samek	*ś*	*s*
Sade	*s*	



As regards the sibilants in our inscriptions, note (1) if in the earliest south-Arab. script. *s* and *ṣ* were undifferentiated, there is the possibility that the difficult last word of U 7815 was *gṣn*, i.e. conceivably *gaṣṣ* (gypsum) + *n* of determination: D., bearer of the tribute or service of the gypsum. It is a tolerably good sense for the graffito of a foreign workman, and the treatment of the final *n* as non-radical is favoured by its absence from the first draught of the inscription. On the other hand *zābil-kudur* in an essentially Arabic text would be difficult; it would be a technical term borrowed by the writer from the language of his masters

(2) If the loss of the sound *ś* in Arabic began in northern Arabia, it is possible that it had already occurred in the dialect used by the writer of U 6900. This would explain, if explanation be needed, the use of the *ś*-letter in the *nom. prop.* = Kirsi.

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. II: The Śa-cu Region

By F. W. THOMAS

IN this article I have collected a certain number of documents whereof the subject matter has at least some special connexion with the Śa-cu district. A good portion of the matter contained in the previous article ("I: The Ḫa-ža," *supra*, pp. 51–85) may be regarded as no less apposite here, and the reader, comparing the two papers, may find on the whole little dissimilarity in the contents, except that in the former case we have adhered closely to the Ḫa-ža people. In order to show some system in the papers, the references in which I am naturally not in a position to restrict, I have grouped them under four heads, representing the chief purpose of their selection, namely (A) Places, (B) Clans and Nomenclature, (C) Paper and Copying of MSS., (D) Monasteries and a Historic Foundation.

As before, the transcription of the texts is intended to be exact; but in the scripts it is generally difficult, or impossible, to distinguish between *tu* and *du*, nor have I anywhere sought to discriminate the reversed superscript *i*, which is an optional variant without significance. The translations are still provisional,[1] and the notes are kept within a minimum.

[1] The reasons for this are partly: (1) the fragmentary condition of the documents; (2) the fact that Tibetan words, monosyllabic at the best, are irregular both at the beginning and at the end (also in the middle); (3) the numerous words and expressions not known from dictionaries; (4) the lack of indication of proper names; (5) the syntactical vagueness of the language, the interpretation of which (as in the case of English) depends mainly upon familiarity. After these qualifications it seems advisable to state that, apart from the doubts admitted in detail, experience seems to justify some confidence in the renderings. Subsequently the linguistic accessions may be studied. A few additional notes will be found below (pp. 843–4).

A. Places[1]

1. Ch. 83, vi, 5 (vol. 70, fol. 32: 27 × 7 cm.: ll. 3 of clear, rather small *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . Śa . cu . Rgya . | Ston sar . daṅ | Rgod . sar . ston . sde . gñis . kyi . || glaṅ . gi . lo . dan | stagi . loḥi | Drug . chun . gy[i] . thag || -s . [2] . . . Kva . cur . ḥdren . bar . chad . nas || blon . G-yu . bžre[2] . gyi . stsaṅ . | Kva . cu . gži . na . mchis . pa . dan | Śa . cu . [3] . . . . las || lṅa . bcu . rkan || Khoṅ . Sban . tseḥi . tshan | Waṅ . Bun tson . la . nas . khal . gcig | Can . . .

". . . Chinese Śa-cu, Thousand-districts of Stoṅ-sar and Rgod-sar, Ox year and Tiger year, having been ordered to be conveyed to Kva-cu *after being ground by the* (?) mills of the Drug-chun, from the corn of Councillor G-yu-bžer, which was on the Kva-cu estate, and from . . . Śa-cu, fifty bundles (*rkan*). Account (*tshan*) of Khon Sban-tse; to Waṅ Bun-tson one load of barley; [to] Can . . ."

Notes

l. 1: on *stoṅ-sde* "district of 1,000 (estates ?)" see above, p. 74.

Drug-chun(*n*) = "Little *Dru-gu*" (see p. 80).

l. 2: *stsan*: see pp. 67, 69.

l. 3: *rkaṅ*, "foot", seems elsewhere (p. 841) to denote "individual" or "item"; cf. *rkan-ton* "review" ("count" ?), p. 66. Here, however, we seem to have *rkan* ii.

tshan "account": see No. 18 below.

From this fragment it appears likely that the Śa-cu division consisted mainly of two thousand-districts (*stoṅ-sde*). Stoṅ-sar and Rgod-sar, those, in fact, of which we mostly hear elsewhere. But below (p. 820 n. and p. 842) we have Sñiṅ-tsoms.

The personal names will appear in the consolidated list (*infra*).

[1] A list of the places and peoples mentioned will be found at the end of this article.

[2] Compendious for *bžer*, as often.

2. Ch. 80, v, 1 (734, vol. 53, fol. 39: paper document: 28·5 × 22 cm.; ll. 9 of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* script, the last line inverted; complete. Five seals, illegible, between end of l. 8 and beginning of l. 9).

[1] ༄ | . || Rgod . sar . gyi . sde | Caṅ . Ka . dzoẖi . tshan | Caṅ . Kun . tses || stsaṅ . mṅan . rñiṅ . lo . Byi . btsan . gyi . gñer [2] rñiṅ . gi . stsaṅ . las . gro . khal . phye . dan . gñis . daṅ . bre . bźi . chags . pa . las || phagi . loẖi . ston . ẖbul . [3] bar . rtse . rjes . gnaṅ . ste || dkar . chag . spospa . las || phagi . loẖi . dpyid . sla . ẖbriṅ . poẖi . ṅo . laẖ [4] mkhan . po . thub . brtan . la . dmag . dpon . gis . stsan . źig . gnaṅ . baẖi . phyag . rgya . mchis . śes . mchiste | [5] gñer . pa . Dar . Rgyal . ma . dan . Tre Mye . slebs . lastsogs . pas . bdaẖste || gro . khal . phyed . dan . gñis . daṅ [6] bre . bźi . lan . ẖdi . ẖi . dpyid . sla . ẖbrin . po . tshes . bcu . gcig . la mnan . rñiṅ . lo . Byi . bstsan . la . phul . [7] te | . | Byi . bstsan . gyi . ẖbul . rgyas . btab . paẖi . dban . la || Bam . Stag . slebs . dan | Dzeẖu . Gog . tsheṅ . daṅ | [8] Caṅ . Klu . legs . lastsogs . paẖi . dpan . rgyas . btab . paẖ || (*several seals, illegible*). *Inverted* [9] bkye . gñer . khums . ste . chags . rgya . śad . kyis . gnan .

(ll 1–3): "Rgod-sar division. Account of Caṅ Ka-dzo. Can Kun-tse having assigned to Byi-btsan the entire corn of the old year, of the corn of the old year the measure was wheat two and a half loads and four *bre*. The orders of the chief (*rtse . rje*) were that it should be delivered in the autumn of the Hog year. (ll. 3–5) There was a change in the lists, and in the middle spring month of the Hog year there came a letter stating that some corn had been granted by the General to the sage abbot. Thereupon the superintendents (*gñer-pa* 'the persons in charge'), Dar Rgyal-ma and Tre Mye-slebs and the others, made the levy. (ll. 5–7) Two and a half loads and four *bre* of wheat, being the entire corn for the old year, were delivered to Byi-bstsan on the eleventh day of the middle spring month of the present year. (ll. 7–8) In witness of Byi-bstsan's receipt seal having been given the attestation

seals of Bam Stag-slebs, Dzeẖu Gog-tsheṅ, Caṅ Kha-legs, and so forth are (here) given" (*Several seal impressions, illegible.*)

(*Endorsement, inverted*): "The despatch has been carried out. The amount is impressed by marks (*śad-kyis-gnan* ?)."

Notes

l. 1. *tshan*: see No 18 below.

Concerning *stsaṅ* = "corn", *mnan* = "entire" see pp. 67, 69.

gñer "to be in charge of", "to be placed in charge of", and *gñer-ẖgum* (*bkum, khums*) "to carry out a charge" are among the most common expressions in these Tibetan documents, whether on paper or on wood. For examples see the next documents and p. 69 and M.I, iv, 71, vi, 7, xiii, 2, xiv, 0016, xlii, 012, xliv, 8, i, 24, etc.

l. 2: *khal* "load" is no doubt technical = Sanskrit *vāha*.

l. 4: I understand "the sage (*muni*) abbot" to be identical with the previously mentioned Byi-bstsan.

As regards the intervention of "the General" (*dmag-dpon*), cf. the document given above (pp. 69–70)

l. 6: *lan* = "year", as often (e.g. p. 833, and M.I, xiv, 109).

l. 9: In (conjecturally) interpreting *chags* as "measure" or "weight" and *chags-rgya* (in the addendum) as "record of measure or weight" we may appeal to the expression *chags-khoṅs* "basket for measuring grain", *chag-tshad* "correct measure", *tshags* "a sieve", *tshags-bu* "a bag attached to a sieve", *tshags-dam-po* "strict care", *tshags-tshad* "to test properly". The word *śad* usually denotes the vertical line used in punctuation; and, in fact, some of the documents seem to show lines of such a kind appended to signify numbers. In this connexion the word *gnan*, which should mean "pressed", may possibly denote "confirmed" or "reinforced": or were the signs actually "impressed" upon the measures or bundles or parcels? As regards the persons, see the consolidated list.

3. Ch. 77, xv, 10 (733, vol. 70, fol. 27: 26·5 × 11 cm.; *fragmentary at top left; ll. 7 of ordinary epistolary dbu-can* script + ll. 2 inverted + l. 1 on verso; four or more red impressions of seals, illegible).

[1] . . . stsan . || mnan . rñin . lo . Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na . | [2] . . . dkar . chag . spos . pa . las . || slad . kyis . dmag . pno [1] . [3] *thub . br*tan . gyi . nod . du . kha bstan . no . žes . mchiḫ . nas . || [4] . . . u . . . Kh[o]n . M[a]n . tse . la . gro . khal . phyed . dan . gñis . dan [2] . lo . ḫdiḫi . dpyid [5] sla . no [2] . ḫbriṅ . poḫi . no . la . mnan . lo . Byis . brtsan . la . phul . te . | bul . rgya . dan | Tre . Mye . slebs . dan | Bam . [6] Log . log | Caṅ . Tshe . śin . || lastsogs . paḫi . dpan . rgyas . btab . paḫ || yan . bro . bre . drug . phul . [7] te . rgyas . btab . paḫ ||

[8] bkye . gñer . khums . nas . chags . rgya . daṅ . gthugste śad . kyis . gnan .

[9] bkye . gñer . bkum . nas . chags . rgya . śad . kyis gnan

Rev.: Khoṅ . Man . tseḫi . bul.

[ll 1–3] " . . . entire corn, old year, being in the hand (at *the disposal ?) of* Byis-brtsan, *subsequently*, the list having been changed, word came that the General had promised its delivery *to the sage* [ll. 4–6] . . . *to* Khoṅ Man-tse *two* and a half loads of wheat, and in the middle spring month of this year the whole year has been delivered to Byis-brtsan. A receipt and the witness-seals of Tre Mye-slebs and Bam Log-log and Can Tshe-śin and others are attached. [ll. 6–7] An additional six *bre* of wheat having been delivered, seals are attached.

Endorsements

[l. 8] Despatch carried out; the weight attached, as impressed with marks.

[l. 9] Despatch carried out, weight impressed with marks.

Rev.: Receipt of Khoṅ Man-tse."

[1] Compendious for *pos*.

[2] This syllable is erased.

Notes

The subject being similar to that of No. 2, and the persons partly the same, little comment is needed.

l. 4: The completion of the proper name is obvious from the receipt (*verso*). l. 6: *bro* is, no doubt = *gro*.

l. 8: *gthugs* is uncertain: the rendering (conjectural) presupposes a connexion with *thogs-pa*; cf. *brtug* and *rtug* in S. C. Das' Dictionary. Or is the meaning "with respects"? Cf p. 67, and pp. 835 and 842.

4. Ch. 79, xvi, 7 (732, vol. liv, fol. 42; 27·5 × 13·5 cm.; paper document, complete, ll. 7 of scrawled epistolary hand, the last line inverted; one red seal impression).

[1] ༄ | . | Spyi . tshogs . gyi . stsan . mnan . rñiṅ . lo . Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na mcis . pa las || Li . [2] Kaṅ . tses . gro . khal . phye . dan . gñis . dan . bre . bżi . żig . sña . g-yar . du . mnos . pa || phag . gi . lohi . dpyid . [3] zla . ḫbrin . po . tshes . bcu . gsum la | ban . de . thub . brtan . gyi . nod . du . kha . bstan . paḫi . tshe | Byis . [4] brtsan . la . phul . te || bul . rgya . dan . gñer . pa | Tre . Mye . slebs . dan | Khyun . po . Stag . [5] legs . las . stsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgyas . btab . pā || dkar . chag . pyi . mo . bla . na . mchis . pa . ni . slad . gyis . śad . gyis . gnan . [6] par . bgyis ||

(*After end of l.* 6, *red seal*) l. 1: Ḫbyis . brtsan. l. 2 (*illegible*).

[7] bkye . gñer . khum . ste . chags . rgya . śad . kyis . gnan.

[ll. 1–4] "The entire corn of Spyi-tshogs for the old year being in the hand (at the disposal) of Byis-brtsan, two and a half loads and some four *bre* of wheat having been previously (*sña*?) received in the upper country (*g-yar-du*?) by Li Kaṅ-tse, on the thirteenth day of the middle spring month of the Hog year, at the time when its receipt was promised to the sage ban-de, it was delivered to Byis-brtsan. [ll. 4–6] Receipt and seals of superintendents Tre Mye-slebs and Khyuṅ-po Stag-legs and the others attached. A later list having come already (*bla-na*?), afterwards an impression with marks was made.

(*Seal* (?) *and signature of*) Ḫbyis-brtsan.

(*Endorsement*) [l. 7] Despatch carried out, weight impressed with marks."

Subject and persons for the most part as in Nos. 2 and 3.

Spyi-tshogs is not known, unless it is the Spyil-cog of a *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophon (Cordier, Catalogue, I, p. 33) which is not very unlikely, as the person there mentioned is a Thod-gar.

5. Back of 86, ii (vol. liii, fol. 50, 27·5 × 18·5 cm.; ll. 12 of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* script, for the most part legible).

[1] ༄ || : | bya . gagi . loḫi . dpyid || Rgod . gyi . [L]en . ḫ[o] . *Lin* . *lugi* . mchis . bran . Son . Sam . ñun . gyis || Leṅ . ho . Śib . [2] tigi . bran . mo | Beḫu . žan . la . brel . te | rjes . phor . pa . bži . dan . deb . tse . gs[u]m . dan . | ras . kyi . rgyu . bkal . lags [3] pha . rkya . ma . phyid [1] . de . rnams | Śib . bir . la [2] . chags . te || slad . ḫphul . baḫi . [d]us . ni || khyiḫi . loḫi . dphyid . sla . tha . cuṅs . [4] tshes . lṅa. tshun . cu[3] . la || Le[ṅ . ho] . Śib . bir . gyi . sgor . ḫbul . bra[4] . bgy[i]s || dus . dir . ma . ḫp[h]ul : gchig . [5] las . g[ñi]su . bsgyur . de . || khoṅ . taḫi . sgor . nas . sam . zan . spyad . ham . phor . pa . yaṅ . rṅuṅ (ruṅ) . ste | dphrogs . kyan . [6] z . . . mchis . par . bgyis || yaṅ . ras . chag . phyed . dan . bži . daṅ | nas . rgya . bre . bži . ni | sgo . lcags . [7] *lde* . myig . dan . [bca]s . pa . gtaḫ . g-gs . nas || khyiḫi . loḫi . dpyid . sla . ḫbriṅ . po . tshes . bcu . tshun . [8] cad . slad . b-lus . par . bgyis . dusu . ma . b-lus . na | sgo . lcags . g-[khogyi] . sgyu (?) . yaṅ . yal . bar . bgyis [9] paḫi . dpan . la || Caṅ . Gu . gu . dan | La Legs . lod . daṅ | Kheḫu . Bzan . goṅ . dan | [10] . . . lastsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgya . daṅ . || Soṅ . -i . -ṅ . daṅ || moḫi . khyo . Liṅ . lug . kyi . su[g] . yig . tshad . daṅ | Sam . ñuṅ . gyi . mdzub . tod . btabpaḫ

(*Inverted*)

[1] khyo . L[e]ṅ . [ho] . *Liṅ* . *lu* gi . sug [2] [*yig*] tshad | [1] Kheḫu . Bzaṅ . goṅ . gyi . sug.

[1] For *phyed*. *d* erased.

[2] Below line.

[3] Erased. Read *cad*

[4] Compendious for *bar*.

[2] *yig* . tshad || [1] Son . Saṃ | ñuṅ . | gi . mdzub . [2] mo . tshad.

[ll 1–4] "Spring of the Bird year: the wife of Leṅ-ho *Lin-lug* of Rgod, Son Sam-ñuṅ, having agreed with Beḫu-źan, female servant of Len-ho Śib-tig, in consequence four cups, three register-baskets (*deb-tse* ?) and woven (spun) cotton material, half a *rkya-ma*, these, being with Śib-bir, were asked back by the fifth day of the last spring month of the Dog-year. [ll 4–6] Len-ho Śib-bir made partial deliveries. What was not delivered at the time was to be doubled. Also whatever barley or *zaṅ-spyad* ('copper-utensils ?') or cups were in his possession were taken and held. [ll. 6–10] As furthermore four and a half weights of cotton and four *bre* of Chinese barley, together with the key of the door-bolt, were obtained in pledge, to be redeemed by the tenth day of the middle spring month of the Dog year, and were not redeemed in time, the iron (*sgyu* ?) of the door-bolt also was exacted; in attestation whereof the seals of Can Gu-gu, L(h)a Legs-lod, Kheḫu Bzan-goṅ, and .. and the rest, and the written signature of the woman's husband, (Len-ho) Liṅ-lug, and the finger-mark of Sam-ñuṅ are attached."

(*Endorsement*)

[1] "Hand of the husband, Len-ho *Lin-lug*. Hand of Kheḫu Bzan-gon [2] in writing Finger-mark of Sam-ñuṅ."

It will be seen that Leṅ-ho Liṅ-lug, whose surname, no doubt, indicates that he belongs to the "Leṅ River" (River of *Len-cu* "Liang-chu" ?), is described as "of Rgod". This is, however, hardly sufficient to prove that the Len-ho itself was in the Rgod division.

Concerning the names (e.g. Śib-tig = "Ten-beauty," *daśa-śrī*), see the list, *infra*, and p. 831.

Deb-tse (l. 2) seems to occur in a *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophon (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 328); *sug-yig-tshad* in M.I., xiv, 109.

6. Fr. 80 (730, vol. lxxiii, fol. 37, imperfect at right; 15·5 × 16 cm.; ll. 11 of clear, rather small, regular *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Pho . braṅ . Ḫon . caṅ ¹ . do . nas . bkyeḫi . phyag . rgya . phog . ste || ža . sṅar . sñan . du | . . . [2] pos (mos, sos, los ?) . | Śa . cuḫi . skun . kar . ḫbaṅs . daṅ . bchas . su . phyag . du . bžes . te || . . . [3] chab . srid . la . bsdos . te | . | Bod . ḫbans . kyi . mchog . bkum . gyis . śiṅ . || thugs . . . . [4] pag [mag ?] . To . dog . rtse . rjer . bskos . the . dguṅ . lo . bdun . lags . na . yan . || Śa . [cu ?] . . . [5] bkum . nas || slad . gyis . khrom . gyis . mdab . non . pas . lhog . paḫi . [rno ?] . . . [6] bdag . spus . bthus . te . rtse . rjer . stsald . nas || dgun . lo . bchu . . . [7] nan . krug . dan . pan . pun . du . ma . gyurd . pha . lags || rje . blas . [kyaṅ . stsaṅ] . . . [8] pa . yaṅ myi . chad . phar . ḫbul . žiṅ . blar . yaṅ . sman . yon . thogs . pa . bdag . [glo] . . . [9] snas . myi . dbul . bar . phyag rgya . ḫgaḫ . žig . chi . gnaṅ . žes . gsol . . [10] dbul . bar . gnan . žes || Bkaḫ | blon . Btshan . bžer . daṅ . blon . [ñ] . . . [11] phyag . rgya . ḫchaṅ . du . stsald . pha : ||

[l. 1] "From the palace Ḫon-caṅ-do sent, seal attached, for hearing in the presence.

[l. 2] "The *Btsan* (?)-po having taken possession of the fort of Śa-cu along with the subjects, *the Chinese* (?), in rivalry for dominion, having killed the best of the Tibetan subjects, appointed . . . as To-dog chief ruler. [ll. 4–6] Seven years having passed . . . killed. Afterwards the city, according merit to me . . . when I had been able to recover it by great efforts (?), sent me as chief ruler. [ll. 6–8] Ten years . . . there has been no internal strife and disagreement. To His Excellency also corn . . . has been delivered without intermission (or order), a highly beneficial gift. [ll. 8–11] Please send a signature that . . . is not to be delivered—upon this petition . . . to be delivered is sanctioned,—to this effect Councillor Btshan-bžer and Councillor . . . sent, bearing a signature."

This document refers apparently to a capture of Śa-cu by the Tibetans, a subsequent revolt, instigated, no doubt, by the Chinese, and a recovery of the place and its retention

¹ Inverted below line

during a peaceful period of ten years. The event may be that related from Chinese sources by Bushell in *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 514. The writers reside in the palace H̱on-caṅ-do, which therefore must have been situated not too far from Śa-cu. From a colophon in the *Bstan-ẖgyur* (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 487), again, we know that H̱on-can-do was in Skyi, a district several times mentioned in the *Chronicle*, ll. 81, 88, 110, 115, to which further we may assign the following places (the authority is added in brackets) :—

Bra-ma-than (*Chronicle*, ll. 42 and 56).

Byar-liṅs-tshal (ibid., ll. 96, 197, 251).

Dra-tshal (ibid., 133, and therefore also Draẖi-Gro-pur, of Dra, ibid., ll. 66, 154, Dra-ẖi-Zar-phur, l. 157).

Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal (ibid., l. 59, and M.I., viii, 46, M. Tagh, iii, 0016).

Gro-pur (see above, s.v. Dra-tshal).

Lhas-gan-tshal (ibid., ll. 110, 115, 119, 125, 182, 193, 210).

Rgod-gyuṅ (ibid., l. 241).

Śo-ma-ra (ibid., ll. 201, 207, 245).

Zar-phur (ibid., l. 157, Dra-ẖi-Zar-phur).

It seems possible that *H̱on-can-do*, which itself is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 81, 88, 110, 115, 120), may mean "H̱on-city-land", the H̱on being a people known from Buddhist literature and from the *Chronicle* (ll. 12, 52, 75).

l. 3. *chab-srid-la-bsdos-te* : For the phrase see No. 19.

l. 4. *To-dog* chief : This recurs p. 340.

l. 5. *mdab-non-pas* "by a great effort" (?).

spus-bthus : The phrase has been found above, p. 74.

l. 7. *naṅ-krug* (*ẖkhrug*) "internal strife".

pan-pun "dissension" = *phan-phun* ; cf. M. Tagh, a. vi, 0065, *so . pa . rnams . phan . phun . ẖg . du . gyur . na.*

l. 8. *blar* "highly" : cf. p. 73, l. 1.

sman-yon "beneficial gift" occurs also p. 326.

7. Ch. 73, iv, 14 (125, vol. 68, fol. 29, paper ; 25 × 8·5 cm. ; now attached to a literary MS., wherewith it has no connexion ; ll. 5 of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[1] | Bog . yas || khrom . ched . poḥi . ḥdun . tsa || Leṅ . cu . nas || rtaḥi . loḥi . dbyar . sla . ḥbrın . paḥi . . . [2] -gs . kyi . phyag . rgya . phogste || Śa . cu . daṅ . || Kva . cuḥi . tshı . śı . la . mchıd . stsal . pa || Phag . Stag 1 . . . [3] gsol . na || na . niṅ . khrom . chen . pos || chab . sr[ı]d . Daṅ . to . kun . du . mdzad . nas || slar . gśegs . . . [4] śul . du || dor . po . peḥu . gcig || Gır . kıs . gyis . btabste || sgyes . pa . pho . gzaḥ . ni . bkum | . . . [5] pa . nans . su . ḥtshal . pa . ḥı . naṅ . nas || Sag . cur . Gño . za . Dge . ldem . żes . mchiḥ . ba . |

[ll. 1-2] "From Len-cu (Lıang-shu ?), assemblage of the great cıty of Bog-yas, letter sent, with seal of . . . attached, on the . . . of the midsummer month of the Horse year, to the *tshı-śı* of Śa-cu and Kva-cu. Petıtıon of Phag Stag-l . . . [ll. 3–4] The city chief (?) having last year been carrying on the government in Dan-to-kun, on the way back a *peḥu* of teamsmen was attacked by Kırghız.

[ll. 4–5] The *sgyes-pas*, men and wıves, were kılled. From among those who . . . one Dge-ldem, a Gño-za, of S-g-cur . . ."

Notes

l. 1: Since the document seems to begin here, Bog-yas must be the name of the great city (or is Len-cu the city of Bog-yas ?); and since *Bog* is a tribal designation, and we have elsewhere (M.I., ı, 25*a*) a reference to a *Bog-yul* "Bog district" (or read *Bod* ?), it seems that we must recognize a district of this name somewhere in the region of Leṅ-cu.

khrom-ched-po should mean "great city"; but below (l. 3) *khrom-chen-po*, the alternative spelling, seems to mean either "the [chief of] the great city" or "the great man (chief) of the city".

l. 2: *tshi-śi*. Is this the *ts'e-che* "prefect" of Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 60, 72 ?

l. 3: *Daṅ-to-kun* is certainly a place; see the next document.

l. 4: *dor-po-peḥu*: A *dor-po* is, no doubt, a person in charge

of a *dor* "yoke of oxen (or yaks)". *Peḫu* is unknown to me, except as = Chinese *pao* "a gem" and in names, Peḫu-tse, etc.

Gır-kıs: a mention of Kirghiz has been previously cited (p. 282).

Sgyes-pa, perhaps = "soldier" or "escort". *Nans* occurs M I., viii, 43, *thabs . ma nans . par . znd.*

S-g-cur may be the *Sag* or *Sog* "province" (if *cur* = *cor*, *chor*, Turkī *cur*, noted *supra*, pp 68 and 283).

Gño-za is a man of the *Gño* tribe or clan (see consolidated list, *infra*, and cf. *Gños Ho-se* in M.I., xliv, 7).

8. Ch. fr. 61 (747, vol. liv, fol. 17, paper; 26·5 × 17 5 cm.; ll. 12 of a rather peculiar, clumsy *dbu-can* script, with short lines (*śad*), more often than, but sometimes hardly distinguishable from, points, separating the syllables).

[1] ༄ || Dan . to | kun | du | Khri | sgraḫ | dañ . Khyun . kon . dan . Bzan . koñ . gsum | gyis | bran | bgos | te | bran | so | sor | thob | pahi | myin.rus | spi . las dañ . khrald . ji | lta[3]r | bya . baḫi : spyi . yı | ger | bris . pa . . . .

. . . .

[ll. 1–3] "In Dan-to-kun the three [persons], Khri-sgraḫ, Khyun-kon and Bzan-koñ, having apportioned servants, the names and families of the servants acquired by them severally [are set down] in common (*spi-las*), and how they are to be taxed (or punished or forced to labour, *khrald* ?) is inscribed in a common document . . . .
. . . ."

Notes

This document being cited only in order to verify the place-name *Dañ-to-kun*, elicited *supra* (p. 817), and presenting difficulties owing to uncertainty regarding the numerous proper names, the remainder may be reserved for a subsequent treatment. In l. 9 there is mention of a Ḫa-ża named Żag-ldom.

9. M.I., xxviii, 0036 (fol. 75; paper, 25 × 8 cm., with a horseman seal impression at top left; ll. 8 of clear, regular *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || blon . Mtsho . bžer . daṅ . blon . Lha . bžer . lastsogs . pas || dgun . sla . tha . cuns . tshes . . . [2] phyag . rgya . phog . ste || pho . ña . Riṅ . lugs . ltan . sogs . Ḥdoṅ . phren . Ḥdor . dgu . dan . no . mkhan . . [3] spyugs . myi (gyi ?) . sde . Tsog . stod . gyi . sde . Mog . Kyem . po (?) . daṅ . Ñan . rnaḥi . sde . Boṅ . La . ku . gñis | Tshal . byiḥi . Nob . chunu . . . [4] gar . slebs . slebs . su . sñegs . śin | Kva cu . *Khar* . tsan . yan . chad . du . mchiste | ḥtshal . ba . g-yar . . [5] tshal . ma . thaṅ . mñam . ste | Ḥbrog . Sluns . la . bya . na . gson . lod . spel . maḥi . bkaḥ . rims . phye . phul . . . [6] rims . phye . khor . bžiḥi . thaṅ . | rad . pa . sran (graṅ ?) . [b]rgyad . brgya . ni . skyel . maḥi . ste . len . du . ḥgel . to | pho . ña . gžan . daṅ . ḥgrogs . m- -e . . . [7] riṅs . pa . zla . la . khrid . du . myi . gnan || myi . bros . ste . sñe[g] . žin . mchi . ba . la : || Sluns . daṅ . so . pa . ma . mchis . te | bab . no . . . [8] so . pa . gan . nas . gya . ba nas | lam . tshor . ldans . . [g] chi[g] . daṅ .

[ll. 1–2] "By Councillor Mtsho-bžer and Councillor Lha-bžer, on the . . . day of the last winter month, . . . seal attached. [ll. 2–4] Messenger Riṅ-lugs (courier), porter Ḥdoṅ-phreṅ and Ḥdor . dgu (or is *ḥdor-dgu* = *dor . dgu* "nine yoke of oxen or yaks" ?), and guide . . . must follow a company of banished men, Mog Kyem-po of the Upper Tsog district and Boṅ La-ku of the Ñan-rna district, these two, wherever *from* Little Nob in Tshal-byi they go and go. [ll. 4–6] Proceeding as far as *Khar*-tsan *of* Kva-cu, their food, *while in the upper country* (*g-yar*) . . . rations at a level rate. If the business takes them to Ḥbrog-Sluṅs (the nomad Sluṅs), increased maintenance circular-order-flour allowance (?) . . . circular-order-flour at the rate of four *khor*. [ll. 6–7] The company being for conveyance of 800 *sran* weight, to obtain that [they may] levy. Consorting with other messengers . . . and taking *riṅs-pa* into friendship is not allowed. [l. 7] If the men run

away . . . going to the mountains. If Sluṅs and soldiers have not come, stage . . . having *signalled* (? read *g-yab* ?) soldiers from anywhere, sufficient for a road company (?). . . . . ."

Notes

It will be seen that the translation of this interesting, but unfortunately imperfect document becomes in the latter part very doubtful and in fact conjectural. But the general sense is clear, and the geographical information is valuable. The route laid down is from Little Nob (Cherchen) to Kva-cu (An-hsi); and it is evidently contemplated that it should be the direct mountain route and not follow the desert edge via Shan-shan. The document supplies two important facts, namely first that, as has been intimated above (p. 81), and will be more abundantly shown later, the Tsal-byi district included Cherchen, and secondly, that the town of Khar-tsan (for t is clearly the name to be completed in the lacuna) wn attached to An-hsi As regards the other places mentioned, n Upper Tsog district (*sde*), the N̄an-rna district and Ḥbr Sluṅs (the Nomad Sluns), Tsog has been noted above and with Ḥbrog-Sluns we may compare the *Rgya* Chinese Sluṅs, of document M. Tagh, c, iii, 0043[1] per the word is connected with Tibetan *lun* " a valley " and me " the people of the Valley ". N̄an-rna has not yet been found since the word is used in the sense of a " messenger " we might translate " Boṅ La-ka of the messenger division (*sde*) ".

Concerning the names Mog Kyem-po and Boṅ La-ku see the classified list. *Rnus . pa* (l. 7) = " runner " (cf. M.I. ii, 40) ?

The expression *rad-pa* (l. 6) occurs not very infrequently n the documents: that it means a travelling party (*bgrod* ?) appears from several documents, e.g. M.I. xiv, 109 *rad . pa . gsum . mjald . te* " three parties (caravans) met ". M.T. i, 0027,

[1] Other references for Rgya-Sluṅs are M T. a. ii, 0092 (a person's ' card ' of wood *Rgya-Sluṅs Ḥbog-laṅ*), a vi, 003, c. ii, 0047 (*Sdo-Sluṅs*), c. iii, 0024 (*byaṅ-Sluṅs-smad*), M.I. vii, 32 (*Sluṅs* in connection with Shin-tsom), M.I. xliii, 002 (*Sluṅs*), *Chronicle*, l. 169 (*Sluṅs-stod-smad*)

a. iv, 005, a. v, 006, a. vi, 0020 and 0073, c. ii, 0047. M.I. iii, 21. *Khor* is perhaps for *khyor* " handful ".

10. Ch. xvii 2 (716, vol. lxx, fol. 15, a little torn ; 26 × 7 5 cm. ; ll. 6 *obv.* and 6 *rev.* of ordinary, rather small *dbu-can* script).

[l. 1] ༄ Huṅ . g[i] . hog . tu . Btsan . po . Khri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyi . riṅ . la || Khyuṅ . po . spu[n] . sad . Zu . tse . lta . žig . rgalte(ste) . ñi . ma . hder . gnaṅ . no || hun . nas. [l. 2] Btsan . pohi . ža . sṅar . | Zu . tse . gsol . pa . || spun . yab . Gnam . rihi . rin . la || bdag . gis . hbaṅsu . bkug . pa . lta . žig || ya[b] . [l. 3] kyis . kyan . ma gzigs | žabs . kyis . kyan . ma . bcags . na. || Btsan . po . sras . kyis | spyan . kyis . gzigs . śiṅ . | žabs . kyis [l. 4] bcagste || bdag . rgan . pohi . spum || . pa . Khri . bomsu . *dgyes . skyems . ston . mo . gsol . bar . ji . gnaṅ .* žes . gsol . nas. | [l. 5] Btsan . po . Khri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyis. Zu tse . gsol . ba . bžin du . gnaṅ . no | Huṅ . gi . rjes . la . || Mgar . yul . zuṅ . pho . bran . Ma . h[dri] [l. 6] bar . [illegible] stsal . te || Zu . tse . ga[n] . tu . mkhar . Khri . bomsu . [illegible] nas. || Mgar . . . gol [?] . bltas . na . | Mgar [l. 1] || [illegible] kah . gros . *la* . gtogste . Zu . tse . glo . ba . ñeho . || th[illegible] hog . du . || Btsan . po . . . Sr[o]n . rtsan . gyi . riṅ . [illegible]] Myaṅ . Żaṅ . snaṅ . glo . ba . riṅs . pa . Zu . tses . [illegible]pel . te . || Btsan . pohi . sñan . du . gsol . te . | Żaṅ . [illegible] . bkum . nas. Zu . tse [l. 3] glo . ba . ñeho . || To . yo . [illegible]s . lahi . rjo . bo . Bor. Yon . tse . brlag . ste . || To . yo . [illegible]s . la . lastsogs . te . byaṅ . gi . Żaṅ . žuṅ . thams [l. 4] cad || [illegible]ri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyi . phyag . du . phul . te . || Zu . [illegible] glo . ba . ñeho . || Btsan . pohi . blon . po . naṅ . na . || [illegible]n . sad . Zu . tse . las . glo . [b l. 5] ñe . ba . sṅon . chad . [illegible] . ma . byuṅ . ṅo || Zu . tse . hdzaṅs . so . žes . so || [illegible] . che . žiṅ . mkhas . so || dpah . śes . paho . | chu . gaṅ . [illegible] 6] cheho || yaṅ . ba . riṅ . ṅo . || myi . chig . la . [illegible]s . dgu . tshogs . na | s[pun . sa]d . Zu . tse . la . stsogs . [illegible]tshogs . so ||

[illegible]1–2] " After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-po Khri

Sroṅ-rtsan, the whole family was destroyed (?), only a certain Zu-tse being allowed on that day to escape (?). Afterwards Zu-tse petitioned in the presence of the Btsan-po, [ll. 2–4] 'In the lifetime of the father of the family I was treated by himself as one of the servants. By the father also I was not even looked at, nor even trampled under his feet (disciplined). By the son Btsan-po I was regarded with the eye and disciplined. Be pleased to invite your aged relative to pleasure, drinking, and feasting in Khri-boms.' [l. 5–B l. 1] The Btsan-po Khri Sron-rtsan assented to Zu-tse's petition. Following upon that, he sent orders to the palace Ma-ḥdri-ba holding (*zun* ?) the Mgar district. Coming to Zu-tse at the city of Khri-boms, the Mgar . . . saw him. Zu-tse was attached to the council of those Mgar and was in favo[ur]. [B ll. 1–3] After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-p[o] [Khri] Sron-rtsan, Myan Żan-snan, a clever man, bein[g] outwitted (*dku-ḥpel* ?] by Zu-tse, petitioned in the hearing [of] the Btsan-po . Zu-tse killed Zan-snaṅ and [remained] i[n] favour.[1] [B ll. 3–4] Th ·ef of To-yo-chas-la, Bo Yon-tse, having revolted, brought To-yo-chas-la and all the rest of northern n under the hand o[f] Khri Sron-rtsan and [remained] our. [B ll. 4–6] Among the councillors of the Btsan-po no one before even had ever been more in favour than *spun-sad* Zu-tse. Zu-tse, it was said, is a wise man; he is very cunning and expert; he has a heroic soul; he has much sap (? *chu-gan* 'water full' or = *cu-gan*); he has a wide outlook (*yaṅ-ba* 'expanse' ?); if any single man combines all that is to be combined, it is so with *spun-sad* Zu-tse."

Notes

l. 1. *khyun-po* = "in a mass". (But *Khyun-po* is also a clan name; see above, p. 812, and M.T. c. ii, 0065.) *spun-sad* I

[1] Or we might translate "Myaṅ Żaṅ-snaṅ being reported for treachery by Zu-tse in the hearing of the Btsan-po, Żaṅ-snaṅ was killed "

ve translated as if it were °*gsad* or °*bsad* : if that is right, e subsequent recurrence of the phrase as an epithet of -tse has the sense of " last of his family ", or is for *spun-d* = " kinsman " ? *Rgal* " escape " (usually " surmount ") lso a conjecture. Is *ñi . ma . hder* for *ñi . ma . lder* ?

2. I have taken *bdag* as " self ", not as " I ".

3. *Btsan-po-sras* is evidently in contrast to (*Btsan-po-*)*yab*.

4 and 6. *Khri-boms* is mentioned also in the *Chronicle* 5) ; also in M.T. a. iv, 00136, c. iii, 0063, c. iv, 0083. °*boms* rs further in *Hgo-boms* below (No. 17).

5–6. *Mgar-yul* and the palace *Ma-hdri-ba* (?) are not n to me. But in the Tibetan *Me-loṅ* the famous minister oṅ-btsan-sgar po, Gar-Gdon-btsan, is called (fol 21 a. 4, 5), *Mgar*, which is, no doubt, his tribal name In the *icle* we have Mgar Gun-ston, etc. (ll. 4, 66, 67, 75), and e *Bstan-hgyur* colophons *Hgar* (Cordier, Catalogue, i, 8, etc.).

l. 1. *glo-ba-ñe* " intimate ", " in favour ", occurs in the -sa inscriptions (1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1279, ll. 73–4) ; lso *glo-ba-riṅs* (p. 1276, l. 7, p. 1282, ll. 59 and 62) and i, 3, and pp. 73–4 *supra* and *Chronicle*, l. 67.

l. 2. *Myaṅ* is a title or family name of frequent occurrence he documents ; also in the *Chronicle*, l. 250.

l. 3. *To-yo-chas-la* is not otherwise known to be. Zaṅ-occurs elsewhere as name of Gu-ge, and since in Pu-hraṅs, h is adjacent to modern Gu-ge, a place Do-yo, or To-yo, tually named (Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, x), it is very possible that that locality is here meant.

l. 6. *tshogs-dgu* contains *dgu* in the known sense of a al or a collection.

nce Gnam-ri is the name of the father of Sroṅ-btsan-m-po and also because of the ready admission of Zu-tse favour with Khri Sroṅ-btsan, it seems probable that se himself was related to the royal house (cf. l. 5). The is perhaps the father of Khri Sroṅ-btsan, not of Zu-tse. hri Sroṅ-rtsan seems to be Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who in

the Lha-sa treaty published by Colonel Waddell in *J.R*
1909 (p 950, l. 26) is called Khri Lde-sroṅ-btsan.

11. (Vol lv, fol 20. 31 × 10 cm., ll 12 of ordinary epist
dbu-can script, rather close together; much discol
injured by folding, and hardly legible)

[1] | · | nan . rje . blon . G-yu (?) . bžer . la || K
legs . mchid . gsol . bah || Hphrul daṅ . mtshuns . pahı
sna . nas. | sñun . rñin . slar . ma . khyad . cheh [byad . ch
[2] thoste . glo . ba . dgah . žin . mchis || sñun . gsol .
mchı[d . yı]g . snar | rnam . du . ma . žig . gso[l] . na | [sl
lan . ma . mchıs . pa . daṅ . | sbyar . na | Ha . ža . ṅ
bdagis . gya . ga . [3] du . ma . phul . ba . lta . žıg . [na
nan . rje . po . Kva . chu . pahı . | Ser . sbyoṅ . gı . spun
bsgos . pa | Hı . ma . ter . gdan . gśegste | sgrol (sgol ? skr
bkah . hgrosu . mdzad . na . dmag . [pu . . . pyad . lnah (lt
[4] las . kyaṅ | dog . sa [thagstu] . rab tu . che . žabs .
myı bde . bas | gdan . gśegs . gyi (bgyı ?] . kyaṅ . hp
las . mdzad . la . sman . pa . myi . hdra . bar (s ?) | riṅ .
kyi . hphrin . [by]an . [5] [d]an | chad . pahı . gži . | B
gamsu . mchıs . nas | bdagıs | bla . hog . du žes
pyun śıg . ches hbyun . ba | rin . lugs . ky . b
khamsu mchis . m- (mchiste ?] [6] . . . la
śıg ches | kha . mar . stsal . nas | rts
khrı [m(?) . . . s] . dan . sbyar . na | sa . b
gı . sna . stsal . . . ı . . [-ba . rdzug] [7] hıg[1] .
pahı . gžı . byun žıṅ mchıs . na | d had .
chuṅ . ba . tsam . du . gsold || slan . cl nyı .
re. ste | hphrın . lasu . b[stos . st . .] [8 igs th
las . gzuṅ . bžın . du . mdzad . pahı . rı ın hph
pa . bkah grosu . gso[l] . žin . mchıs || gche. sdag . ṅ
žin . nı [žon . mo ?) [9] . . . . gs . žer . gyi . g-yar . pu . po .
stsal . pa . nı | sman . yon . jı . yan . ma . bgyiste | hdun .
snar (?) . spyı (sbyi ?) . yan . myı . gdah . žiṅ . mchis te
bdag ṅan [10] . . . . rtag . tu . sñan . sñuṅ
pa . gsol . žes . bkah . bab . bam . myı . bab | Mdo . gams

[1] *s* below line.

| mjal . tsons |d[ru]l . pho . che(?) . dag . gchig . s[na . ... go .... [11] .... rdzas . dan | sga . g-yer . mo . che . žig . mchis . śes . gdah . ba | mchid . gyi . sgor(n ?) . phal . cher . hphus . śes . bkah . mchid . . na [12] .... sñuns . gsol . žin . mchis . na | . rgya . stsald . te | ban . chen . hdi . las | brdzan . am . du . thugs . dphag . jır . mdzad ||

-2] "To the Minister of the Interior, Councillor žer, letter-petition of Khris-legs. I am very glad to hat on the part of you, equal to a theophany, there is urrence of your old illness (no great falling away from ld health ? [ll 2–4] As regards the fact that, though sent various letters before this inquiring as to your no answer has come, and whereas I a humble Ha-ža ent various presents : Minister of the Interior, styled Ser-sbyon family of Kva-chu, residing in your seat at -te, engaged in saving (?) counsels, from the army also e . . . very great distance . . . your servant is ill at ease.] There being unequalled advantage in carrying on siness even while you are in your residence, when ourier's missive and the substance of the orders came Mdo-gams, it was opportune for me to submit matters to my superiors (?). [ll. 5–6] With a verbal order that 'a courier's missive having come into the country, carry out the orders (*or* punish) . . .,' I sent to the place of the census (*rtsi-sar*). [ll. 6–7] As regards the law, the decision to punish having . . . one year . . ., accordingly begged to be not dejected. [ll. 7–10] Afterwards, being more hopeful than before, and relying upon the business (instructions), your humble servant submitted in council that it was *right* to act in accordance with the business undertaken (instructions received ?) . . . A sending up . . . of no advantage whatever having been arranged, and in the meeting nothing at all being accomplished, it was ordered more or less that your humble servant should [simply write] inquiries as to health. 'From Mdo-gams, the business of the meeting, a great despatch, former and

later . . . matters and general indifference (*sga-g-yer* ?)', so it was said. Having regard to the written orders to (*ḥphus*) generally by way of a letter, we have sent a signed letter of inquiries as to health. I am taking care to send by this messenger (or 'I am anxious at sending merely . . ')."

Possibly the translation of this difficult document may be improved later.

Notes

l. 2. On *daṅ-sbyar-na* = " as regards " : see p. 79.

l. 4. *ḥphrin-byan* or *byan* alone seems to be in these documents one of the expressions denoting a letter. Some wooden documents refer to themselves as *byan-ḥdi* " this communication ". M.I. vii, 32, xiv, 109 *b*, M. Tagh, a. iv, 0073, vi, 0025, etc. *Byan-bu* is " label " or (wooden) " post-card " The *Chronicle* also has *byan*.

l. 5. *Bde-gams* has perhaps occurred already (p 72 ; cf. p. 838).

ḥbyun-ba : see p. 79.

l. 9. *sman-yon* : see above, p 816.

l 10. *sñan-sñuns* " a letter of inquiries after health " seems to mean merely a formal letter of that nature (cf p. 72). We have several among the documents.

Mdo-gams. see below, No. 19, and M I iv, 57.

l. 11. *chab-sgor* " by the door of " or " an opportunity of " (?). *sga-g-yer*, " indifferent " (?) ; cf. p. 71.

l. 12. *thugs-dpag* (or *pags*) and *thugs-dpag-jir*(*cir*)-*mdzad*, asking or stating attention, are common in the documents.

B. Claims and Nomenclature

12. Ch. 73, xv, 10 (fr. 12, vol. lxix, foll. 62–3, originally a single roll ; 76 × 11 cm. ; fragmentary at the beginning ; ll. 53 *recto* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, l. 2 *verso* in another (hand)).

[1] . . . .

Pho . kvaṅ . s[i]ẖi . [l]ha . ẖbaṅs ; J-ẖu | Z̀i . ñaṅ . ẖphoṅs |

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Son . Śiṅ . dgon |

Pho . kvaṅ . siẖi . lha . ẖbans . Yan . G-yu-tshe . ẖphoṅs |

[5] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Bam . Kun . tse | dgon g-yon | ru . ẖbriṅ . śud . pu . Legs . zigs . kyi . dar . tshan . 'An . Dze . ẖiṅ . daṅ . sbyor . ||

[8][1] ༄ | : | Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | ru . ẖbrıṅ | śud . pu . Legs . gzigs. [9][1] pon . g-yog . bžı . bcu . tshar . gcıgi . yul . yıg . la | . |

[10] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | 'An . Dze . hiṅ . ẖphons | g-yasu . ru . cuṅ . || Can . Ka . dzoẖi . dar . tshan | Bam . Kun . tse . daṅ . sbyor ||

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | ban . de . Ton . Thoṅ . thoṅ . dgon ||
„ „ | Caṅ . Hva . hva . ẖphons |
[15] „ „ | ban de . Tsoṅ . Tsheṅ . tshen . dgon ||
„ „ | Caṅ . Kun . tse . ẖphons |
„ „ | Caṅ . Seẖu . seẖu . dgon |
„ „ | Caṅ . Ḫbye . tıg . ẖphoṅs |
„ „ | ban . de . Dvan . Keẖu žı . dgon |
[20] „ „ | Baẖ . Kun . kun . ẖphons |
„ „ | ban . de . Toṅ . Phug . man . dgon |
„ „ | Z̀ım . Li . theẖu . ẖphoṅs ||
O „ „ | ban . de . Caṅ . Leẖu . cin . dgon ||
„ „ | Z̀ım . Kvon . ẖiṅ . ẖphons ||
[25] „ „ | ban : de . Caṅ . Peẖu . peẖu . dgon ||

[26] Pho . kvaṅ . siẖi . lha . ẖbaṅs | Jeẖu . Tshe . tshe . ẖphoṅs ||

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Dvan . Hıṅ . dar . dgon ||
„ „ | Z̀im . Ju . ju . ẖphoṅs ||
„ „ | Ser . Kun . dgon ||
[30] „ „ | Ser . Kheṅ . kheṅ[2] . ẖphoṅs . ẖdzin . pa |
„ „ | śud . pu . Legs . dgon ||

[1] ll. 8–9 in red ink.

[2] Corrected from Tshen . tse.

Rgod sar . kyi . sde | Caṅ . Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . ẖphoṅs | drod . pa |
,, ,, | Waṅ . Kog . ne . dgon ||
,, ,, | Can . Žaṅ . tse . ẖphoṅs ||
[35] ,, ,, | ban . de . Can . La . tshir . dgon ||
O ,, ,, | Žim . Hin . tse . ẖphoṅs ||
,, ,, | ban.de.Dzeẖu.Kve.kve.dgon ||
,, ,, | Can . Theẖu . cun . ẖphons ||
Pho . kvan . siẖi lha . ẖbans . Hag . Dzeẖu . śun . dgon ||
[40] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Waṅ . Tshen . tsheṅ . ẖphoṅs |
Leṅ . ho . siẖi . lha . ẖbans | Wan . Kun . tse . ẖphoṅs ||
O Rgod . sar kyi . sde | Wan . Dzin . śen . dgon ||
,, ,, | Ton . Waṅ . ẖdo . ẖphoṅs ||
,, ,, | ban . de . Li . Jin . 'an . dgon ||
[45] ,, ,, | Ser . Dzin . 'in . ẖphons ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Dze . tse . dgon ||
,, ,, | Can . Gen . tse . ẖphons ||
,, ,, | ban . de . Kun . tse . dgon ||
,, ,, | Tson . Dze . tsheṅ . ẖphons ||
[50] ,, ,, | Tson . Dze . śiṅ . dgon . g-yon
[51] tu . dbuu . ruẖi ru . ẖbrin . yaṅ . Stag . legs . kyi . dar . tshan || Dzeẖu . Śib . tig . dan sbyor ||

Verso (in another hand)

[1] žus . lags | na . ba(u) . spud |
[2] Pho . tshon . bris ||

[1] "The god's (king's) servant of Pho-kvan-si, Jeẖu Ži . ñaṅ, *ẖphons*. Rgod-sar division, Śon Śin, *dgon*. The god's servant of Pho-kvaṅ-si, Yaṅ G-ya-tshe, *ẖphons*. Rgod-sar division, Bam Kun-tse, *dgon*, along with 'An Dze-hiṅ, *dar-tshan* of *śud-pu* Legs-gzigs, middle left horn.

. . . .

[ll 8–9 *Red ink*] Rgod-sar division, middle horn: *śud-pu* Legs-gzigs, master and servants, forty, one *tshar*, district list.

[10] Rgod-sar division, 'An Dze-hiṅ, *ẖphons*, along with Bam Kun-tse, *dar-tshan* of Can Ka-dzo, little right horn.

. . . .

[41] The god's (king's) servant of Leṅ-ho-si, Waṅ Kun-tse, *ḥphons* . . . .

[50] Rgod-sar division, Tsoṅ Dze-śiṅ, *dgon*, along with Dzeḥu Śib-tig, *dar-tshan* of Stag-legs, middle horn of the centre left horn.

(*Rev.*) "Submitted. I, son-brother, Pho-tshon wrote [this]."

There would be no purpose in a fuller translation of this document, which has been selected as showing clearly the system of the nomenclature. It is, as will be seen, simply a list of persons, who are alternately designated *dgon* and *ḥphons*. Most of the persons belong to the "Rgod-sar division (*sde*)"; but four are "god's servants" ("king's servants?") of Pho-kvan-si and Leṅ-ho-si respectively, these being, no doubt, the *si* (probably Chinese) of Pho-kvaṅ and of Len-ho respectively (since we already know Len-ho).

The red-ink heading in ll. 8–9 shows that what follows is a district list (*yul-yig*) of one *tshar*, forty persons, belonging to the *Rgod-sar* division. But the expressions "right" and "left horn" suggest that it has a military significance. There are many indications that the Tibetan military system was territorial; and, in fact, we have mention of many regiments bearing the name of districts,[1] often with some complimentary adjunct: in consequence the word *sde*, "district" or "division", has most often to be rendered "regiment", and that is, no doubt, the meaning here. There are further indications: for besides the "horn" (*ru*) and its commander (*ru-dpon*), which occur several times, we have here the term *tshar*, elsewhere evidenced (along with its *tshar-dpon*) as a sub-division of a regiment. Consequently the *dar-tshan* "silk-badge" (*mtshan*) will very likely be the banner-bearer. Of the two alternating terms attached to most of the names, *ḥphoṅs* and *dgon*, the former has the sense of "archery", so that the *dgon* should be the archer's attendant, a sense which, however, does not seem to be attested. We

[1] A list of the regiments may be given later. On *tud-pa* see p. 66. Note that not one of the 10 *ban-des* is a *ḥphoṅs*.

have, however, a person's (wooden) 'card', which reads *Dgon Mon-cun*, i.e. 'Mon-cun, a *Dgon*' (M.I. vii, 88).

Coming now to the nomenclature, we find that most of the names have three syllables, of which the first is usually one which recurs and which in several cases (e g. *Cañ*, *Dzeḫu*, *Li*, *Ser*) we have already encountered. These, therefore, are surnames, and, not being for the most part geographical, they are clearly clan or tribe names. We have, therefore, in these papers a fair control of the ethnographical classification of the region.

Not to linger over the matter, and reserving any further comments for the combined list to be added below, we need here only remark that some of the names, such as *Śib-tig* and *Ḫbyeḫu-tig* are clearly Chinese; and it is natural to conjecture that the majority are so (perhaps this will be evident to Sinologists). The principle of repetition, as in *Hva-hva*, *Tshen-tshen*, *Seḫu-seḫu*, *Kun-kun*, *Ju-ju*, *Khen-khen*, is extensively followed, and in other cases the syllable *tse* seems to be in high favour as final element in the names. A further study of the names might reveal other factors in the population. Concerning *Żi-ñan* see p. 832.

13 Ch. 75, iii (vol. lvi, fol. 39; 25 × 52 cm.; ll. 35 of good *dbu-can* script, part of a carefully inscribed document).

[1] dge . slon . ma . Kvan . ḫgam || Śa . cu . [pha] . Rgod . . . bañ . Śan . za . Dzaḫ . ch- || dge . sloṅ . ma . L[a]ṅ . c[a]ḫu | Śa . cu . pha . Dar . phaḫi . sde . Beg . za . Hye . wi[ḫu ?] | [dge . sl]o[ṅ] . ma . . .

It is needless to proceed with this lengthy document, which consists entirely of entries of the types :—

(*a*) Śa . cu . pha Rgod . gyi . sde . Leṅ . za . Seḫu . seḫu || dge . sloṅ . ma . Theḫi . cin || "Śa-cu, Rgod division : Leṅ-za Seḫu-seḫu, *bhikṣuṇī* (nun) Theḫi-cin."

(*b*) Śa . cu . pha . Rgod . gyi . sde . Then . za . Beṅ . 'em || dge . sloṅ . ma . Ḫbyeḫu . ḫdzi || Śa . cu . pha . dge . sloṅ . ma . Kvag . za . Ji . lim . gyi . bran . mo . Kvag . za . Tam . tam . dge . slon . ma . Thor . ceḫu.

"Śa-cu, Rgod division: Then-za Beṅ-'em; *bhikṣuṇī* Ḫbyeḫu-ḥdzi; female servant of Śa-cu *bhikṣuṇī* Kvag-za Ji-lim, Kvag-za Tam-tam, *bhikṣuṇī* Thoṅ-ceḫu."

In a portion of the instances the "division" (*sde*) specified is not Rgod, but Dar-pa. In most cases the mistress of the female servant or slave (*bran-mo*) is described not merely as *bhikṣuṇī*, but as "*bhikṣuṇī* of Śa-cu or of a Śa-cu man" (*Śa-cu-pha-dge-sloṅ-ma*). One woman is called "subject of the Śa-cu queen" (*Śa-cu-pha-Btsan-moḫi-ḫbans*); one is servant not of a *bhikṣuṇī*, but of a Śa-cu man; and one is not a servant at all, but granddaughter (*tsha-mo*) of a *bhikṣu*

In all cases the name of the *bhikṣuṇī* (but not of the mistress) is preceded by the name of a man, who is not stated to be, and does not seem always to be, a *bhikṣu*; and in the case of the servant women the man's name is introduced in a way which would involve grammatical difficulty, if the name were not inserted as a simple prefix to that of the woman. We therefore conclude that the document is essentially a list of *bhikṣuṇīs* only, with explanatory mention of other persons.

What then is the relation of the *bhikṣuṇī* to the man whose name precedes? The obvious interpretation is that the relation was marital or filial or some kind of guardianship, or that the designation itself had come to mean no more than "woman". Of the two explanations the former seems the more probable, since it is only in the quality of *bhikṣuṇī* that we find any reason for cataloguing the women at all.

In any case we have a good number of feminine names, which may prove linguistically instructive. From evident instances, such as *Hva-sim* "Flower-heart", *Men-tig* "*Prabhā-śrī*", *Tig-nem* "Obtain-memory", *Hva-ḫgem* "Flower-mass", *Bo-de-sim* "*Bodhi-hṛdaya* (*citta*)", we infer that the majority will be recognizable as Chinese. These feminine names lack for the most part the clan-prefix.

The masculine names are partly of the same appearance as those in the other documents. But in about a score of

cases the second syllable is *ñan*, which has not a highly Chinese appearance. Instances such as *Śib-ñan, Śib-lug-ñan, Śib-si-ñan, Śim-si-ñan*, commencing with what we can prove to be the Chinese for "10", "16", and "12", suggest that *ñan* is nothing else than the Sanskrit *jñāna*, so that the names are of the form *Daśa-jñāna, Ṣodaśa-jñāna, Dvādaśa-jñāna*, no doubt religious appellations.

A feature of the clan-prefixes is the addition of the syllable *za* to forms which elsewhere we find not so attended, thus in this document we have not *Can* and *Sag*, but *Can-za* and *Sag-za*. The phenomenon has presented itself before (p. 818) and we find it in the *Chronicle* (l. 82, *Gser-za*). Plainly it performs the function of Sanskrit *ja*, Iranian *zā, zāda*; but its actual etymology may, of course, be quite different.

All the names will find their places in the general list.

C PAPER AND COPYING OF MANUSCRIPTS

14. (Vol. lvi, foll. 73–4, 26 × 37 cm. + 26 × 33 cm.; fol. 73 much torn, ll. 26 + 21 of ordinary, clear *dbu-can* writing; fragmentary; paper discoloured and smudged.)

[1] chad . gyi . sky[i]n . . . [sbyar] śig . . r, n(?), ŋ ?, gy?, by(?) , ḥth(?)ur . k(g?)yi . phyag . rgya . żig . nod . tu . gsol |

[2] ༄ || Kva . cuḥi . khrom . rkyen . gyi . dar . ma . sde . gcig . yo byad . dan . ḥtshan . bar || blon . Rgyal . khyi. [3] dan . blon . *Ld*on bzan gi[s |] ban . de . Dpal . gyi . bzaṅ . po . la . brdzanste | da . ltar . yan . [4] khrom . sar . bżugs . na | [b]ul rtags kyi . phyag . rgya . ni . ma . mchis || bla . go[d] . [n]i . —n stsald [5] dar ma . daṅ . yo . byad . gyi . rgyu . dpyaḥ . las . god . pa . mṅan . rna*ms* . gyis . chad . du . bdas | m . nap(s ?)[1] . | ma . [6] b *das* . par . [s]g[y]a . god . kyi . phyag . rgya . rnam gchig . nod . du gso[l] | [d (?)]e . ltar . ma . gnaṅ . na . [7] dar [ma] . . . bla . nas . slar . bstu . baḥi . phyag . rgya . nod . du . gsol . ||

[8] ༄ | | *rtaḥi* . l[oḥi] . [d]us . gcig . tu . sku . yon . tu . bsnos . [te] | blaḥi . mdzad . —ya . las . byuṅ . ba | [B]o[d] .

[1] *Read* bdas sam

kyi . Śes . rab [9] ẖ[b]u[m] . pa . sde . brgyad . daṅ || Rgyaẖi . H̱bum . pa . *bam* . po . [d]rug . brgyaẖ . [pa] . sde . gsum . nis . śig . ches . byuṅste [10] Rgya . H̱bum . pa . sde . gchi[g . na [1]] | Bod . kyi . H̱bum . pa . sde . gñis . gyi . [g]od . chod . cig . pa[r] | bla . lun . stsal [11] pa . bžin . bris . *lags* . nas || Śa . cuẖi . mdzod . tu . *m*dzub . tshi*gis* . tsis . na | de . yaṅ . god . gyi . graṅs [12] gyi . *ž—ṅ* . phyag [rgya . n]od . tu . gso[l] || Rgyaẖi . H̱bu[m] . pa . sde . gsum | Bod . kyi . H̱bum . pa . sde . drug [13] gi . tshal . ma . stsa[n] . [kh]al . bži . *brgya* . btu*n* . *bcu* . tsam . daṅ | yon . khal drug . cu . tsam . daṅ | snag [14] śog . gyi . rin . lastsogs . pa . *bla* . nas . ma . stsal . te | dar . ma . lags . nas . stsa[l] . -o . . . . . [15] m[c]is . nas || yi . ge . pa . myi . tshal . ma . [ma] . thob . nas | sku . yon . tu . yaṅ myi . ẖgyur . na | dk— . [16] daṅ | sbyar . | god . kyi . *phyag* . rgya . dnos . gyaṅ . mchis . paẖi . rigs || de . daṅ . gtugs . chi*n* . *mchi* [17] ste . -yin . g[o]d . gyi . ph[ya]g . rgya . rnam gchig . nod . du . gsol ||

[18] ༄ | | Bod . kyi . H̱[bu]m . pa . sde . brgyad . ẖdri . baẖi . tshal . ma . de . ẖi . tshe . nas . || Śacuẖi . dphon . sna . . . . . [19] *śigi* . kha . *nas* . phy[e]d . phyed . ẖphriste | Rgyaẖi . [d]ar . ma . ẖdri . baẖi . yi . ge . [pa] . brgyad . [cu] . daṅ . | *žu* . che . . . . [20] ñi . *śu* . la . stsal . te || de . rnams . kyi . skyin . ba . ni . Rgyā . dar . ma . bri . baẖi . tshal . ma . mchis . n . . . . [21] s[ts]al . ces . | dphon . snas . mchid . stsal . te | slad . kyis | blon . Khoṅ . bžer . *lastsogs* . [22] mṅan . rnams . dbaṅ . po . la . khuṅs . phyuṅ ste | da . *dun* . tu . Bod . kyi . dar . ma . ẖdri . baẖi . [y]i . ge . . . . [23] p . . . tẖob . ste | phyag . rgya . nod . tu . gsol ||

[24] ༄ | . . . [d] py[a]d . [m] . . . byaṅ . byuṅste | Rgyaẖi . Tshe . dpag . tu . ma . m[chi]s . pa . . . [25] ris . *śig* . ches . byun . ba . [de] . . daṅ . gtugs . ciṅ . bris . na . bam . po . gchig . 1 . . o . . . [25] m-i-e-i-o-e . gyi . god . chod .[de | de . . .

[B 1] gyi . g-y . . . . . . [pa] . daṅ | [c]u . bžin . yo . byad . ẖtshaṅ . ste . tshad . *ma* . *byun* . cu . gsum

[1] For *ni* or *daṅ* ?

[B 2] khrom . rkyen . la . bžugs . paḫi . dar . ma . glegs . thags . ḫdom . tshad . ḫtshaṅ . ba . gcig . la . | l[o] . bcu . [B 3] lhag . tsam . spyad . nas | sraṅ . la . gcal . de . | g[l]egs thag . dnos . žo[1] . sraṅ . gñis . dan . | [B 4] žo . [b]tun . byun . baḫi . steṅ . du . gron . ma . brtsisste | gron . brtsis . na | chad . ma . mchis || gron . du . [B 5] gsol . ba . ni | thog . ma . srin . baḫ . bśigste | bkal . baḫi . tshe . lag . rtsub . pos . sbyar | [B 6] nas . žo . gcig . chad | bžus . lags . nas . drul . te . gc[i]g . chad | drul . lags . nas . [gr]an [B 7] paḫi tshe | byan . myig . tu . lan . sum . cu . bskor . te | žo . phyed . chad || btags . paḫ[i] . tshe . [ža]g . [B 8] bco lnaḫi . bar . du . drul . drul . nas . žo . gñis . chad || lags . nas . brduns . bcags . bsgral . pa . [B 9] dan . [mgo] . mdzug . mtho . gaṅ lhag . tsam . žig . bcad . pa . (*below line* žo . gcig . chad) . rnams . (*below line* kyi . chad) . brtsis . na || glegs [B 10] gcig . gcig . la žo . drug . drug . gron . tu . stsal pa . | sna . slad du || khams . gyi . gnas . brtan dan [B 11] *m*khan . po lhun . grub . dan . | rtse rje . lastsogs pa . dam . žags . brtsis nas . gron . stsal . [B 12] *s*[t]*e* | bdag . cag . nan . pa . rnams . sgo . yus . tsam žig . khon . subs . te . stams . las . chad . [B 13] chiṅ . mchis . na . | bkas . sbyaṅ žin . mnan . gyi . mchid . śags . myi . brtsan . bar . chad . [B 14] myi . stsal pa . tsham . tu thugs . rje . chir . gzigs ||

[B 15] ༄ | | rtaḫi . lo . la . bri . baḫi . dar . ma . sde . gñis . || Śacuḫi . pho . ña . Rgya . Śeg . Tsheṅ . tshen . la . brdzanste | [B 16] bul . rtags . kyi . phyag . (*below line* rgya) . ni . ma mchis . nas || (*below line* sna .) slad . tu . | bla . nas . dar ma chad . žes . rma . ba . | khon . tas [B 17] su . la . phul . yan . runste | sgo . bul . tsam . yan . sku . yon . sar . gñer . myi . khums . te | dgun . [B 18] lo . bžiḫi . bar . tu . | Bde gamsu . gñer . khums . žin . | bul . rtags . [kyi] . phyag . rgya . nod . tu . [B 19] gtan . bar | ban de . Khyam . žaṅ . gis . gžan . gdabs . na . mchisu ma . btu[b] . ste | dar . ma . s[d]e . . [B 20] gñis . po . ḫdi . | bla . nas . sde . graṅs . goṅ . tu . gnan . na . ni . | spyi . god . las . | Śeg . Tsheṅ . *tsheṅ*

[1] This syllable erased.

[B 21] myiṅ . gis . smos . te . god . stsal . gsol | god . tu . [m]a . gnan . na . | Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . dar . ma . . .

[ll. 2–4] "Councillor Rgyal-khyi and Councillor Ldoṅ-bzaṅ having sent to ban-de Dpal-gyi-bzaṅ-po for a scripture (*dar-ma*), one division, complete with appurtenances,[1] on behalf of the city of Kva-cu, and that being now with the city, a signature of receipt has not come. The expense also has been already (*bla*) sent. [ll. 5–7] Whether a levy has been made or not made to meet the total (*mnan*) expenditure upon material (*rgyu*) and costs (? *dpyaḥ* 'tax') (*chad . du . bdas . sam . ma . bdas . par*), we beg to receive a signature, one part, for the expense of material (*sgya* ?). If that is not granted, we beg to receive a signature returning the scripture and appurtenances.

[ll. 8–9] A donation having been undertaken sometime in the Horse year, arising from the previously made . . . , the total comes to a Tibetan *Śes-rab-ḥbum-pa* (*Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā*) in eight divisions, and a Chinese *Ḥbum-pa* in six hundred chapters, three divisions. [ll. 10–12] In accordance with a previous order to make the expenditure for a Chinese *Ḥbum-pa*, one division, and a Tibetan *Ḥbum-pa*, two divisions, the copying has been done. Upon finger-count in the store of Śa-cu, we beg to receive a signature of *żuṅ* (acknowledgment ?) of the reckoning of the expenditure. [ll. 12–15] For the Chinese *Ḥbum-pa*, three divisions, and the Tibetan *Ḥbum-pa*, six divisions, the rations (*tshal-ma* = "wages in kind" ?) is some four *hundred and seventy* loads (*khal*) of corn. The donation is some forty loads. As regards the cost of ink and paper, that not being sent beforehand, it was stated that when the scripture was in existence *it should be sent*. [ll. 15–17] With reference to the difficulty (? *dkaḥ* . . ?), as the scribes have not obtained their rations, there being no donor, it is right that we should receive forthwith a signature for the expense. Upon this plea we beg to receive a signature, one part, for the expenditure.

[1] No doubt, such wraps, labels, and boards as are usual with Tibetan MSS.

[ll 18–21] The rations for the copying of the Tibetan *Ḫbum-pa*, eight divisions, having after that time by verbal order of some (?) . . . of the leading men of Śa-cu been diminished by half, copyists for the Chinese scripture up to eighty scribes and twenty revisors were sent, the leading men sending a letter to say that what was owing from (to) them should be the rations for copying the Chinese scripture . . . sent. [ll 21–3] Afterwards, Councillors Khon-bžer and the rest having all entered upon power, thereupon we beg to receive a signature for obtaining scribes copying Tibetan scripture.

[ll. 24–5] . . . total a Chinese *Tshe-dpag-tu-ma-mchis-pa* (*Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtrā*) . . . upon that plea having been copied, one chapter sanction the expenditure . . .

[B ll. 1–3] . . at ten, when complete with appurtenances, the measure came to thirteen The scripture in the possession of the city had volume-extent (*glegs-thag* 'volume tie' ?) one full fathom. [ll. 3–5] Ten years more having passed, on weighing upon the scales, the volume-extent comes at present to two *sran* and seven *žo*, not reckoning the waste. In regard to reckoning the waste, there were no orders (or 'there is no measure', *chad* or *tshad ma.mchis*): we beg to report on the waste (or we beg to report the waste which has not been fixed or deducted). [ll 5–7] First, where, through injury by worms, there was at the time of weighing unevenness to the hand (or is this = *lag . mdzub . mos . sbyar nas*, 'upon comparison (measuring) with a finger of the hand' ?), one *žo* was fixed (deducted); where there was rot from damp, one was fixed (deducted); where from the rotting thirty years, to a good eye, had passed at the time of reckoning, half a *žo* was fixed (deducted). [ll 7–8] If at a fixed time, after an interval of fifteen days, the rotting had gone on, two *žo* were fixed (deducted).

[ll 8–10] Reckoning (*note* 'the amount fixed or deducted for') those which, since their arrival, had been knocked about, trodden on, and cut and those which had lost more

than a full span (measure) of the large finger (*note* ' one *żo* was fixed or deducted '), for each volume six *żo* were set off as waste [ll 10–12] First and last, as the *sthavira's* of the realm, and the heaven-descended Abbot and the lord chief and the others set off a waste upon a count on a fixed day (*dam-żags*), our humble selves, having received orders restricting us to sending in merely a private representation (*sgo-yus*), have discharged our task. [ll. 12–14] For the kindness of merely not sending orders invalidating the whole (*mnan-gyi* ?) letter, how do we regard it ?

[B ll. 15–16] The scripture, two divisions, to be copied in the Horse year having been sent to the Śa-cu envoy, the Chinaman, Śeg Tsheṅ-tsheṅ, a signature of receipt had not come. [ll. 16–17] Afterwards, stating that the scripture had already been paid for, whosoever had been the recipient failed to deliver even a private receipt at the residence of the donor. [ll. 17–19] Four years after it had been delivered at Bde-gams, bande Khyam-żaṅ, being there on another business, was not able to secure the obtaining of a signature of receipt. [ll. 19–21] If the expenditure upon these two divisions of scripture (the divisions having been already counted) has been sanctioned, we beg you out of the general expense to send the expense upon them, mentioning the name of Śeg Tshen-tshen. If the expense is not sanctioned, Tshen-tshen *should return* the scripture. . . ."

Notes

A l. 2. I translate *rkyen* (Sk. *pratyaya*) as meaning "on behalf of"; but in the next occurrence (B 2) the meaning "possession" seems more apposite.

l. 3. *bul-rtags* = "receipt": see pp. 67, 69.

l. 4. *god* occurs frequently in these documents (and in others on paper and on wood) with the meaning "expenditure or price", which is given by the dictionary to *gon*; it usually means "loss". I must here retract the interpretation as a place-

name (= *Rgod*), adopted for the document printed above, p. 67.

l. 5 *mnan-* " entire ", " complete " : see pp. 67, 69.

chad seems to mean either " sanction payment " or actually " pay ".

l 7. *bstu* (from *ḫdu*) The meaning is to " send in ", or " call in ".

l 8. *sku-yon* = " donor ", the *sku* being an honorific.

l 6. *rnam . gchig*, " one part " or " one specimen ", seems to be used here, and l 17 and elsewhere, of part settlements of accounts.

l. 13. *stsan* = " corn " ; see pp. 67, 69.

l. 16 *dnos*, *dnos . kyis*, *dnos-kyan* = " at present ", " forthwith ". See p 74.

l 18. *dphon-sna* (translated " several leaders ", pp. 71, 73), means perhaps only " chief leaders " . see M.I. iv, 93*b*, xxiii, 008, xxxiii, 1, M T a. ii, 0076, a. iii, 0024.

B l 2 *rkyen* : *v supra*.

glegs-thags seems to denote the extent of the collection as merely measured

B l. 3. *sran* = " scales ", and also a certain weight. *ẑo* also is a weight.

B l 11. *dam-ẑags* has occurred *supra*, p. 69 ; cf. M I. xliv, 8

B l. 12. *khon-subs-te-stams-las* is obscure : *stams* occurs in M I. i, 23, and vi, 1 cf. *bsdoms*, M I. vii, 2.

B l 13 *mchid-śags* : see p 53.

B l 14. *thugs-rje-chir-gzigs*, " how do we regard the kindness ? ", is a phrase recurring in the documents

B l. 15. Rgya Śeg Tshen-tshen. For similar names see the classified list given below.

l. 17. *gñer-khums*. Abundant evidence exists in the documents proving that while *gñer* means to " be in charge of ", *gñer . ḫgum* (past *gñer-khums*) means to " discharge a task ", " deliver goods ".

Bde-gams : cf. *supra*, p. 826.

l. 19. *gžan-ḥdabs-na* "on another business"

This document is clearly a monastery record of work of copying scriptures (*dar.ma*) executed on behalf of outsiders. In the actual instances the orders are given, it is interesting to see, on behalf of cities (Kva-cu and Śa-cu), whether by their actual officials (*blon* or *dpon*) or in respect of donations from private persons (*sku-yon*) for their benefit. The texts are either Tibetan or Chinese. Scribes are apparently supplied, and their payment is in kind, in rations (*tshal-ma*); the work is carried out under the superintendence of the monasteries, which upon completion deliver the volumes and send in their accounts.

We thus see under what conditions the hundreds of copies of certain favourite texts, brought by Sir Aurel Stein from the Tun-huang library, may have come into being. The next document will supply further particulars of the *modus operandi*. In the meanwhile it is interesting to observe that of the two texts here named, to wit the *Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā* and the *Aparimitāyur-dhyāna-nāma-sūtra*, the former is represented by very numerous fragments and parts and the latter by many bundles of copies in the collections.

In the fifth paragraph (B ll. 1–14) we have a curious record of an inspection of the state of the volumes in a city library and an estimate of the damage due to worms, damp, and misuse. *Mutatis mutandis*, one could imagine that it referred not to a ninth or tenth century library in a Central Asian district on the Chinese frontier, but to a modern monastery library in Tibet, or, let us say, any library in Europe.

15. Ch. 73, xv, 5 (558, vol. lxix, foll. 53–6; fol. 53, 25 × 34 cm., ll. 17 of neat ordinary *dbu-can* writing; fol. 54, 25 × 37 cm.; fol. 55, 25 × 39; fol. 56, 25 × 37 cm., paper as fol. 53, but writing very scrawled, with paragraphs marked | ꣸ | and some passages rubbed over with red. At the foot (left) of fol. 54 is a red impression of a seal, not quite legible; *so too on fol.* 55).

[1] ༄ | : | Rta . daṅ . lug . gi . lo . la || lha . sras . kyi .

sku . yon . dar . ma . Śes . rab . ẖbum . pa | bri . baẖı . yı . ge [2] rnams kyı . khon . na . śog . chad . cı . mchis . pa || rın . lugs . Stag . bzan . Tsı . dam . dan | G-yu . bžer [3] Bstan . kon gı g-ya . snar || śog . śog . mnos . paẖi . dkar . chag . dan | dar . ma phul . baẖı . bul [4] yig tu . brtsıs . pa . las || ro . gron . dan glegs tshas . bton . paẖı . slad . na . | yi-ge paẖi . khoṅ na [5] śog . śog . chad . yan . dag . paẖi . myın . smras || blon . Rgyal . zıgs . dan | To . dog . blon . Btsan . bžer [6] la . žus . pa . las || śog chad . ẖdi . rnams . sde tshan . so soẖı . lna . bchu rkan daṅ . ẖog . sna . la . [7] gñer . par . gtan . pa chos . la || rub . ma . pa . Jeẖu . Brtan . kon gıs . nı snon . tu skoste | spreẖu . lo [8] ston . sla . ra . ba . sum tshun . chad kyıs . gñer ẖbumsu . stsol . cıg . ces mchıd gyıs . bcad . nas [9] gñer . yıg . dkar . chag . tu . bris . pā || gñer pas . kyan . no . zlog . phod . par . ẖtshol . te | śog [10] śog . ẖbyor . na . dnos . su . bstu | śog . śog . ma . ẖbyor . ram | raṅ . ren . ẖtshal . ba žıg [11] mchis . na || phu nu . ñe . tuṅ gcıg . zuṅste | btson . car . stsol . la || sku . yon . sar btson . tu žog [12] ste | yige . pa . dnos . kyıs nı | śog . śog . gı . gñer . ẖgumsu . stsal | gñer . ma . ẖkhums [13] gyi bar du . phyugs . nor . la . stsogs . pa . gtaẖ . ñı . rı . phrogs . la | rub . ma . pa . la . gton . [14] cig | gñer . pas ṅo . zlog ma . phod . dam | gñer . ma . gtus . par . gyur . na | [1] li . cen [15] rnams . kyaṅ | śog . śog . yug . re [2] . lcag . bcu . bcuẖi . thaṅ . tu . rgyab . chad . gyıs . chod . par . gcado . | [16] li . cen . gi . rnams . kyaṅ gtugs . re . lan . re . sku . yon . sar . ẖphyan . cad . sñogs . la | śog . śo[g] [17] ẖbul . stobs . che . chuṅ . yaṅ . rtsi . žin . mchis . śıg ||

[B 1] ༄ || Ston . sar . gyi . sde . la || Len . ho . Don . tsheẖi . tshan | Hva . Stag . legs . la | rtaẖı . lo . la [B 2] śog . śog . yug . lṅa || lug . gı . lo . la | yug . sum . chu . rtsa . drug . chad || Can . Hıg . tse . la . rtaẖı . loẖi [B 3] śog . śog . yug . bcu . chad | . . . .

. . . .

[1] *gñer-pa* here erased

[2] A second *re* here erased.

[ll. 1–2] "In the Horse and Sheep years. Allotment of paper among the scribes who copied the scripture *Śes-rab-ḥbum-pa* (*Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā*), whereof the Prince (*lha-sras*) was donor.

[ll. 2–6] After reckoning in the presence of courier Stag-bzaṅ Tsi-dam and G-yu-bžer Bstan-kon the invoice of paper received and the acknowledgments of scriptures delivered, rejecting the waste remnant and fragments of volumes, report submitted to Councillor Rgyal-zigs and To-dog Councillor Bstan-bžer with full statement by name of the allotment of paper among the scribes.

[ll. 6–7] For the duty of arranging the committing these allotments of paper to some 50 individuals inferior and superior (*rkan.daṅ.ḥog.sna* ?), of several divisions and accounts, the *rub.ma.pa* Jeḥu Brtan-koṅ was from the first appointed. [ll. 7–9] He gave orders by letter that delivery should be made by the third day of the first autumn month of the Ape year. The record of employment (*gñer-yig*) was entered in a list (*or* It was written in the register of employment that—).

[ll. 9–11] The superintendent on his part should be required to overbear opposition (*no-zlog-phod* ?): if supplies of paper [1] should be available, he should collect it; if supplies of paper should not be available, or if any persons should demand their own price, he should arrest one of their kin, senior or junior, and send him to prison, and he should be imprisoned in the residence of the donor. [ll. 12–13] The scribes must deliver at once the supplies of paper entrusted to them: until delivery has been made, their cattle, property, and so on of twice the value should be taken as security and deposited with the *rub-ma-pa*. [ll. 14–15] If the person in charge be not equal to opposition or should not have collected the allotments, the *li-ceṅ* should punish him by whipping at the rate of ten lashes per roll (*yug*) of paper.

[1] *ḥog . ḥog*, reduplicated, occurs frequently as, perhaps, a sort of plural.

[ll. 15–17] The *h-cen* people also, while in each case of complaint and reply referring (*sñogs* ?) for certainty (*ḫphyan(n)-chad* ?) to the residence of the donor, should take account of capability, great or small, of delivering the paper.

[B 1] Ston-sar division. Account of Leṅ-ho Don-tshe. To Hva Stag-legs. in the Horse year, five rolls of paper, in the Sheep year thirty-six rolls were allotted. To Caṅ Hig-tse . . . ."

The remainder of the document, B l. 1–D l. 29, consists of the names of the persons keeping the accounts (the *gñer-pas*, no doubt) and of those to whom paper, and in some cases ink (*snag* or *snag-tse*), was allotted or promised (*kha-bstan*) for each of the two, Horse and Sheep, years. These names will be included in the combined list below. Once or twice (e g. B 4, C 14) it is noted that the copy was passed (*gtan.la.phab.pa*), or a figure was modified upon a count (C 14, D 6), or a total (*spyir*) is stated (D 19). All the items belong to the Ston-sar division (sde) as far as C l. 1, where begins the Rgod-sar division, followed at D l 1 by the Sñin-tsoms division, which is mentioned in M.I. vii, 32, *Sñin-tsom-l(h)a-kyi-ḫbans*

Notes

A l. 2. *rin-lugs* = "courier" see pp 66 and 818

l. 6 *rkan dan . ḫog sna* = 'bundles et cetera' ?

l. 6. *tshan* "account" · see No. 18, below.

l. 7. The Ape year is that following the Sheep year.

l. 8. *gñer-ḫbumsu*. This seems to be an error, or variant, for *gñer-ḫgumsu*

l 9 *no-zlog* "turn the face" is stated to mean "oppose".

l. 11. *sar* "to the residence of" see p. 558.

l. 13. *gtaḫ.ñi.ri.phrogs* = "pledge, twice value, taken".

l. 14. *h-cen*: a Chinese official title ?

l 16 *gtugs* is given in S. C. Das' dictionary as having the meaning of "sue" (perhaps originally supplication, or

representation, as *supra*, pp. 812, 835–6). *sños* is literally "follow".

ḥphyan-chad, 'doubt-deciding': cf. S. C. Das' Dictionary, S.W. *phyan-chad* and *ḥphyan*.

16. (No. 735; wood, 16·5 × 2 cm.; ll. 3 *obv.* + ll. 2 *rev.* of ordinary *dbu-can* script; clear and complete.)

[1] ༄ | : | Stag . Su . tam . daṅ . Bran . ceḥu . gyi . grar (gur ?) . brtsis . pa | bam . thum . ḥdi . [2] ḥi . nan . na-yug . gsum . pa . bam . po . bdun . cu . rtsa . dgu . | yug . bži . pa . bam . po [3] bcu . gsum || yug . phyed . daṅ . lṅa . pa . bam . po . gchig || yug . phyed . [B 1] dan . bži . pa bam . po . bdun | spyir brtsis . na . bam . po . brgyaḥ . la | śog . śog . [B 2] yug . sum . brgyaḥ . rtsa . bco . brgyad . byun ||

"Counted in the school of Stag Su-tam and Bran-ceḥu. In this bundle of chapters *are*: in three rolls, chapters seventy-nine; in four rolls, chapters thirteen; in rolls five and a half, chapter one; in rolls four and a half, chapters seven. On a total reckoning, for one hundred chapters it comes to rolls of paper three hundred and eighteen."

Notes

The word translated "school" is *gra*, which we have taken for *grva*. The form *gra* occurs in the next document (No. 17, ll. 3–5); but possibly the word written is *gu*, which might have the sense of "room". It is a fortunate chance which, after preserving to us records of the ordering and paying for copying of MSS. and of the method of employing and rewarding the labour, has in this complete and legible wooden tablet given us a label relating to a parcel placed ready, no doubt, for transmission.

It will be noted that the number of chapters is correctly added (100), whereas the number of rolls should be 17, not 318. For plainly *yug-gsum-pa* must mean "having three rolls" and not "third roll", since "five and one-half-th" is not intelligible. We must, therefore, understand the figure 318 as denoting the total number of pieces in the 17 rolls.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I may utilize a spare page for one or two additional notes upon matters which have arisen in what precedes :—

(1) *ye-myig* (*myeg*) left untranslated above, p 81, occurs in M.I viii, 4, *de phan . chad . sna ra . dan . phyi ra . ye . myig cher bgyis nas*, " thence onward making great . . . before and after," and M Tagh. b. i, 0094, *ye . myig . dan . rim . gro . cher ḥtshol*, " great . . . and service (attendance) are required." It is clear that the general sense of " exertion ", which would admirably fit the passage p 81, is in these two occurrences also very apposite Hence we can hardly err in taking *ye . myeg* (*myig*) as an old equivalent of *ye-med* " leisureless ", " continually at work ".

(2) For *d̄byons* (p 72) the meaning " interview " (cf. *ḥbyon . pa* " arrive ", *ḥdir . ḥbyon* " come here ") seems also to fit M.I vii, 46, *spyan . gis . d̄byons . dkyigs . la . gsol . cig*, a request for a personal meeting

(3) *bkaḥ . gyod*, understood (p. 56) as " evade orders ", occurs in the Lha-sa inscription, *JRAS* 1910, p 1281, ll. 24–5 : the sense might be " show disaffection "

(4) *ñam . drod* " troubles (?) " (p 82), is found in a wooden document M.I. xiv, 0011 (*sug*) . *lasu . bgyag . ñam . drod . kyan . mtshal.*

(5) *żabs . kyis . bcags* " trampled under foot ", " disciplined " (p. 822). Compare the *Me-lon*, *blun . żin . mthaḥ . khob . ston . pas . żabs . ma . bcags* " stupid savages not disciplined by the teacher ".

(6) As regards *dam . żag* " a fixed date " (p. 838) we may take note of M.I. viii, 92, *gla . ni . ḥphral . żag . du . tha(o)gs . las* " having got (?) wages on the present day ", and M.I. xliv, 8, *dam . żag . tu . mdzad . du . gsol* " I beg you to do it on the fixed date ".

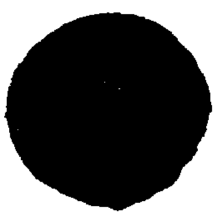
(*To be continued*)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A GOLD COIN (DINAR) OF MUSTANJID

It is well known that coins of the later Abbasid Caliphs are rare, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, none bearing the name of Mustanjid (555–566 A.H.) has hitherto been published. Professor Langdon has recently found one in his excavations at Kish, of which I give a photographic reproduction. It is a Dinar, of which the gold weighs 2·36 grammes. The following are the legends:—

Obv.



لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

المستنجد بالله

امير المؤمنين

Inner rim ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام سنة اربع وستين (وخمسمائة)

Outer rim فستذكرون ما اقول

Rev.



محمد

رسول الله

صلى الله عليه

Rim ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق——

The obverse after the words "There is no god but Allah, alone without associate" has the name "Al-Mustanjid billah, Prince of Believers". The inner rim states that "This Dinar was struck in Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad) in the year four

and sixty and . . ." ; the illegible words are doubtless to be supplied as "five hundred". The legend on the rim of the reverse from Surah ix, 33, is common on coins ; that of the outer rim of the obverse from Surah xl, 47 (if rightly read) is rare, not being found in the long list of legends collected by Codrington in his *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A CORRECTION · INDIA OFFICE CATALOGUE

In the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Dr Ethe has wrongly attributed a poem named *Táríkh-i-Ján Muhammad* by Muḥammad Afḍal *Afdal* (Catalogue No. 2901) to Muhammad Afḍal *Sarkhwash*, the author of *the Kalimátush Shu'ará*, and has tried to fit the date in the chronogram within his lifetime Afḍal, the author of this poem, was born at Sodhra, District Sialkot, Punjab, about the middle of the twelfth century A.H., and died in the year 1210 A.H at Talwandí, District Gujranwala, Punjab, to which place his father Muḥammad Ḥafíẓ, who was a man of great piety and learning, had emigrated at the invitation of a chief named Músá Khán. *Afḍal* was a poet of local importance, and a collection of his Persian and Hindustani poems (which furnish some interesting details of the events of the time) is in the possession of his descendants, Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥasan Siddíqí, Senior Sub-Judge, and Ḥakím Niáz Aḥmad Siddíqí.

The first half of the poem gives an account of a battle fought on the 19th of Jamádí-i, 1204, in the vicinity of Gujranwala, between Khán Jehán, entitled Sardár Khán, and most probably the Sikhs. The Khán is said to have marched from Qandhar at the head of a large army "to slaughter the infidels". The chiefs of the neighbourhood, one of whom was the lamented Ján Muḥammad, son of Músá Khán, flocked to his standard. The Khán was victorious, but Ján Muḥammad was killed in the action. The latter half of

the poem is an elegy on his death. The last verse is intended to convey the date of his death in a riddle, thus :—

که در خاطر افتاد دردِ مجدد ـ فرو ریخت از چشم اشك روان

These words form the chronogram. The numerical value of خاطر is 810, and to this is added "double of درد", which makes a total of 1226. The difference of چشم (343) and اشك (321), i.e. 22, is then taken away from the total, which gives 1204 A.H.

The descendants of the poet *Afdal* and Ján Muḥammad live in the same village, which is known as Talwandí Músá Khán.

MUHAMMAD NAZIM.

TWO SUNGA RAILING PILLARS

Two railing pillars now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced in Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. xiv, are stated to be from Mathurā. But they are evidently from Bodhgayā, for (1) the upper right-hand subject of Codrington's plate is reproduced by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. viii, 13 ; (2) the inscription on the other pillar, *Ayāye Kuraṅgiye dānam*, "gift of the noble lady Kuraṅgī," occurs four times at Bodhgayā, in one case in connexion with a similar subject (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 15 and pl. x, 4–7, and Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 130).

A. K. C.

KHARĪ BOLĪ

In *JRAS*, October, 1926, p. 721, I mentioned that no Indian writer employed the term *Khaṛī Bolī* for *Kharī Bolī*. It has occurred to me that to avoid possible confusion in any one's mind, it would be well to refer to the late Badrī Nārāyaṇ Caudhrī's remarks on the subject. For him linguistic patriotism was a religion. He believed that the threefold division of creation into gods, men and demons held in other spheres also. The one true religion is Hinduism, the one true

language Sanskrit with minor modifications. Language, too, has its threefold division. (1) *Brāhmī*, *Devvāṇī*, or *Vedbhāṣā*, the language of the gods, (2) slightly modified it is *vaidik apabhrāś*, *mūlbhāsā* or *narvāṇī*, i e. Hindī, but he calls it simply *bhāṣā* or *nāgarī*, further deteriorated it is Marāthī, Bengalī, etc.; (3) leaving India it becomes *āsurī*, *rākṣasī* or *paiśācī* in other languages.

He said *bhāsā* had two forms, Braj for poetry, and *bol cāl kī bhāsā* for prose, but he disliked all names. "Don't say *Hindī*," he cried,[1] "*Hindī* is a foreign word; don't say *Kharī Bolī*, there is only one *bhāsā*, you may call it *kharī* if you like, for it alone is pure, for it differs very slightly from the original Devvāṇī" (summarized from his speech).

It will be seen that the Caudhrī's picturesque and patriotic use of the word *kharī* does not conflict with the statement in my article.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

A PLURAL FORM IN THE PRAKRIT OF KHOTAN

In his note in the July number of this *Journal*, p. 544 f., Professor Thomas calls attention to the interesting fact that in the Kharōṣṭhī documents of the Stein Collections a plural may be formed by adding *ca* to the singular, and he suggests that this *ca* was "a pluralizing word or suffix in the native, monosyllabic language of Khotan". It seems, however, unnecessary to explain the phenomenon by the hypothesis of a mixture of languages The idiom is paralleled in Avestic, where occasionally a singular, used in a plural sense, is joined to a plural verb, and now and then such a singular is followed by a *ca*, which appears to have a generalizing or pluralizing force, not unlike that which it has in composition with pronouns. As examples may be quoted from Reichelt's *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 620–1, the following:—(1) simple sing. followed by plur. verb: *frā urvara uxšyąn*,

[1] Tṛtīya Hindī Sāhitya kā Sammelan—Sabhā pati kā Sambhāṣaṇ

Vend. v, 12, *nōiṯ mē nmānəm viδātō hištənti*, ibid. xiii, 49; (2) sing. with added *ca* followed by plur. verb: *frazantīmca xᵛāparąm yeŋhå pourūšca bərəjayąn*, Yasna lxv, 11. If parallels can be found in Indian dialects outside Khotan, it might be concluded that the idiom is Indo-Iranian; if not, it may be ascribed to Iranian influence, of which other traces may perhaps be seen in forms like *khaystaṃti* (Pt. II, No. 681), where the change *dt* > *st* strongly suggests Iranian phonetics, and the stem *aspa-*

L D BARNETT.

ON THE OLD NORTH-WESTERN PRAKRIT

On page 541 of the *Journal* for July, Professor Konow has given us an interesting note on the Old Prakrit of North-western India. It was suggested by a remark of mine that if, for instance, a modern language habitually preserves unchanged an original Aryan *st*, I refused to call that language "Indo-Aryan", because it was impossible to suppose that *st* would survive through any Indian Prakrit. This remark had reference to the Dardic languages, in which *st* is of common occurrence, and the case of *st* was quoted only as one specimen of many Dardic peculiarities that also existed, but which, for the sake of space, I did not bring forward. Even if it is shown that *st* can be found in an Indian Prakrit, though my example would be a bad one, it would not affect my main argument, which is based on many different peculiarities, each of which would require independent examination. I, therefore, at present, refrain, as Professor Konow has done, from discussing the general subject of the relationship of Dardic to Indo-Aryan, and confine myself to the special question of the existence of *st* in the North-western Prakrit.

Professor Konow considers that an old Prakrit of the North-West once existed, but that it was not dealt with by the Prakrit grammarians, probably because it had ceased to be used in literature when they wrote. Although certain North-western

Prakrits were actually described by the later Prakrit grammarians such as Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatarkavāgīśa, I do not just now press that point, and, for the sake of argument, we may provisionally assume, with him, the independent existence of this North-western Indo-Aryan Prakrit He describes the area in which it was current, and I accept his statement that this roughly coincided with a large part of the territory where, at the present day Sindhī, Lahndā, and Dardic are now spoken. He shows that words are to be found in this North-western Prakrit in which *st* existed, and also shows that this existence of *st* or preservation of *st*, was not uniform. It is found in some words, and not in others My question is whether the words containing *st* are genuine words of this Indo-Aryan Prakrit, or are due to Dardic.

In discussions of this nature, there is always a strong temptation to explain inconvenient forms by stating that they have been borrowed from other languages. If, for instance, I state that in a certain language *d* is changed to *l*, an opponent may assert that there has been no such change, but that the words containing *l* have been borrowed from somewhere else. Such an assertion it is usually quite impossible to prove, but it is equally impossible to controvert. It must remain an assertion on each side, and lookers-on have to accept one assertion or the other without seeing any proof, and merely on the authority of this or that assertor. Hence, explanations based on alleged borrowings are seldom of much value.

In the present case, I, nevertheless, venture to point out that the presence of these words with *st* in Professor Konow's North-western Indo-Aryan Prakrit is at least possibly due to borrowing from Dardic, or to the influence of Dardic, in which, as is also the case in Eranian languages, *st* has been freely retained down to the present day, although it has not been preserved in the modern Lahndā or Sindhī, the supposed descendants of this North-western Prakrit.

In the first place the Prakrit grammarians do tell us about Prakrit dialects spoken in the North-West. Not to speak of

Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa, there were a Vrācaḍa Paiśācika [1] and a Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa [2] spoken in Sindh, and a Kaikēya Paiśācika,[3] "born in Kēkaya," [4] which was the standard form of that speech, and which was apparently the language of the *Bṛhatkathā*.[5] There were thus forms of Paiśācī spoken right down the course of the Indus in its passage through the North-West of India, and also at least one Apabhraṁśa spoken in the same tract. Add to this the increasing influence of the Prakrits of the Madhyadēśa spoken of by Professor Konow, and we have all the materials for a language, or group of languages, with a mixed vocabulary.

On page 406 of the *Journal* for 1925, in an account of Tirāhī, I have shown how we can trace the existence in former times of Dardic languages from the Hindūkush, through Pashai, Tirāhī, Ōrmurī, and Khētrānī, down to the Lāṛ dialect of Sindhī, now spoken round the mouth of the Indus. In the North, Dardic is still in vigorous existence, but, as we go south, it gradually fades away, and at the present day only traces of it can be identified.

Now, whatever doubts there may be regarding the existence of *st* as a real feature of the North-western Indo-Aryan Prakrit, there can be no doubt about its genuine existence as an essential sound in the Dardic of the present day, and, *a fortiori*, about its general Dardic use in the days when the spoken languages of India proper were in the stage of development known as that of Prakrit. Hence, on the above grounds, I believe that the presence of *st* in the North-western Prakrit can very probably be explained as an instance either of conservative imitation, or of borrowing, and not as an instance of natural Prakritic evolution. In no other Prakrit of India, except the distant Māgadhī, is there a trace of any tendency to preserve an original *st*, and its appearance in the North-West is altogether unexpected in an Indo-Aryan Prakrit.

[1] RT. III, xv, 12.
[2] Mk XVIII, 1, RT. III, iii, 7.
[3] Mk XIX, 1; RT. III, xv, 2
[4] RT Introd. *Kēkaya-prabhava*.
[5] Mk XIX, 9.

As explained above, I cannot prove the borrowing from Dardic, but I have, I think, shown that it was not only possible but probable. Dardic, when Indo-Aryan Prakrit came from the East, was in possession of the country. Fifteen years ago [1] I tried to show how the language of the Shāhbāzgarhī Inscription teems with forms due to Dardic influence, and, though I do not now hold to all the details there given, I still believe that the general fact is true both for Shāhbāzgarhī and for Mānsehrā. It will be interesting if Professor Konow's eagerly expected edition of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, when examined from the point of view of Dardic, will show similar results. Nearly all the so-called "Māgadhisms" of Shāhbāzgarhī can be shown to be also "Dardisms", and not, of necessity, to be primarily due to the influence of the official language of Asōka's chancery. On the other hand, the existence of parallel Dardic forms may well have exercised a conservative influence in the North-West, retarding the natural development of Sanskrit words that became Prakritized elsewhere. Under any circumstances, whether due to borrowing, or due to imitation, the presence of *st* could not be looked upon as a genuine feature of Indo-Aryan Prakrit.

If I may sum up, I would put the matter in this way:—There were several Indo-Aryan Prakrits. With one suggested exception, these never preserved an original *st* without change. The one suggested exception, in which *st* does appear, was a Prakrit spoken by people closely associated with two other nationalities—Dardic and Eranian—who lived either in the same tract or in its immediate neighbourhood. In the speech of these Dards and Eranians an ancient *st* was habitually preserved. The inference to be drawn from this will probably depend upon the reader's own theories regarding the origin of Dardic.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY

21*st July*, 1927

[1] *JRAS*, 1902, p. 47 ff

DARDIC INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS, *D* > *L*

Statements of mine that Dardic intervocalic single consonants are not necessarily elided, and that Dardic *d* can become *l*, have not always met with agreement, my critics generally maintaining that the words in which these peculiarities appear are either *tatsamas* or else are borrowed from elsewhere. Sometimes it is urged that the apparent intervocalic consonants are not original, but are simplifications of older conjuncts.

Tōrwālī is admittedly a Dard language allied to Ṣiṇā, and I have recently been paying attention to it in connexion with materials collected on the spot by Sir Aurel Stein. Hitherto, our only authorities have been Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* and the account in the Linguistic Survey.

Glancing through Biddulph's vocabulary, my eye caught two words that are certainly not *tatsamas*, and that are also certainly not borrowed They are *shidul* (i e *śidal*), cold, and *sigul* (i e *sigal*), sand. Of these, *śidal* is the regular *tadbhava* form corresponding to *śītala*-. The intervocalic *t* has not been elided, but by an ordinary process has been softened to *d*. In *sigal*, which is the *tadbhava* form corresponding to *sikatā*, there was plainly an intermediate form **sigada*. Here, intervocalic *k* and *t* have both been preserved, and, further, the *d* of **sigada* has become *l*. In these two words there can be no question of the *t* or *k* being derived from any old conjunct.

In other Kōhistānī languages, the corresponding words are given by Biddulph as follows. I give his spelling :—

	Cold.	Sand.
Chiliss . .	—	*sigil*
Bushkarik .	*shìdul*	*sugut*
Gowro . .	*shilî*	*sigil*
Narisati . .	*shalah*	—

The corresponding words in Ṣiṇā are *śidalu* and *sigal*, which appear to have been overlooked by those who differ from me.

George A. Grierson.

Camberley.
21st July, 1927.

A PECULIAR MEANING OF "YOGA"

The *Nyāya-Sūtras* of Gautama enumerate four *siddhāntas*, *of which the second, pratitantra-siddhānta, is defined as "समानतन्त्रसिद्धः परतन्त्रासिद्धः (प्रतितन्त्रसिद्धान्तः)" (I, i, 29), "a* conclusion which is peculiar to similar systems and not true of other systems." Vātsyāyana does not explain the *sūtra*, but he illustrates it thus :—

यथा नासत आत्मलाभः, न सत आत्महानं, निरतिशयाश्चेतनाः, देहेन्द्रियमनःसु विषयेषु तत्तत्कारणे च विशेष इति सांख्यानां; पुरुषकर्मादिनिमित्तो भूतसर्गः कर्महेतवो दोषाः प्रवृत्तिश्च, स्वगुणविशिष्टाश्चेतनाः, असदुत्पद्यते उत्पन्नं निरुध्यत इति योगानाम्

"e g. A. of the Sāmkhyas

(1) the non-existent does not come into being,

(2) the existent cannot be destroyed,

(3) conscious souls are incapable of modification,

(4) there can be modification (or qualification) only in body, sense-organs, mind, objects of cognition, and in the causes of all these ,

and B. of the Yogas

(1) the creation of the world is due to the *karman*, etc., of the *jīva*,

(2) 'defects' and activity are the causes of *karman*,

(3) conscious souls are qualified by their respective attributes,

(4) the non-existent comes into being and the being born ceases to exist".

The first four conclusions are peculiar to the Sāṃkhya and its sister system, the Yoga ; they can, therefore, be fitly termed *pratitantra-siddhāntas* But the last four are characteristic Nyāya-Vaiśesika tenets, and so the इति योगानाम् of Vātsyāyana takes us by surprise. So far as is known, the Yoga school never held these views They are altogether antagonistic to the metaphysical position of the Sāṃkhya, which is tacitly assumed by Patañjali. We have here most clearly Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika views, and *yogānām* of Vātsyāyana

must refer to one or other of these two schools. Pandits usually explain this expression by *Vaiśeṣikāṇam* (e.g. my own *guru*, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Vāmācaraṇa Nyāyācārya of the Benares Sanskrit College, gave me that explanation). This is also the explanation of the *Bhāṣya-candra* (published from Benares with a *Ṭippanī*, the *Khadyota*, by MM. Dr. Gangānātha Jhā, Benares, 1920); but Dr Jhā explains the term as "of the Naiyāyikas" (p. 132) Uddyotakara in his *Nyāya-vārttika* has not given us any direct help here, but indirect help is obtained from another set of illustrations which he has supplied, using the selfsame nomenclature: यथा भौतिकानीन्द्रियाणीति यौगानाम्, अभौतिकानीति सांख्यानाम्, "e.g. the sense-organs are made out of the *bhūtas* (elements) with the Yogas and not so with the Sāmkhyas." The Sāmkhya system derives the sense-organs directly from *Ahamkāra*, from which are also produced in a different line the Five Subtle Elements (*Sā. K.*, 22); consequently they are "non-elemental". But the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas believed in the "elemental" origin of the *indriyas*: the *Nyāya-Sūtras* seek to establish this view in III, i, 30 ff., and the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras* in VIII, ii, 5–6. Vācaspati Miśra has not given us any help here, but Uddyotkara's meaning seems quite clear But, if any confirmation is needed, that is afforded by Jayarāma, who in his *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* writes नैयायिकसांख्ययोः कथायां भौतिकानीन्द्रियाणीति यौगानामभौतिकानीति सांख्यानामिति वार्तिके यौगानाम् = नैयायिकानाम् (MS. of Bābu Dīkṣita Jaḍe of Benares, fol. 16*a* 7*b*).[1] This point seems to have been missed by Vācaspati Miśra, who has also misunderstood the expression *samāna* in the *Nyāya-Sūtra*, which means *sadṛśa* (similar) and not *eka* (one), as he assumes against ordinary usage.[2] MM. Pandit Phaṇībhūṣaṇa

[1] *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*, iii, p. 85, n.

[2] [The point is here unimportant; but substantially Vācaspati Miśra seems to be right. *Samāna* = 'what X shares'. in *prati-tantra* the *prati-* is distributive; see the *Nyāya-kośa* —F. W. T.]

Tarkavāgīśa has fully discussed the passage in pp. 227–30 of the first volume of his valuable edition of the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* with Bengali translation and commentary (Calcutta, 1917). He shows that the reference must be to some *ārambha-vādin* school like the Nyāya or the Vaiśeṣika He has quoted the following passages from Jaina writers to illustrate this peculiar use of the term *Yoga* :—

(1) योगस्य सदकारणवन्नित्यमित्यादिवत् । "सदकारणवन्नित्यम्" इति योगवचो यथा—

—Vidyānanda Svāmin's *Patra-parīkṣā* The quotation is from the *Vaiśesika-Sūtra*, IV, i, 1, and therefore *Yoga* must mean here the *Vaiśeṣika*

(2) सौगत-सांख्य-यौग-प्राभाकर-जैमिनीयानां प्रत्यक्षानुमाना-गमोपमानार्थापत्त्यभावैरेकैकाधिकैर्व्याप्तिवत्—

—*Parīksā-mukha-sūtra*, VI, 57 (*Bibl. Ind.*, p. 6). The Buddhists accept two sources of knowledge, *pratyaksa* and *anumāna*, the Sāmkhya adds another, viz. *āgama*, and it is the Naiyāyika who believes in four *pramānas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *āgama*, and *upamāna*, and he must have been, therefore, meant here by *Yauga*. The Vaiśesika rejects *upamāna* as a distinct source of knowledge (*Vaiś Sū.*, ix, 2, 5, *Praśasta-pāda's Bhāsya*, Viz. ed , p. 220, etc.) and even wants to include *śābda* under *anumāna* (*Vaiś. Sū.*, ix, 2, 3, *Praś.*, p. 213) and, therefore, he could not have been meant here. *Yauga* seems to be a variant for *Yoga*, as in सौगतसांख्ययौगानां तथाभूतपरिणाम-विशेषासिद्धेः, quoted by MM Pt Tarkavāgīśa from the *Patra-parīkṣā*.

(3) यथाद्यौ नैयायिकानां यौगापराभिधानानां लिङ्गादिव्य-क्तिरुच्यते—

—Guṇaratna in his commentary on Haribhadra's *Ṣad-darśana-samuccaya* (ed. Suali, p. 49). Here the Naiyāyikas are explicitly mentioned as having the name "*Yauga*".

Paṇḍit Gopīnātha Kavirāj has given some further references and quotations in *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*, vol. iii, pp. 84–5, from which I may take one passage, वैशेषिकनैयायिकयोः प्रायः

समागतत्वसादौलूक्यमते भिन्ने योगमतमपि भिन्नमेवावसेयम् (*Syād-vāda-mañjarī*, Yaśovijaya Series, p. 628), where too the Naiyāyikas are given this name. All these passages show that the Naiyāyika or the Vaiśeṣika, more often the former, was known as Yoga or Yauga; the balance of evidence is in favour of the Naiyāyika, and Dr. Jhā's explanation of the Vātsyāyana passage [1] is to be preferred to that of MM. Nyāyācārya Mahāśaya and others. Why the Naiyāyikas were at one time called *Yogas* or *Yaugas* is difficult to understand. MM. Pt. Tarkavāgīśa supposes that the explanation lies in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of *paramāṇu-saṃyoga* as essential for the creation of the world (*Nyāya-darśana*, vol. I, pp. 228–9) But the truer explanation seems to have been offered by Mr. Kavirāj. He shows the intimate connexion between Nyāya and Yogic practices [2] He writes, "though Yoga in its wider form has been practically accepted by every system of Indian philosophy, its relation with Nyāya is in some manner more special and, perhaps, fundamental." The *Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha*, he points out, "affords distinct proof in support of a relation existing between Nyāya and Yoga; for it is maintained there that according to Nyāya *Mokṣa* follows directly from Yoga, a doctrine which it shares in common with the Patañjali system (as distinguished from the Sāṅkhya, where *jñāna* is held to be the immediate cause of Mukti)." [3] "The Nyāya Darśana, in its present form," Mr. Kavirāj adds, "contains some *Sūtras* (4–2, 38–49) where the practices of Yoga are strongly recommended." One of these *sūtras*, No. 42 (अरण्यगुहापुलिनादिषु योगाभ्यासोपदेशः), even gives practical advice on the fit places for

[1] In the Sanskrit commentary *Khadyota*. In his earlier English translation he is not clear on the point.

[2] *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*, III, 84–6

[3] "See *ibid*, pp. 36, 40, and 41. Cf. *Sā Sūt.*, III, 20: ज्ञानान्मुक्तिः. The *Yoga* view, as represented in *Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha*, is briefly this: गुरूपदिष्टविधातो नष्टाविद्योऽपि पुरुषः । देहदर्पणदोषांस्तु योगेनैव विनाशयेत् ॥"

Yogic contemplation. Gunaratna's introductory remarks about the Naiyāyikas (*Sad-darśana-samuccaya-ṭīkā*, pp. 49–51) also show them to be a religious sect.

From all this it is clear that Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara *meant the* Naiyāyikas when they used the term *Yogānām* in the passages quoted above and the former has not "curiously enough" referred to the Yoga system of Patañjali, as Professor Keith seems to believe.[1] Kauṭilya classifies *ānvīkṣikī* (Philosophy) as Sāmkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata (*Artha-śāstra*, Mysore, 2nd ed., p 6). "Lokāyata" does not mean here, it has been already suggested, the materialistic system of the Cārvākas. And it is possible that "Yoga" here means the Nyāya system and not the Pātañjala, which is more practical than speculative. However, I must leave this question undecided for the present. The meaning of the term *yoga* in Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara is certainly "Naiyāyika"

K. CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA.

NOTE SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE ARTICLE "A SECOND CHINESE BUDDHIST TEXT IN TIBETAN CHARACTERS" (*JRAS* 1927, pp 281–306)

The previously (p. 281, n 1) contemplated operation of dividing the double paper of the roll has now been carried out. Although it has not brought to light any additional part of the text, it has yielded for nearly the whole of the published fragment a second copy in a clearer hand and with ink unfaded. A collation of its readings may, therefore, be welcome, more especially as they show that the superposed copy was made from a different original, or independently from the same original, and is not a simple duplicate. We have, therefore, the somewhat peculiar case of a new copy of a text pasted over an old one: for this procedure various reasons may be imagined;

[1] *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp 22 and 176.

possibly the earlier portion of the old copy was defective; or the arrangement of its text (see below) was not approved; or a more flourishing hand gave to the Kirghiz noble's new copy a higher degree of merit; or, finally, the miniatures which were to be inserted required the change.

The first column of the new copy has lost its left half. It begins at syllable 111 of the printed text: the unmutilated columns 2–9 reach to the end of the same, stopping short, naturally, of the Tibetan colophon added by the Kirghiz copyist.

Readings (in the asterisked instances the former reading of the printed text should be amended):—

Syll. No.

126: 'ih̲u *for* 'eh̲u.
146: yi *for* ye.
166: wen *for* h̲gvan.
262: śe *for* śeṅ.
341: h̲byi *for* kyi.*
351: H̲byeh̲u *for* H̲byeh̲i.*
401: ci *for* chi.
439: hin *for* heṅ.
472: śe *for* śi.*
483: ci *for* chi.
531: h̲kag *for* kag.
558: śe *for* śi.*
594: śe *for* śi.
608: h̲kag *for* kag.
613: kvan *for* kvoṅ.*
630: tiṅ *for* teṅ.*
635: śe *for* śi.*
664: h̲bun *for* h̲bvun (?).
673: żvaṅ *for* jvaṅ.
714: śe *for* śi.*
743: waṅ *for* h̲vaṅ.*
756: śeg *for* śig.

Syll. No.

773–4: 'i.tshe.h̲gi *for* 'i. tseh̲i.gi.*
790: h̲kag *for* kag.
817: śe *for* śi.
837: 'u *for* 'i.
865: śe *for* śi.
868: „ „
895: thve *for* thva.
899: log *for* nog.
918: h̲ga *omitted*.
933: wen *for* h̲gvan.
936: „ „ „
939: „ „ „
955: thve *for* thva.
999: wen *for* h̲gvan.
1077: log *for* nog.
1093: śi *for* śe.
1094: ken *for* kan.
1116: log *for* nog.
1117: da *for* ta.*
1128: ken *for* gan (*or* kan ?).
1130: h̲chi *or* h̲tshi *for* tshi.

Syll No.		Syll. No.	
1150 :	h̲kheh̲u *for* h̲khyeh̲u.	*1181* :	da *for* h̲da.
1154	kan *for* ken.	*1183* .	'i *for* 'ir.
1171 :	h̲bun *for* h̲bun		

In connexion with the names of texts mentioned on p. 282 it may be conjectured that the work cited as ***de-h̲bur-de-cih̲u*** is the *[Mahā]-Buddha-bhūmi-*, since we have evidence (above, p. 553) for ***de*** = Chinese ***t'ai*** " terrace " (which—and not 'earth', Chinese *ti*,—is here the meaning of ***bhūmi***), as well as for *de* = Chinese *ta* " great ".

F. W. T

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. VEDĀRTHA-DĪPAKA NIRUKTA-BHĀṢYA. By CANDRAMAṆI VIDYĀLANKĀRA PĀLĪRATNA $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, iv+xii+874 pp. Kangri: Gurukula Press, 1925–6.

Professor Candramaṇi Vidyālaṅkāra gives us here, after the text of the Nighaṇṭu, Yāska's Nirukta together with an original Hindi *bhāṣya* or explanatory commentary upon it. He has made good use of the ancient interpreters, whose writings he has supplemented by devout study of the teachings of Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī The result of these labours is a work which merits praise as an erudite and conscientious exposition, and which will be distinctly useful to native students who are willing to accept the doctrines of the Ārya Samāj, but will be of small value to most western readers, who will probably take the liberty to disagree with many of the philosophical and theological opinions set forth in his pages, and possibly also to question some of his conclusions as to the life of Yāska. Whilst admitting the merits of Yāska as a transmitter of Vedic tradition and as an intelligent thinker in his generation, we are not disposed to accept the Professor's claim that the Nirukta is " the key to the treasure of Vedic knowledge ".

2. NALAVILĀSA of RĀMACHANDRA SŪRI. Edited by G. K. Shrigondekar, M.A., . . and Lalchandra B. Gandhi. . . . With an introduction by the latter. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXIX) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xl + 91 pp. Baroda: Central Library, 1926.

3. TATTVASAṄGRAHA OF ŚĀNTARAKṢITA. With a commentary of KAMALAŚĪLA. Edited with an introduction in Sanskrit by Embar Krishnamacharya, . . with a foreword [in English] by the General Editor (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.). Two vols. (Gaekwad's

Oriental Series, Nos. XXX, XXXI.) 9¾ × 6½, clvii + lxxx + iv + 936 + i + cii pp. Baroda: Central Library, 1926

4 SAMARÂNGANASÛTRADHÂRA by KING BHOJADEVA. Edited by Mahâmahopâdhyâya T. Ganapati Sâstrî. Vol. ii. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXII.) 9¾ × 6½, ii + 15 + 324 pp. Baroda: Central Library, 1925.

The *Nala-vilāsa* is a Sanskrit drama in seven acts on the familiar epic theme of the adventures of King Nala; but the author, true to his principle of independence (he uses as the *anka* of his works the adjective *svatantra*) has treated the subject in a somewhat original manner, one of the features of which is the use of the artifice of a play within the play.[1] Rāmacandra was one of the most distinguished disciples of the great Hēmacandra; but of his numerous works, which are said to amount to a hundred, only few have been published. To speak candidly, his muse seems to us somewhat mediocre and frigid, and we are unable to share the learned editor's enthusiasm for it. Nevertheless his work is scholarly and meritorious: his praiseworthy efforts to attain originality have at any rate elevated him above the common herd, if they have failed to lift him to the higher peaks of Parnassus.

In the *Tattva-sangraha* of Śāntirakṣita (this form of his name seems to us to be better than that adopted by the editor) with his disciple's commentary or *pañjikā* we have a publication of an importance commensurate with its bulk. The former consists of 3,646 polemic verses in which Śāntirakṣita wages lively warfare from the Buddhist standpoint against other schools. He begins by assailing the Sānkhya theory of nature as the cause of the world, the Naiyāyika doctrine of God as creator, the theistic Sānkhya, and the theories of independent existence of effects, of *Śabda-Brahma* or Divine Logos, of *Puruṣa* or anthropomorphic creator, and

[1] The employment of this device in the *Ratnâvalî*, we may remind our readers, has been made the subject of an excellent little study in the edition of that drama by Professor A. V. W. Jackson and his collaborators.

of soul as an independent and eternal entity according to the Naiyāyikas, Pūrva-mīmāmsakas, Sānkhyas, Digambaras, Upaniṣadic *māyā-vādins*, and Vātsīputrīyas. Then he demolishes the doctrines that ascribe permanence to the forms of existence; the arguments against Buddhism drawn from the relation of actions and their effects, from the logicians' theories of substance, quality, action, generality, particularity, and invariable concomitance, the relation between words and their objects, perception, inference, and other means to valid knowledge, as well as the *syād-vāda* or doctrine of the coexistence of different qualities in the same subject; the doctrine of certain Buddhists that ascribes to phenomena permanence in change; the Lōkâyata or ultra-materialist heresy; the theory of the reality of external phenomena; the claim of supreme authority for the Vēdas; the Pūrva-mīmāmsakas' theory of the self-demonstrated validity of knowledge; and lastly the objections raised against the omniscience of the Buddha. In the course of these discussions the authors refer to many writers who are otherwise unknown or only imperfectly known,[1] which greatly increases the value of these pages. In his English introduction the general editor of the series, Mr Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ably discusses all these and other data of literary history arising out of the text and its commentary, at the same time giving a valuable review of the known facts concerning Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, whose dates he fixes with reasonable probability as respectively 705–762 and 713–763. In this connexion he announces the discovery of another work of Śāntirakṣita, the *Tattva-siddhi*, which expounds the Mahāsukha-vāda,

[1] The chief of these, in chronological order, are: Kamalāśvatara (possibly the same as Ajita Kēsakambali, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Ghōṣa or Ghōṣaka, Buddhadēva, Vindhyavāsin, Saṅghabhadra, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Ācārya Sūri (possibly Haribhadra), Māṭhara (quoted without name), Dharmakīrti, Bhartṛhari, Śubhagupta, Purandara, Yōgasēna, Sāmaṭa and Yajñaṭa, Aviddhakarṇa, Śaṅkara Svāmin, Praśastamati, Bhāvivikta, Pātrasvāmin, Ahrīka, Sumati, and Ubeyaka (who, it is suggested with some probability, may be identical with the post-Bhavabhūti)

a form of Vijñāna-vādin Buddhism; and as it quotes Śāntidēva's Bōdhicaryâvatāra and Tattva-saṅgraha, it fixes a limit for the date of Śāntidēva, who must therefore have lived between 695, when I-tsing left India, and 743, when Śāntiraksita first visited Tibet. The elaborate Sanskrit preface of Pandit Krishṇamācārya also calls for honourable mention Thus these two volumes are in all respects a really valuable contribution to Sanskrit literature.

The second and concluding volume of the *Samarâṅgana-sūtradhāra* contains chapters 55–83 of the work, describing the construction of various types of temples and their chief members, rules for painting and plastering, the proportions, forms, poses, and attributes of the figures of deities, the five classes of men and women according to the *Kāma-śāstra*, the eleven *rasas* or sentiments known to writers on the art of poetry and their representation in painting and sculpture, and the 64 attitudes of the hands used symbolically in dance-gesticulation This should be valuable to the student of the fine arts. Unfortunately, however, the editor has been compelled to lean upon the broken reed of a single manuscript which is very defective and corrupt, and hence the text in many places is beyond his power of emendation, so that the value of the book is seriously restricted

5. Kali - kāla - sarvajña - śrī - HĒMACANDRÂCĀRYA - viracitā svôpajña - vrtti - sahitā PRAMĀṆA-MĪMĀMSĀ. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xix + 108 + vi pp Poona : Jain Printing Works, 1926.
6. Kali - kāla - sarvajña - śrī - HEMACANDRÂCĀRYA - viracitā ANYA - YŌGA - VYAVACCHĒDIKÂ tad - vyākhyā ca śrī - MALLIṢĒṆA-sūri-praṇītā SYĀD-VĀDA-MAÑJARĪ $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ii + 68 + vi pp. Poona : Jain Printing Works, 1926.
7. Ācārya-śrī-SIDDHASĒNA-DIVĀKARA - praṇītaṃ SAMMATI-TARKA-PRAKARAṆAM . . . TATTVA-BŌDHA-VIDHĀYINYĀ vyākhyayā vibhūṣitam. Vol. ii. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, xiv + 148 pp. Ahmadabad : Gujarāt-purā-tattva-mandira, 1926.

The first two of these volumes form respectively Nos. 1 and 3 of a new series of works of Jain literature styled *Ārhata-mata-prabhākara*, which is ably edited with Sanskrit notes and introductions by a Pandit of great erudition, Mōtīlāl Lādhājī. The *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā* here makes its first appearance in print, accompanied by the author's own commentary. Only a part of it, however, is available, extending as far as the end of the first *āhnika* of *adhyāya* ii; the remainder seems to be lost, if it was ever written. Like all the other works of the famous Hēmacandra, it possesses considerable interest and merit, though its qualities are not likely to attract many European readers. It is a summary of the principles of Jain logic, presented in the form of aphorisms, which are fully expounded in the commentary. The *Anya-yōga-vyavacchēdikā*, another of Hēmacandra's many works, is no stranger: it has already been published several times, usually with Malliṣēṇa's commentary *Syād-vāda-mañjarī*, which is reprinted here. The merit of the present edition lies mainly in the exhaustive introduction and useful footnotes supplied by the editor, Mōtīlāl Lādhājī. The work, we may add, is in the form of a hymn to the Jain Saviour Vardhamāna, which in typical Jain fashion is made to convey a series of lively polemics against the philosophical doctrines of other schools of thought—Vaiśēṣikas, Mīmāmsakas, Yōgis, Advaitis, Sāṅkhyas, Buddhists of various sorts, Lōkâyatas, etc.—followed by an enunciation of orthodox Digambara theory and its formulation by means of the *saptabhangī* syllogism. Siddhasēna's *Sammati-tarka*, with Abhayadēva's commentary, of which the second volume now lies before us, is such a huge work that the present instalment, comprising 148 closely printed quarto pages, only covers the second, third, and fourth Prakrit verses of the original with their commentary. The loving care and industry of the editors who are bringing out this great corpus of Jain scholastic lore are most commendable.

8. THE KĀTHAKAGṚHYASŪTRA, with extracts from three commentaries, an appendix and indexes. Edited for the first time by Dr. William Caland. (Dayānanda-mahā-vidyālaya-samskrta-grantha-mālā, no. 9.) 9 × 5⅞, ix + 323 pp D A.V. College: Lahore, 1925.

9. OVER HET VAIKHĀNASASŪTRA, door W CALAND. (Mededeel. d koninkl. Akad v. Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, deel 61, serie A, no 8) 9⅛ × 6¼, 16 pp. Amsterdam, 1926.

The five books of the *Kāthaka-gṛhya-sūtra*, traditionally associated with the name of Lāugâkṣi and the Caraka or Cārāyaṇīya school, give successively the rules for the ceremonies of studentship, *samāvartana*, *upākarma*, *pāka-yajña*, marriage, conception, *sīmantônnayana*, *pum-savana*, *jāta-karma*, *nāma-karana*, *āditya-darśana*, *candra-d*°, *anna-prâśana*, *cūdā-karma*, *upanayana*, *vēdâdhyayana*, *cāturhāutṛka*, *gō-dāna*, *agnyādhāna*, *hōma*, *paśu-kalpa*, *śūla-gavaḥ*, *svastya-yana*, *aṣṭakāḥ*, and *śrāddha*, and form a document of considerable importance in ritual literature. Dr. Caland has ably reconstituted the text from the commentaries of Dēvapāla and Ādityadarśana, Brāhmaṇabala's *Gṛhya-paddhati*, and a number of *ṛcakas*, and has printed it together with extracts from the works of these three exegetes and critical notes—a task of immense difficulty, owing to the uncertainty and frequent corruptions of his MS. sources,[1] but one which he has accomplished with striking success for the most part. He has again earned a new title to our gratitude, for a goodly harvest of the various fruits that are to be expected from literature of this kind may be gathered from the present work.

In his interesting paper on the *Vāikhānasa-sūtra* Dr. Caland seeks to prove from its incorrect Sanskrit idiom that this code—the last of the Sūtras of the Tāittirīya-śākhā—was

[1] We take the opportunity to point out that the British Museum possesses a fine Śāradā MS. of Dēvapāla's *Bhāṣya* on birch-bark (Or. 6759), which Dr. Caland has apparently overlooked.

composed by a Brahman whose Sanskrit was contaminated by Tamil. The evidence for this, as Dr. Caland himself suggests in a note (p 4), might equally be used to prove the author to be a Malayali, and this is confirmed by Mahādēva's phrase *Kērala-dēśa-saṃsthitam*, "current in Malabar."[1] He shows further from its use of the planetary names of the weekdays in the order derived from the Greeks and from its mention of betel-chewing that it belongs to the fourth century A.D., while comparison indicates that it was known to the author of the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*. It has, however, certain rules peculiar to it, notably on the "way of death" and the gruesome marriage of the dead, which is notoriously a practice of the extreme South. The announcement that the Sūtra (both Dharma and Gṛhya) is to be published this year in the Bibliotheca Indica is welcome news.

10. KALIDASA'S ŚAKUNTALA, an ancient Hindu drama. Critically edited, in the original Sanskrit and Prakrit of the Bengali recension, by the late Richard Pischel. Second edition. (Harvard Oriental Series. Edited . . . by Charles Rockwell Lanman. Vol. XVI.) $10\frac{7}{8} \times 7$, xviii + 260 pp. Cambridge, Mass., Stuttgart printed, 1922 (1924).

Ποθεινὸς ἦλθε: after long years of waiting and hope again and again deferred the master-critic's work is at length given to the world, and the veteran editor of the Harvard Oriental Series has added to that fine collection one of its finest volumes.

The present book contains, besides Professor Lanman's editorial introduction, Pischel's foreword to his first edition (published at Kiel in 1877), a preface by Professor Cappeller, the text of the play, and appendices giving (1) the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prakrit passages, (2) variant readings, (3) divergences of readings from those of the first

[1] Cf. the use of *saṃsthā* in e.g. *Kauṭ.* iii, 1. Dr. Caland is slightly incorrect in translating the phrase "het Sūtra dat in Kerala-land tot stand gekomen is".

edition, and (4) schemes and table of the metres used. In the text and notes are embodied a number of corrections and new readings noted by Pischel; the latter are not very numerous or important, though some of them are interesting, but the corrections, mainly due to Pischel's own Prakrit grammar, are extensive, and render this second edition far superior to the first. A great debt of gratitude is due to Professor Cappeller, who has edited for the press the Sanskrit *chāyā*, examined the variant readings and recast the list of those worthy of mention, and prepared the third and fourth appendices, besides writing a preface. For the completion of his labours—for unhappily towards the close of his work his eyesight failed him—we have to thank Professor Geldner.

On the high merits of Pischel's work it is needless now to dilate. One point, however, we may mention. Pischel's view of the Bengali recension is a striking instance of his critical insight. When he first put forward his opinion that it is more original, and that the shorter Southern texts present abridged and otherwise interpolated recensions, critics raised a cry of reproach, *ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν*, at his heresy. Since then we have learned something about the vicissitudes of Indian dramatic texts, especially from the controversies over "Bhāsa", which have taught us what tricks playwrights might play in abridging dramas and otherwise adapting them to the tastes of their audiences[1] At the same time it must be admitted that the argument is double-edged. While we may agree that the Bengali recension is probably closer than the Southern to the original, we cannot suppose that it has preserved Kālidāsa's text with absolute fidelity; for the influences which in the South led to abridgment and modification must likewise have been operative in Bengal, though probably to a lesser degree. In respect of Sanskrit phonetics Bengal is perhaps the most corrupt area in India, and in the matter of literary taste it is the home of the *Gauḍīyā* style,

[1] We may also call attention to Professor Hertel's striking paper "A Note on Bhavabhūti and on Vākpatirāja" in *Asia Major*, i, fasc. 1.

the opposite of Kālidāsa's *Vāidarbhī*. It would therefore be little less than a miracle if the text of our play had entirely escaped alteration there, especially in the Prakrit passages. Nevertheless, the Bengali recension, as now edited by Pischel, certainly represents the best traditions of Eastern grammarians, and is probably not very far removed from the original. And more than this, under present conditions, it would be unreasonable to demand.

11 STUDIES IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT. By AJIT KUMAR SEN, M.A. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, vi + 179 pp. Calcutta: Hindusthan Press, 1926.

Mr. Sen tells us that his book "is the outcome of a desire to establish the fact, that in realms of political thought, the Hindus were not as backward as some writers try to make out". He seems to us to have established his thesis, and in so doing to have proved himself a sober and intelligent thinker. The book comprises seven essays discussing the question whether Hindu political thought is solely theological, which is answered in the negative, the scope and nature of its literature, the Hindu view of the State of Nature, the origin of kingship, the checks imposed by Hindu theory upon tyranny, its conception of law, and the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭalya compared with that of Śukra. The treatment is able and judicious, and much of the matter is really instructive.

Most of the essays were originally published separately in periodicals; hence there is a little overlapping and repetition. Fuller references, and above all an index, are needed. A few statements also seem to need qualification. The account of the Vedic conception of law and its sanction on p. 101 ("it is a deity" [*scil.* Varuṇa] "and not the tribal chief who is the protector of dharma," etc.) overlooks the fact that Varuṇa is conceived in the Ṛgvēda with the attributes of glorified kingship. The statement on p. 115 that "to the Hindus the Veda stands for the word of God", and is a formal source of law "to be traced to the Being who

willed the law", ignores the atheism of the Pūrva-mīmāmsā school. Perhaps Mr. Sen is a little too confident in the early date of the Kauṭalīya (p. 127) Finally, we are a trifle puzzled by his remark that "the theistic origin of kingship was an anti-Buddhist doctrine" (p. 129): if this is intended to mean that the theory of the divine origin of the kingship was *first invented* in opposition to the secular theory advocated by Buddhism, it is probably incorrect.

12. ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES. By BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series, No. XII.) $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, i + i + 191 + 4 pp., 5 pl. Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1926.

The "ancient Indian tribes" who receive Dr. Law's attention in this book are the Kāśis, Kōsalas, Aśmakas or Assakas, Magadhas, and Bhōjas Dr Law gives in English a summary of the references to them in the Buddhist and Jain scriptures, the Atthakathās, the Epics, several Purāṇas, and a number of other works, ancient and modern; and he has for the most part deliberately abstained from criticism of the historical and mythical statements compiled by him. His work is thus a *Repertorium*, and as such is useful; its utility would be greatly increased if it were properly indexed, for the present index is utterly inadequate.

13 ABSORPTION OF THE VRATYAS By Mohamohapadhyaya [*sic* !] HARAPROSAD SASTRI, C.I.E. (Dacca University Bulletin, No. VI.) $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, 9 pp. London, Calcutta printed: Oxford University Press, 1926.

This is a sketchy and loosely written paper, in which the author fails to do justice to himself. We are unable to find in it any advance in the knowledge of the subject: Dr. Charpentier's *Bemerkungen uber die Vrātya's* (WZKM. xxv, p. 357 ff.) still remain the last word worth hearing.

14. CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR. By Rai Bahadur HIRALAL. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, 2 + i + lv + 808 + 8 pp. Nagpur, 1926.

The goodly number of 8,185 manuscripts is recorded in this volume. Of these Nos. 1–6921 are classed as "Brahmanical" works, i.e. they belong to one or another school of Hinduism, and for the most part are of no great interest to non-Hindus. The remainder are Jain works, or works by Jain authors, and they are of considerable importance, as several of them are very rare, especially some in Apabhramśa verse, which open up a wide and fruitful field for research in the philology of the later Prakrits, a subject in which very little investigation has yet been done. The descriptions are very brief, giving as a rule only the author's name, subject, and owner's name, but in an appendix extracts are given from many of the Jain manuscripts, and the book is prefaced by a valuable English introduction on the literary history of the Jains, on which a considerable amount of new light is hereby thrown By the compilation of this Catalogue Rai Bahadur Hiralal has rendered a great service to the cause of Indian philology.

15. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. Nos. 21, 28, 29. 13 × 10. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1925–26.

Two of these Memoirs are from the pen of Mr. Hirananda Shastri, Nos. 21 and 28. In the former, "The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah" (i + 14 + iii pp., 1 plate, 1925), he gives us an interesting notice of the *Vīrabhānūdaya-kāvya*, a Sanskrit poem of some merit in 12 cantos, by Mādhava, son of Abhayacandra, a courtier of the Bāghēlā Raja Vīrabhānu, who composed it about A.D. 1540, after Vīrabhānu had resigned the cares of government to his son Rāmacandra. The poem gives in panegyric style an account of the exploits of the dynasty from Raja Bhīma onwards, and supplies some fairly important data for the history of Rewah in the Mughal period, which are adequately discussed. In No 28, entitled "Bhasa and the Authorship of the Thirteen Trivandrum Plays" (i + i + 36 pp., 1926), the same scholar

presents a careful survey of all the arguments that have been used to justify the ascription to Bhāsa of the dramas in question, and after discussing them in detail concludes quite justly, *as it seems to us*, that "*they can by no means prove that Bhāsa was the real author*". He himself was at one time a believer in the Bhāsa-hypothesis; but, as has happened in the case of some other scholars, his faith was shaken by a study of Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* (which we had the pleasure of noticing in the April number of this *Journal*), and he was thence led to examine the problem critically and to embody the fruits of his investigation in the present memoir. His reasoning is, in our humble opinion, sound, and the paper is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, in fact, it ought to lay that troublesome ghost which a witty Hindu scholar dubbed *Bhāsa-ābhāsa*.

No. 29, "Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archæology," is by Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, who after a short survey of the origin and forms of Arabic writing gives us descriptions of 104 choice specimens, illustrated by the same number of plates, and classified according to their styles, which are respectively Kufic (one specimen only), *thulth, naskh, nasta'līq, shikastah*, and the fanciful *tughrā* and *khatt-i ghubār*. Most of them are the work of famous masters of pencraft, of whom the author gives brief biographical notices where possible. Among them are a good specimen of Yāqūt al-Musta'simi's exquisite *naskh*, a fine *waṣlī* in *nasta'līq* by the ill-fated Dārā Shikōh, two equally good pieces in the handwriting of his brother Shāh Shujā', and three *waṣlīs* (one in *nasta'līq* and the others in *tughrā* and *naskh*) by Bahādur Shāh II. The art of calligraphy had a strong fascination for the Mughal princes, as indeed it deserved, and under royal patronage it flourished vigorously in India, a host of minor penmen carefully and skilfully reproducing the styles of the masters. Those who are interested in the study of this beautiful art will find in the present memoir much instruction and æsthetic satisfaction.

16. Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Part V: Rajput Painting. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. $11\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$. i + 272 pp., 132 plates, 1 map. Boston, Cambridge, Mass., printed: Harvard University Press, 1926.

The Trustees of the Boston Museum are to be congratulated both on possessing a notably fine collection of works of Indian art and on having Dr. Coomaraswamy to keep and describe it. He had devoted his life with rare enthusiasm and ability to the study of Hindu interpretations of beauty, and the handsome volume now before us, a veritable *rūpa-nidhi*, bears striking evidence to his success.

The 694 paintings, drawings, and designs here described and illustrated present medieval and modern Hindu life and feeling in very attractive aspects. The perfect mastership of Ajanta and Bagh is indeed far distant from them. A rich series of noble sculptures has preserved for our eyes the stamp of the great and glorious classical age of Hinduism on stone; but of its expression in painting nothing has survived, save a few frescoes The frailty of their materials and the storms of medieval history have deprived us of nearly all ancient pictures in India. But the old artistic traditions lingered on obscurely, though for the most part in rustic and provincial guises, until they meet us in the paintings of the sixteenth century.

It is at this point that Dr. Coomaraswamy takes up the tale. The earliest pieces in his Rajput collection are of the sixteenth century, and thence the series is carried on, arranged under periods subdivided according to the various schools, until we reach the nineteenth century. Their chief themes are love in the many phases taught by the *śāstras*, epic tales, stories of romance and chivalry, and religious myth. Their merits, of course, vary from minima to maxima; but nearly all are good, and many are very good, their formulæ expressing the artistic ideal with singular grace and force. One hardly knows which to prefer—the severe archaic vigour of the old

pictures tentatively ascribed to Bundelkhand, or the delicate perfection of the quite modern Kangra schools and Garhwal, or the dynamic earnestness of the art represented in the coloured frontispiece

The introduction begins by surveying the schools of art represented here, viz. (1) the Rajasthani, comprising Bundelkhand,[1] Mewar, Malwa and Gujarat, Jodhpur, Bikanir, and Jaipur, (2) the Pahari, (3) the Garhwali,[2] and (4) the Sikh, including useful dynastic lists of rulers of several Hill States. Then follow sections on the technique of Rajput painting, costumes and other accessories represented in it, ancient *motifs* used in it, its themes (viz. the *rāgas* and *rāginīs*, subjects from the epics, Purānas, and Tantras), with a summary of the plot of the *Kṛṣna-līlā* (based on the *Prēma-sāgara*), a study of the spirit underlying it, and an account of the phases of love as treated in Rajput art. To the descriptions are appended bibliography, indexes, etc An additional interest is given to the book by the *bhāṣā* (Braj, Rajasthani, etc.) verses accompanying many of the pictures, which are transcribed and translated with, on the whole, considerable success, though on details there must naturally be some difference of opinion. We have noted a few slight errors in transcriptions and misprints. E g on p. 53, n. 2, *Ravi* should be *Kavi*. The *Ausgewählte Erzählungen* referred to on p. 25, n. 1, are neither the work of Hēmacandra nor the translation of Professor Hertel, but are a selection from Dēvêndra's *Uttarâdhyayana-ṭīkā* edited by Professor Jacobi and translated by J. J. Meyer ; the reference here given should be " p. 111 ", not " p. iii ". But these are minor matters, and in works of this kind *de minimis non curat lector*.

[1] To Bundelkhand Dr. Coomaraswamy assigns Nos. 1–16. I must confess that I am not convinced.

[2] The separation of the Garhwali school from the Pahari group seems to be a mistake ; the former should be included under the latter.

16. PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ŚILPAŚĀSTRA. With the Text [illegible] Mayaśāstra. By Professor PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A., . . . with a foreword by Dr. James H. Cousins, D.Lit. (The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series, No 11.) [illegible] × 6⅝, 4 + 90 + 18 + 4 pp. Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1926

This book comprises nine chapters, giving an account of (1) the origin of Indian *śilpa*-technique, (2) a few surviving works on the subject, (3) the principles of Indian sculpture and painting, (4) the rules for constructing images, (5) the beginnings of Hindu images, (6) traditional conventions in the forms of images, (7) rules for building and (8) painting, and finally (8) two pages and a half of what is styled "Contribution of Indian Art". Then follow appendices containing a reprint of a Sanskrit *Maya-śāstra* on rules for constructing statues and buildings and short extracts from some other works.

The book is useful to a certain extent; but the extent is limited. The treatment is sketchy and superficial, and the bibliography is inadequate. The historical surveys sometimes display a remarkable confusion of thought[1]; the author's command of English is imperfect; and the pages swarm with misprints and with mistakes which apparently are not due to the printer. Altogether the work is very slovenly, and not particularly intelligent.

18. DIE BILDLICHEN DARSTELLUNGEN DER INDISCHEN GÖTTERTRINITÄT IN DER ÄLTEREN ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN LITERATUR, von ERNST SCHIERLITZ. 9½ × 6¼, 94 pp. Hannover, München printed: Heinz Lafaire, 1927.

In this careful and scholarly study the author traces the attempts made by Europeans to depict the three great gods

[1] Thus, on p. 33, Mr. Bose says: "The only instance we have of a figure of a king in India is perhaps the broken Mathura statue of . . . Kaniska"; and then he immediately proceeds to mention several other instances of royal portraits, to which might be added the effigies of the Pallava and other Southern kings. His remarks on p. 54 anent the date of the earliest images are utterly unintelligible.

of the Hindu Trinity and their avatars, from Abraham Roger's epoch-making *De Open Deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom* (Leyden, 1651) to Edward Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (London, 1810, new edition, Madras, 1864). The books in which these pictures appear are classified under their nationality: Holland (seventeenth century), France (seventeenth–eighteenth century), Germany (eighteenth century), Italy (eighteenth century), and England (eighteenth–nineteenth century); and to these chapters are appended useful notes and a bibliographic *Übersicht*. As a contribution to iconography and bibliography this little monograph merits high praise.

19 THE APADĀNA OF THE KHUDDAKA NIKĀYA. Part II. Edited by MARY E LILLEY (Pali Text Society.) 9 × 5¾, pp. i–xvi + 339–629; London, Guildford, and Esher printed: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Miss Lilley is to be congratulated on the completion of her long and arduous task, which has placed at the disposal of students of Pali a large mass of important material. This second and concluding volume contains Nos. 398–547 of the *Thēra-apadānas* and the forty tales of corresponding rewards of piety won by nuns, with an introduction and an index.

As we indicated in our notice of Part I, the present edition is hardly to be regarded as final, for the materials are insufficient to enable an editor to construct a definitive text. Its merit is that it makes it possible to form an idea of the Sinhalese tradition, though on many points the latter is still uncertain, owing to the corruptions of MSS. As in the case of Part I, the MS. S^1 seems to preserve traces of a better tradition than the others, despite its countless errors, both intentional and accidental. Thus in *Thēra-a°*, § 401, g. 24, where *jaladuttamanāmakē* is printed in the text, S^1, with the Burmese edition, has rightly *jalaj°* (Jalajuttara = Padumôttara); § 485, g. 1, *Vinatā* of S^1, G., and Burm. must be right, as against *Cinatā* of text. In *Thērī-a°*, § 24, g. 11,

kittayaŋ of S[1] (with P. and Burm.) is better than *kittayī* of text; § 25, g. 42, *sasiŋ nibhaŋ* and *dōlālocā ca* of text should apparently be corrected to *sasinibhaŋ* (S[1] *sasinabhaŋ*, Burm. *sasīnibhaŋ*) and *dōlālōlā* (so S[1]: Burm. *dōlōlullā va*); ib. g. 44, where text gives *abhejjabhantā*, *amejjha*° of S[1] and Burm. is clearly necessary; § 27, g 22, for *sugatiŋ ahaŋ* of text we may read with S[1], Burm., and P. *sugatiŋ gatā*, § 34, g. 23, where the text has the unmetrical and meaningless *atittā bhayām ahaŋ*, and S[1] gives *anittāmiharāmahaŋ*, we should read with Burm. *atittā viharām' ahaŋ*.[1] These are a few casually selected specimens of one of the many kinds of problems presented by the Apadāna. For the rest, we note a few occasional lapses (e.g *Thēra-a*°, § 410, g. 8, read *sālarājaŋ va*, § 479, g 1, read *vēdāna pāragū*, and g. 3, read *tamandhakāraŋ*. § 486, g 22, read *vihataŋ tamō*), but when we turn from details to consider the work as a whole, we must gratefully recognize the industry, energy, and ability which have brought it under circumstances of the utmost difficulty to fulfilment.

A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES from the earliest times to the end of the Seventeenth Century A.D. By U. N. GHOSHAL. xi + 257 pp. Oxford University Press, 1927.

When nearly twenty years ago the actual text of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya was found and edited, the opinion of Sanskrit scholars was unanimous upon the great importance of the find. One of the foremost living Sanskritists in several admirable papers tried to prove, on purely internal grounds, that the work is the genuine one and was actually composed by the cunning minister of Candragupta himself. This assertion, which seemed at one time to be widely accepted, is no doubt open to very grave doubts; and it seems far more

[1] It may be remarked *en passant* that in § 34, g. 22, the reading of the text *sabbadā ev' ajām' ahaŋ . . . rūpaŋ yena 'va nandanaŋ* is wrong: Burm gives *sabbadā ca vajām' ahaŋ . . . rūpaŋ nayananandanaŋ*, which, if we correct *ca* to *va*, is right. S[1] seems here to have gone astray.

probable that the present Kauṭīlya dates from some period belonging to one of the earlier centuries A.D., though it may contain material of far older date. But this knotty problem apart, it is none the less safe to assert that the *Arthaśāstra* is one of the most important Sanskrit works with which we have so far become acquainted.

From another point of view, however, the find was not quite a happy one. The amazing bulk of historical (and to a great extent quasi-historical) and political literature which has in India cropped up around the *Arthaśāstra* generally makes tedious reading and is of somewhat scanty interest. Also it is obviously misguided in its tendency to point to the author of the work as being an ideal statesman whose ideas and methods should be recommended to the admiring imitation of Western scholars and politicians

Whether it would be possible to conduct the affairs of Government on the lines laid down by Kauṭilya scarcely invites profound speculation. In any case it is only fair to say that a State actually governed according to these methods could certainly not have found its match as far as bad government goes. Of the wholesale unscrupulousness and wickedness of the principles laid down here there can be no doubt whatsoever; and its utter immorality has been aptly branded even by Bāṇa (as quoted by Mr. Ghoshal, p. 108, n. 1), who was himself perhaps no criterion for the most scrupulous proceedings. Certainly India has many things to teach the Western world. But we most decidedly refuse to be invited either to admire or to imitate the policy of Kauṭilya; European States, even in the periods of their deepest downfall, have scarcely been as mismanaged and oppressed as would be the subjects of princes acting according to his advice.

These remarks seemed necessary considering that the work of Professor Ghoshal extensively draws its materials from the *Arthaśāstra*. But we must in all fairness admit that the author is more moderate in his praise of Kauṭilya than are

most of his countrymen. On the whole Professor Ghoshal seems to have composed his work in a quiet spirit of research, and we gather much useful information from it. The most interesting topic seems to be the attempted history of Hindu ideas of kingship. Repeated and more extensive researches into this fascinating topic may lead to further investigation of the Indo-Iranian ideas of the theory and history of this institution—an investigation which has long appeared to the present writer to be both an inviting and a necessary one.

Minor details perhaps invite criticism, but we shall not enter upon them here. That *Vātavyādhi* (p. 43, n. 1) is really the same person as *Uddhava* we gather already from the *Śiśupālavadha* (ii, 15), where he is called *Pavanavyādhi*. And the *Bhāradvāja* mentioned in the same passage is not *Droṇa* but a certain *Kaṇiṅka* or *Kaṇika*, a political adviser of evil reputation mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* and in the *Mahābhārata* as well.[1]

JARL CHARPENTIER.

KARMA AND REINCARNATION IN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. By PAUL YEVTIĆ. 112 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1927.

Dr Yevtić, who carried on his researches at the School of Oriental Studies during the years 1924–7, has here tried to present the outlines of the *Karma* doctrine, as it appears in the various strata of Indian literature from the oldest times and down to the age of Rāmānuja and the *Sūryagītā*. For his teacher and chief adviser he has had Dr. Barnett, and this, of course, is a guarantee for the solidity and soundness of the work. It certainly contains a fair amount of well sifted and arranged materials, and should be of value to every scholar interested in Indian theology and philosophy. The author is to be congratulated upon this his first work, which certainly promises well for the future.

[1] Cf. *VOJ*. xxviii, p. 215 f.

The misprints are fairly numerous, and the transli- tion of Sanskrit words is sometimes a little puzzli owing to technical difficulties, as the author tells us. present writer confesses to be completely baffled by derivation of the word *deva* offered on p. 4, n. 1, and derivation of *Mātariśvan* (p 108) is certainly equally fanciful.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

CEYLON AND PORTUGAL Part I Kings and Christians 1539–52 From the original documents at Lisbon. By P. E PIERIS and M A H FITZLER. 108 pp. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1927.

The name of Mr. P. E Pieris is familiar to students of Eastern history as that of an indefatigable investigator of the fortunes of Ceylon during the Portuguese and Dutch periods. He has now, in collaboration with Fräulein M. A. H Fitzler, started upon a vast undertaking, viz. the publication, mainly from Portuguese archives, of all the documents dealing with interrelations between Ceylon and Portugal during the years 1505–1658. Of this very extensive series the present volume is the first dealing with the years 1539–52, all coming within the long reign of Dom João III of Portugal The volume, published by the Asia Major Verlag, is very well printed and conveys an excellent impression of careful and painstaking editorship.

The preface tells us that Mr. Pieris is alone responsible for the Introduction and Fraulein Fitzler for the Notes, while the translation is the result of their collaboration. Not having access to the original texts, we cannot, of course, pass any definite judgment on the translation; but there is every presumption for it being of high standard. Mr. Pieris acknowledges his gratitude to the Very Rev. Father G. Schurhammer, S.J., for the valuable aid given him, and tells us that Father Schurhammer will himself issue a critical edition of the Portuguese text. The present writer, being

most ed with a personal acquaintance with the Father's seem ine scholarship and being indebted to him for various and tant observations, can only congratulate Mr. Pieris inte having secured for himself such extremely valuable aid. ide ny of these letters make a painful impression, and bear mple witness to the rapid and profound decline in morality mongst the Portuguese Conquistadores in the East. Others gain, such as those from old Migell Ferreira, testify to a ine and chivalrous spirit. And there is one most vigorous nd interesting from the great Francis Xavier to Dom João III which reveals to us the flaming spirit that thought nothing of telling the powerful King of Portugal that "it will be a ovel matter, of a kind which has never befallen your High- ess, to see yourself at the hour of death dispossessed of our Kingdoms and Seignories and entering on others where will be a strange thing for you to be ordered, which God rbid, out of Paradise."

The notes generally contain valuable and useful material. owever, the one dealing with "gunpowder" (p. 287 sq.) eems somewhat bewildering, and is undoubtedly in need of ome revision. The glossary is rather meagre, and we permit ourselves to hope that the future volumes will bring more copious material for the explanation of difficult and doubtful words. On p. 287, n. 2, we ought, of course, to read *Shahiludui*; and *baços* (?) on p. 358 should probably be altered into *braços*.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE CONCEPTION OF BUDDHIST NIRVĀNA. By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Publishing Office of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Leningrad, 1927.

LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE ET LA LOGIQUE CHEZ LES BOUDDHISTES TARDIFS. By the same author. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

The author tells us that the incentive to the first of these works was given when he reviewed Professor de la Vallée

Poussin's recent book on Nirvāṇa. That review was an attack on the rather novel views propounded by the Professor, and here it is carried still further. The unwisdom of interposing in quarrels is well known, and there is the less reason for doing so now, as the author makes no attempt to substantiate his charges He tells us what Buddha promised; what he denied, and what he condemned, and even what suggested itself to his mental eye, on all of which points Professor de la Vallée Poussin appears to be wrong, and it seems that he even gives a wrong translation of such a well-known term as karma.

When we get past these polemics we find that later Buddhism adopted a new conception of Nirvāna, so that "the whole edifice of early Buddhism was undermined and smashed". There were thus two conceptions at least, which makes us wonder why the author called his book the conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, and our wonder is not lessened when he goes on to say that the book "could also have born the title of 'the Central Conception of Mahāyāna'".

The title might have been even still further delimited, for three-quarters of the book consist of a translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika-śāstra* with a translation of Candrakīrti's commentary thereon. These are the chapters on causality and on Nirvāna, and there is no doubt that here we have a valuable exposition enriched with abundant notes and references, and furnished with seven indexes. This is the Buddhism which either permeated or antagonized Hindu thought, and it has never been so thoroughly examined in English before.

The second work also deals with later Buddhism, but has a narrower scope Primitive Buddhism (by which we are to understand the first thousand years of its history) was suddenly changed. "Jamais peut-être un changement plus brusque et plus radical ne se manifesta dans l'histoire d'une religion. Tout a été changé dans le Mahāyāna." However, the author admits that it was not really so brusque as all that. Even the causal formula in the term avidyā already included in

germ three tendencies : " celle du réalisme, celle de l'idéalisme, et même celle du nihilisme." The author, after stating the Indian views of time and space, and especially the Buddhist theory due to Nāgārjuna, discusses the epistemology of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti—the sources of knowledge, the nature of perception, and thought. Dignāga's theory of knowledge starts from the principle, " il y a deux sortes de connaissance, et deux seulement, la connaissance directe et la connaissance indirecte, car il y a deux sortes d'être ; le particulier et le général."

This theory of two sorts of being lands us at once in questions of ontology, and an exposition follows of the nature of the particular and the general, the meaning of reality in the highest sense, and the problems of an external world and of self-consciousness.

The portion of the book devoted to logic includes chapters on reasoning and Dignāga's innovations, necessary connexion between ideas, negative judgments, and the law of contradiction. The Buddhist categories turn out to be (1) substance and quality (these are one category, not two), (2) substance divides into affirmation and negation, (3) affirmation divides into identity and causality. There is properly speaking no such thing as an analytic judgment. Every negative judgment is a syllogism. These are some of the author's conclusions, which deserve, and will no doubt receive, close scrutiny.

E. J. THOMAS.

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikāya. By LORD CHALMERS. Vol. II. 9 × 6, x + 351 pp. London : Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1927.

This second volume is a worthy successor of the initial one of the translation and forms its organic continuation. The unreserved recognition which I have given to the first volume (*JRAS.* 1927, 569 sq., and incidentally, as concerns

the metrical portions, in the review of de Lorenzo's version of Neumann's Majjhima translation, *JRAS*. 1927, 627 sq.) applies in the same degree to this volume.

In several details the translation shows further improvement. Thus, to mention only one example, in the rendering of the slogan "n'etaŋ mama, n'eso 'ham asmi, na m' eso attā", which Lord Chalmers had translated so wrongly in vol i, 29, with "there is no 'mine', no 'this is I', no 'this is my self'" (on which passage see also Mrs. Rhys Davids in the *Bulletin of the Oriental School*, 1927, p. 633 sq.). It has now been given correctly (ii, 166) with "no form . . is either 'mine', or 'I', or 'self of mine'". The trouble of this passage has probably arisen by misconstruing *eso* with the following *ahaŋ* or *attā* as belonging to these, whereas it really refers back to the initial *yaŋ* (or *yā*) . . . *taŋ* . . . *etaŋ*, i e. *eso* stands for *etaŋ* in grammatical agreement with the masc *ahaŋ* and *attā* (cf. similarly Sn 60–1: *hitvāna kāmāni* . . *sango eso*, where *eso* for *etad* or *etāni*, scil. *kāmāni*, in agreement with *saṅgo*). The quintessence of this very frequent stereotype chain of inference is that the true Buddhist does not identify himself with the object which has been questioned as to its ultimate value. Thus there is no question of a *soul* theory here. In the meaning of "soul" we find *attā* used in the Pali Canon only in contexts, where the *brahmanic* view is criticized and dogmatically condemned as *diṭṭhi*, i e. "heresy" (see e g. Pali Text Society's *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *attan* in compounds *-ānudiṭṭhi*, *-diṭṭhi*, *-vāda*). Otherwise its meaning is either "self as essence, individuality, personality" (cf compounds *-kāra* and *-bhāva*), or (in oblique cases) that of the reflexive pronoun.[1] In order to avoid a misconception, the term "soul" should be strictly reserved to the dogmatic (heretic) meaning, but in all others in the

[1] Of the passages given under Attan in P.D. we have to regard as "dogmatic" only S. iv, 400, and perhaps ii, 17 (where read *attā na me ti* for *attānam eti*), and iii, 135. All other references have to be removed from this category.

Buddhist (*ariya*) sense we should use such terms as do not imply a relation to anything like "soul" as a *stable* entity.

Seeing that *attā* has thus been restored to its proper sphere as "self" in this phrase, one would have welcomed a similar change in the phrase "atta-kāma-rūpā" at vol. ii, 245, where i, 149, is simply referred to with the translation "for their *soul's* good". This expression sounds unbuddhistic, and to me suggests something like a Christian minister anxious about his flock in respect of "their soul's good". I should much prefer to translate it as "taking care of themselves" (lit in a condition as to be intent upon themselves), but in a somewhat deeper sense than Neumann's "selbstzufrieden", since it here refers to secluded meditation, which those engaged in do not wish to have disturbed. This *attakāma*[1] is a peculiar expression and is besides at this passage (text M i, 205 = iii, 155) found, as far as I am aware, only at Saŋyutta i, 75, where the *attā* receives the praise of being the most precious thing to everybody (and on account of which nobody must hurt anybody else, respecting the *attā* as his *summum bonum*): i.e. "evam piyo puthu attā paresaŋ; tasmā na hiŋse param attakāmo ti", where Mrs. Rhys Davids unfortunately translates (*Kindred Sayings*, i, 102) "Since aye so dear the soul to others is, let the soul-lover harm no other man", but guards herself in a footnote (p. 101) that the interpretation is not that of *attā* in an animistic sense, but amounts to as much as "ideal self". It may be of interest to add that neither the *attakāma* passage of S. i, 75, nor of M. i, 205, is found at the corresponding place in the Chinese Tipiṭaka. Evidently the doctrinaire compiler could not reconcile this *attakāma* with his theory of *anatta*.

At other passages a wrong translation conforms to a

[1] I wish to change the somewhat misdirected translation in P.D. as lover of soul" to "self-respecting, self-centred". The reference A. ii, , at that passage is wrong (where *attha*-kāma ought to be read instead, at S. i, 140). *Ātmanaḥ kāmaḥ* "love of Self" is peculiar to the panishads, cf. especially Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. 2, 4.

wrongly emendated text reading, for which Lord Chalmers is responsible. Thus e g. the reading of M. iii, 19, *paticca vinītā* (Si.) with the v.l *paṭipucchā vinītā* In spite of the fact that in difficult readings we usually give the Sinhalese reading the preference I should here decide for the Siamese v.l. For, firstly, the very singular phrase *paticcà v.* (only here !) with the translation "trained to look for causality" (P D.) or "trained in causal sequence" (Chalmers) does not seem to be the phrase required in this connexion with *anatta*, and secondly, the parallel passage at S iii, 104 also has the reading *patipucchā*, best to be given as "trained in discussion on inquiry" (lit. question and answer). *Patipucchā* seems to be a *lectio difficilior* on account of its unusual form (shortened gerund, used adverbially, like *āpucchā*) and it occurs in the same phrase at A. i, 72 (as opposed to *ukkācita-vinītā*, superficially trained, not serious, whereas *p v.* refers to the earnest inquirer). The translation of S. iii, 104 (at *Kindred Sayings*, iii, 88) is quite wrong ("that question [p.] I have already answered [v. !] thus and thus in those teachings that I have given you"). That this phrase has presented a difficulty even to the first Chinese translator is shown by the fact (as Professor Hikata informs me) that in the Chinese Āgama it has been given a different wording altogether. In his exegesis of this Suttanta (*Papañcasūdanī*, iii, 487, Bangkok ed.) Buddhaghosa does not quote nor refer to this phrase at all, as he often shirks the most difficult passages.

It is not my intention to go into more detail, but I should like to mention just one more passage where the fault lies with the text, viz. M. ii, 142 (transl. ii, 76). In the sentence "addasā kho sā parisā Brahmāyuŋ brāhmaṇaŋ dūrato va (wrongly translated as "a little way off", whereas it should be "even a long way off") āgacchantaŋ, disvāna oram attha okāsaŋ akāsi . . ." Lord Chalmers translates the enigmatic *oram attha* in combination with the following *okāsaŋ akāsi* as "made way to receive him", which does not indicate

how he interprets the *oram attha*. I should prefer to read these two words as one *oramattha* (3rd sing. aor. med.), in the sense of "stood up", which fits in better with the following sentence, where B. addresses the assembly with: "alam bho nisīdatha tumhe," i.e. "please, gentlemen, sit down."

The second volume of the translation is supplemented by an admirable and careful index of terms and a list of similes in the whole work, compiled by Mrs. Rhys Davids. On the importance of such indexes nothing need be said here, and this one must be given full credit; but I think that it could have been made even more useful, if the references given to the translation had at the same time been given with their places in the text itself.

W. STEDE.

პავლე ინგო-რო-ყვა: რუსთველიანა I. ვეფხის-ტყაო-სნის თარიღი. შო-თა რუსთველის ვინაო-ბა. ტფილისი 1926.

(PAVLÉ INGOROQVA: RUSTHVELIANA I. The date of "The Man in the Panther's Skin". Who was Shot'ha Rust'hveli? $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. 380 pp., with 4 illustrations—portraits and autographs. Tiflis, 1926.)

The ancient, highly cultured, Christian kingdom of Georgia, in Asia, has been almost completely cut off from intercourse with Europe for the last seven years, and it is gratifying when at rare intervals some evidence reaches us that the light of literature still burns there.

The book before us deals with the great national epic poem, "The Man in the Panther's Skin," of which an English rendering was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1912 (O.T.F., vol. xxi), and its author. It begins with the history of

the text, and the additions made to it in the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries; a "genealogy" of the text is attempted (pp. 16–21), and an analysis is given of the Vakhtang printed version, of A.D. 1712 (pp. 41–98). The date of the poem is discussed (pp. 101–42)—not earlier than A.D. 1196, and not later than A.D. 1207. The fourth chapter (pp. 145–98) identifies Shot'ha Rust'hveli with a member of the family of the Erist'havs of Rust'havi in Heret'hi, and not Rust'havi in Meskhet'hi, and gives an account of that branch of the royal Bagrations. Chap. v (pp. 201–42) is undoubtedly the most original and curious part of the book, in its discussion of Manichoeism in the poem and Rust'haveli's connexion with the "Man" Order of Chivalry and the existence of a Ssufist Academy of Poets in Tiflis. Chap. vi (pp. 245–326) is devoted to researches into the biography of Shot'ha Rust'haveli. Chap. vii (pp. 329–74) is an "iconographic" study of the extant portraits of the poet. There are bibliographic notes on p. 377.

This summary list of contents will suffice to show the great interest of the book. P. Ingoroqva had already done a valuable piece of work by publishing for the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis in 1913 a large octavo volume of texts of Old Georgian Religious Poetry of the eighth to the tenth century, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library.

O. W.

შალვა დადიანი: უბედური რუსი. ისტორიული რომანი. ტფილისი 1927.

(SHALVA DADIANI: THE LUCKLESS RUSSIAN. A historical romance. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. 484 pp. Tiflis, 1927.)

This story gives a picture of Georgian life in the thirteenth century at the Court of Queen T'hamar during the period of her unhappy first marriage with her unworthy princely

Russian Consort, whose character is depicted in dark hues. The author, who bears the family name of the Princes of Mingrelia, does not seem to have published anything before, but is known as a dramatic artist.

O. W.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Part IV. By SIDNEY SMITH, M.A. Printed by order of the Trustees.

It is a pleasure to welcome another volume of these interesting and important texts, which appear to be copied with Mr Smith's usual skill and care.

The tablets here published throw light on a number of obscure points. For instance, the spelling *Du-ur-ḫu-me-id* (No. 42*b*, l. 17) confirms the conjecture made by Landsberger (in *ZA.*, vol. xxxv, p. 30, n. 4) that *KIB-ḫu-me-id* is to be read *Dur-ḫu-me-id*. Again, the spelling *A-šur-i-di-in* (No. 31*a*, l. 2) proves the reading *A-šur-i-din* correct. The name *Ir-nu-id* (No. 6*d*, l. 2) shows that *DUMU Ir-nu id* means "the son of I" and is probably not to be read as a compound name *Mār-Irnuid* (*CTCT.*, pt. i, No 40*a*, 17). An interesting example of the substantival predicate occurs in *anāku ḫarāni* "I (am) my way", namely "on my way" (*CTCT.*, pt iv, No. 19*a*, l. 15), analogous to the Hebr. אֲנִי תְפִלָּה "I am prayer", namely "always at prayer" (Ps. cix, 4). Finally, it seems not unlikely that the puzzling *udubdum* is a colourless word, meaning "gear", "things", or the like (cp. *CTCT*, pt. iv, No. 36–7, l. 9, and No. 20*a*, l. 27, where *mema udubtim* in ll. 26–7 appears not only to sum up a list of diverse objects but also to correspond with *mema* [*u*]*nūtim* in No. 36–7, ll. 29–30).

The scribes, as usual, have made a certain number of errors. Thus *a-na Bu-šu-ki-in Bu-šu-ki-in* (No. 16*a*, l. 1) is a mistake for *a-na Bu-šu-ki-in DUMU Ša-ra-wa* (cp. ll. 7, 9, 13).[1]

[1] There seems to be the same error in No. 16*b*, ll. 2–3 (*v. infr.*).

Mr. Smith, however, has rightly noticed most of these slips; but I cannot always accept his suggestions. For instance, in No. 44*a*, l. 15, the fifth sign is not *ṬU* (= *GIN*) but *MA* for *MA.NA*, as in *CTCT.*, pt ii, No. 8–10, l. 73 (cp. Clay in *BEUP.*, pt. xiv, List of Signs, No. 152, and Lutz in *YOS.*, vol. ii, No. 17, l. 7, and No. 32, l. 7). It may be here remarked that the first half of B.M. 113296 (on pl xxv) does not seem to have been reproduced in scale with the second half (on pl xxvi) Again, l. "15" is misplaced on No 47*b*. But these are small blemishes in an admirable piece of work

It may not be out of place to attempt here the translation of four tablets, Nos. 16*b*, 17*b*, 21*a*, and 42*c*.

(1) *CTCT.*, pt iv, No. 16*b*; B.M. 115159.

Obv. (1) *a-na Ga-ta-tim* (2) *BÀ-ša-NINNI ù* (3) *BÀ-ša-NINNI ki-be-ma* (4) *um-ma ŠU-NINNI a-na* (5) *Man-NINNI ki-be-ma* (6) $\frac{1}{3}$ *MA.NA* 4 *GIN KÙ.BABBAR* (7) *ša li-be-ga* (8) *a-na BÀ-ša-NINNI* (9) *dí-in KÙ.BABBAR a-na* (10) *Man-NINNI i-la-ak* (11) *a-ḫi a-ta KÙ.BABBAR* (12) *lá ta-ga-lá-ma* (13) *li-be lá i-ma-ra-az* (14) / *a-na Man-NINNI DUMU Im-ti-lim* (15) *ki-be-ma a ma-lá* (16) *dub-be-im ša Na-áb-Zu-in* (17) *na-aš-a-ku-ni dub-ba-am* (18) *si-ta-me-a-ma ri-ik-zu-um* (19) *iš-ti-ga li-ib-si* (20) *dub-ba-am a-na* (21) *am-tim dí-in* L.E (22) *I GIN KÙ.BABBAR a-na am-tim* (23) *dí-in lá ta-ga-lá*

(1) Speak unto Gatadum, Puzur-Ištar and Puzur-Ištar, saying: (4) Thus says Gimil-Ištar: Speak unto Man-Ištar, saying: (5) Give the $\frac{1}{3}$ maneh 4 shekels of silver in thy possession unto Puzur-Ištar. The silver will "come in" to Man-Ištar. (11) Thou art my brother; do not withhold the silver, lest my heart be grieved. (14) Speak unto Man-Ištar, the son of Imtilim, saying: According to the tablet which Nab-Zuin has taken away to thee, read the tablet, and let the "chain" remain with thee. (20) Give the tablet to the slave-girl; give 1 shekel of silver to the slave-girl (and) do not withhold (it).

L. 1. The name *Gatadum* occurs again in *CTCT*, vol i, No. 18*a*, 18.

Ll 2–3 Unless the repetition of *Puzur-Ištar* is an error, two persons of the same name must be meant, although it is usual in such cases to add the fathers' names.

Ll 9–10. This use of *alāku*, in reference to money, is found again in *CTCT.*, vol i, No. 10*a*, ll. 20–1. In both passages it seems to mean "to come in" (cp. Bezold, *Bab.-Ass. Gl.*, p. 33*a*) in the sense of "to be repaid" or "refunded" (cp Contenau, *Tabl. Capp*, No 21, ll. 7, 12, and 17).

L. 18 Landsberger (*AH.*, p. 21) takes *rikzum* in the literal sense of "chain", used as a measure usually of ½ to ⅔ manehs' weight Here, however, the metaphorical sense of "contract" is not impossible.

L 19 Literally: "let the 'chain' be."

CTCT., pt. iv, No. 17*b*; B.M. 115167.

(1) *um-ma Kur-ub-NINNI-ma* (2) *a-na A-šir-na-da* (3) *ki-bi-ma* 2 *MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR* (4) *ni-is-ḫa-zu si-a* (5) *A-šir-ba-ni ub-lam* (6) 15 *GIN(TA)* 30 *MA.NA* (7) *AN.NA aš-a-ma-kum* (8) *lib-ba* 2 *MA.NA* (9) *AN.NA ga-tim* (10) *a-na Bi-lá-aḫ-NINNI* (11) *a-di-in* (12) 28 *MA.NA AN.NA* (13) *ku-nu-ki-a* (14) *Bi-lá-aḫ-NINNI* (15) *na-aš-a-kum.*

(1) Thus says Kurub-Ištar: (2) Speak unto Ašir-nada, saying: Ašir-bani has brought me 2 manehs of silver—samples of it have been examined (6) I have bought for thee 30 manehs of lead at 15 shekels (of silver) each. (8) Therefrom I gave 2 manehs of lead in hand (?) to Bilaḫ-Ištar. (12) Bilaḫ-Ištar has taken away for thee the 28 manehs of lead bearing my seal.

Ll 4–5. The meaning of *nisḫāzu siā* has been disputed. Smith (*CTCT.*, pt. i, p. 8) proposes "whose brightness is polished" without making any effort to justify it philologically; this is disproved by the use of the phrase in reference to other things, such as clothes (*e.g.* Contenau, *Tabl. Capp*, No. 98, l. 7) or other goods (*e.g.* in *CTCT.*, pt ii, No. 5, l 6) Landsberger (*AH.*, pp. 15 and 24) suggests *die Prozente dafür sind zugeschlagen*, but does not explain how he reaches this translation. Lewy (in *OLZ*, 1926, col 752) tentatively puts forward *dessen Herausreissungen* (= *Proben*) *angeschaut sind*, at part of which I had independently arrived. This interpretation suits all the passages in which the phrase has hitherto occurred. Further, it may be added that *siā* "examined" and so "approved" is contrasted with *batik* "damaged" in an unpublished text in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Ashm., 1914, No. 424, ll. 31–2 and 39–40).[1]

[1] In form *siā* is the 3rd pers plur fem. of the perm from *še'ū* "to examine", with *s* for *š* before *i* (cp Driver in *JRAS* 1926, p. 730).

Ll 6–7. Cp. Poebel, *Sum Gr*, pp. 113–14, § 310. It appears from this passage that the relation of lead to silver was 1 . 4, while that of silver to gold also was 1 4 (cp Contenau, *Tabl. Capp*, No 73, ll. 1–15).

L 7. The form *ašāmākum* (with *a*) is here the pret tense, as in Babylonian (cp Schorr, *ABRU*, pp. 552–3), elsewhere in Cappadocian the pret. tense is marked sometimes by *a* (cp *li-ša-am* in *CTCT*., pt ii, No 32, l. 27), sometimes by *u* (cp. *iš-u-mu-*(?)*-kum* in *CTCT*., pt ii, No 44, l. 11)

L. 9. The term *gatlum*, as applied to lead, has not yet been satisfactorily explained, in an unpublished text in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford it is used also of silver (Ashm. 1914, No 431, l. 17). Landsberger (*AH*, p 22) suggests *loses Blei*, literally "in hand" is the meaning, as of *ša qāti* (Bezold, *Bab -Ass Gl*, p 241).

CTCT, pt. iv, No 21*a*; B.M. 115170.

(1) *um-ma En-nam-A-šir-ma* (2) *a-na Ku-na-ni-a* (3) *ù A-lá-hi-im a-na* (4) *Ku-na-ni-a* (5) *ki-be-ma ta-ma-lá-ki* (6) *ku-nu-ki ú 2 dub-be-e* (7) *ha-ru-mu-tim* (8) *ša e-zi-ba-ku-ni* (9) *a-ma-gam ta-ma-lá-ki* (10) *ku-nu-ki a-na* (11) *A-lá-hi-im dí-ni* (12) *ù dub-bu-ú* (13) *li-ib-si-ú* (14) *a-tí | tí-ir-tí* (15) *i-lá-ga-ni*

Thus says Ennam-Ašir in regard to Kunania and Alahum: Speak unto Kunania, saying: Thou shalt think, for thy part thou shalt think upon my sealed tablet and the 2 sworn tablets which I have left thee. (10) Give my sealed tablet unto Alahum, and let the tablets remain until my instructions are issued.

L. 2 The prep *ana* clearly means "in regard to", not simply "to", as in *CTCT*. pt ii, No. 49*b*, l 2.

L 5. The verb *malāku* is used absolutely, as in *CTCT*., pt iv, No 20*a*, l 21.

Ll. 5–9 The repetition of *tamalaki* is emphatic (cp. Contenau, *Tabl. Capp.*, No. 7, ll 19–20; No. 18, ll. 29–30 and 34).

L 7 The adj *harmum* is translated "sworn" by Smith (in *CTCT*., pt i, p 12) and "sealed" by Landsberger (*AH*., p. 13), and "enclosed in an envelope" by Lewy (in *OLZ*. 1926, col 752). There is not yet sufficient evidence to decide between these renderings, except that the II i theme of the verb *harāmu* appears to mean "to swear to" a fact (Contenau, *Tabl. Capp*, No 82, l. 11; cp. Smith in *RA*., vol. xxi, pp. 87–8).

L. 9. While *anagam* refers, as the *n* shows, to the nearer object, *amagam*, as the *m* implies (Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gramm*., vol. i, p. 317, n. 1), designates usually the remoter object, *e.g.* the 2nd (cp. *CTCT*., pt. No 5, ll. 19-20, and No. 19, ll. 3-10) or the 3rd (cp. *CTCT*., pt ii, No. 28, ll. 12-14) persons rather than the 1st person. When standing alone, they tend

to lose this distinction and become merely deictic adverbs; thus *anagam* is used with the 3rd person in *CTCT*, pt i, No 33, l. 17, and ii, No. 28, l. 5.

L. 13. Literally. "let the tablets be"

L. 14. Is it to be inferred from the spelling *a-ti* in *CTCT*. pt iv, No. 18*a*, l. 21, for *a-ti* that *ati* and not *adi* is the correct form in Capp. texts?

CTCT., pt. iv, No. 42*c*; B.M. 113529.

Obv. and Rev. (1) *a-na Bu-šu-ki-in ki-bi-ma* (2) *um-ma Ḫu-za-ru-um-ma* (3) 26 *ku-ta-nu I GIR* (4) *ù ú-nu-zu ŠU-Ku-bu-um* (5) *i-ra-dí-a-kum ma-lá TUG.ZUN* (6) *i-za-ku-ú-ni-ni* (7) *lib-ba* 10 *TUG a-na A-lá-bi-im* (8) *dí-in si-tí TUG* (*tí*) (9) *a-na Kur-ub-NINNI* (10) *dí-in GIR* (11) *a zi-ir* (12) *lu-ku-tí-a* | (!) *ba-ni-tim* (13) *i-tí-šu a-bi a-ta* (14) *i-ḫi-id-ma* | *si-im* (15) *lu-ku-tí-a* | *ba-ni-tim* (16) *iš-tí a-li-ki-im* (17) *ba-ni-im-ma* | *si-bi-lam* (18) *ù ŠU-Ku-bu-um lá i-sá-ḫu-ur* (19) *dur-da-šu* (20) *i-na TUG* (*tí*) | *ba-ni-ú-tim* E. (21) *I TUG a-na ŠU-Ku-be-im dí-in* (22) *A-be-DUG dur-da-am.*

(1) Speak unto Bušukin, saying: (2) Thus says Ḫuzarum: (3) Gimil-Kubum will deliver to thee 26 garments, 1 ass and its harness. As many of the clothes as are free of claims (?), therefrom give 10 clothes unto Alabum; give the rest of the clothes unto Kurub-Ištar. The ass for my afore-said wares is with him. Thou art my father: (14) see that thou hast the price of my aforesaid wares conveyed to me by the first comer. (18) And let not Gimil-Kubum go round (19) (but) send him here. Give 1 piece of clothing from the clothes of the afore-said persons to Gimil-Kubum. (22) Send me Abe-ṭāb.

L. 6. Does *zakû* here mean literally "to be clean" or metaphorically "to be free from claims" (cp. *CTCT*., pt ii, Nos. 44–5, l. 18)?

L. 13. The prep. *iti* (Acc. *itti*) "with" seems to occur but rarely in Capp. texts (cp *CTCT*., pt. iv, No. 19*a*, l. 4).

L. 14. The forms sing. *iḫid* and plur. *iḫdā* (as in Contenau, *Tabl. Capp.*, No. 37, l. 25) or *iḫidā* (as in Contenau, *Tr. Tabl. Capp.*, No. 22, l. 17) can be derived only from one and the same verb, namely *naḫādu* (or *na'ādu*): I i "to see," "to see to" (a thing), and II i "to cause (a person) to see", "to inform" (Ungnad, *Bab. Br.*, p. 342). The endeavour made by Lewy (*SATK*., p. 78, n. *a*) to refer *iḫit* and *iḫidā* (which he reads *i ḫiṭ* and *i ḫidā* respectively) to *ḫāṭu* and *iḫdā* (which he reads *u'dā*) to *na'ādu* is needlessly complicated. Why should not all come from *naḫādu*? The forms *iḫud*

and *iḫdā* should be compared with *iziz* from *nazāzu* "to stand" (*CTCT*., pt ii, No 5, l 3) or *uṣur* and *uṣrā* from *naṣāru* "to keep" (Muss-Arnolt, *AD*, p 715*a*) and *iḫidā* with *izizā* from *nazāzu* "to stand" (*CTCT*., pt iv, Nos 40–1, l 21). Further, this use of *ī* with the impt (on Lewy's theory) requires to be confirmed by less equivocal examples in Capp texts

L. 15 The ptcp *ālikum* "coming" is used as a noun meaning "comer" or the like. The phrase is analogous to *ina ištīn ālākim* "at the first coming" (*CTCT*., pt ii, Nos. 44–5, l 15), *i e*. at the first opportunity, in view of the prep. *ina* "at" it is unlikely that Landsberger (*AH*, p 25) is right in regarding the Capp *alākum* as standing for the Acc *allākum* "messenger" (cp. Bezold, *Bab.-Ass Gl*, p. 35 in this phrase).

Ll. 18–19. It is clear from *CTCT*., pt iv, Nos. 40–1, l. 27, that *zaḫāru* and *saḫāru* are to be identified (cp. Contenau, *Tr Tabl Capp*, No. xxiv, ll 24–6)

Now, if *nisḫāzu siā* means "samples of it have been examined", what does *šaduāzu*[1] *šabû* mean? Landsberger (*AH*., p. 21) suggests *die Provision fugt hinzu* and Lewy (in *OLZ*., 1926, col. 752) proposes *die Provision davon ist einbegriffen* It seems likely, indeed, that *šaduāzu* is the plural of *šadûdum* (Acc *šandûtum* > *šaddûtum*),[2] as I had independently concluded, but it is difficult to see how *šabû* can have the meaning there assigned to it. Further, since *šadûdum* is a feminine noun, the verb should be *šabâ* (like the feminine *siā*). May it not mean "they are satisfied", the third person plural being used as an indefinite subject? The phrase may then be translated "they are satisfied with its reckonings (?)" or "deductions (?)", *viz*. "the reckonings (i.e. quotations) for" or "the deductions from (i.e. brokerage on) it are satisfactory".

It remains only to congratulate Mr. Smith on the excellence of his work and to express the hope that the next part will soon be out of his hands.

G. R. Driver

[1] Mr Smith informs me privately that *ša-du-a-zu* is to be read for *du-a-zu* in *CTCT*, pt i, No 14*b*, l 6, the omission of the first sign is an error in his copy of the original text

[2] Cf Bezold, *B-A Gl*, p 266*b* Other cases in these texts are the nom *ša-du-u-dum* (*CTCT*, pt ii, No 24, l 7) and the acc *ša-du-a-tam* (*CTCT*, pt ii, Nos 36–37, l. 10)

THE BABYLONIAN AKITU FESTIVAL, SVEND AAGE PALLIS. With 11 plates. Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. XII, 1.

Dr. Pallis has approached the study of Babylonian ritual as a fully equipped student of comparative religion, and has devoted a comprehensive work to the New Year Festival at Babylon After a short introduction dealing with the nature of the evidence and previous works on the matter, the words *zagmuk* and *akitu* are subjected to an examination as to their meaning ; the word *akitu* is, as the author convincingly shows, quite obscure, but has some inherent connexion with the New Year Festival. The topography of Babylon is discussed with a view to the understanding of the events of the festival, and then the material for reconstructing the nature of the ritual is methodically dissected into an ordered sequence, which is briefly summarized as a consecutive ritual. The last section of the book contains a discussion of the cult drama from the point of view of comparative religion ; Dr. Pallis sees certain elements which are like the cult dramas of primitive agricultural peoples, while others are due to "urban" conceptions. Two maps to illustrate the topography of Babylon and three plates with new copies of relevant texts are to be found on the plates.

Dr. Pallis's book marks a real and very important advance in the study of Babylonian religion, in that it reverses the process that has been usually adopted. Assyriologists have too long drawn deductions from the texts, and imposed explanations so derived upon other religions. The better method is clearly that adopted by the Danish scholar ; where possible, Babylonian religion can and should be interpreted by applying the methods found to lead to sound results in other cases. With the application and extension of this method, the study of an obscure subject may be expected to advance. Whether Dr. Pallis's own views of the subject are likely to be universally accepted by his *confrères* in the field of comparative religion it does not lie within the present

writer's province to say; in any case, those interested will realize a debt to a writer who has been at such labour to collect and arrange the scattered evidence, with a full and clear differentiation as to what is certain, what is probable, what is possible.

The treatment of the Babylonian texts is extremely sound and careful. That in particular cases it is possible to take a different view from Dr. Pallis need hardly be said. The texts are frequently obscure in wording; sometimes the interpretation at present accepted needs drastic revision. Of the instances noted by the writer, there is space only to mention two. The extremely interesting "Legend of Marduk", found and published by Professor Pinches, is a curious and difficult document; more attention to the division of the broken column on the reverse, especially to the paragraphing, should make it doubtful whether the last column refers only to the text immediately preceding it, or the whole text. There is a fragmentary ritual in the British Museum for different months which inclines me to believe that different acts in the legend were celebrated in different months; but the matter is uncertain. The other point concerns the gods gathered into Babylon by Nabonidus. The Nabonidus Chronicle, col. iii, ll. 10–11, reads: . . . *ilani ša (mat)Akkadi* KI . . . *ša MUH.IM u KI.TA.IM. ana Babili KI erubuni.* The transliteration of IM by *šaru* was never more than a guess; it is certainly not supported by the broken inscription of Adad-nirari I (Ebeling, *Meissner and Weidner*, p. 100) where IM should be transliterated *irṣitu*, of a city quarter (cf. *irṣit Babili*). MUH and KI.TA cannot be adjectives, but only prepositions, in this position. "Above the wind" and "below the wind" are different expressions from "upper wind" and "lower wind", and they are in themselves unlikely; the evidence quoted to prove them correct by some does not in fact do so. Nabonidus really had "the gods above the earth" and "the gods below the earth" brought to Babylon, that is the Igigi and the Anunnaki,

for reasons which will be understood when the Legend of Marduk is more fully published.

Dr. Pallis has written a most useful book, which it is to be hoped will be but the first of a series of such thorough inquiries into Babylonian religion.

S. S.

Le Syllabaire Accadien. Par F. Thureau-Dangin. pp. *a* to *d*, i–viii, and 1–68. Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob, Paris, 1926. (Achevé d'imprimer . . . le 11 janvier, 1927.)

The plan of this work is simple, and the aim of the author as been to give all the possible values of the 285 characters pf which he treats As all the works quoted are indicated by nitials, there is a long list of titles which the reader has to onsult, if he should be in doubt. This list of titles extends to ore than three pages.

The arrangement is similar to that of other syllabaries, the st column on each page giving the character, the second its lue, and the third and widest examples of the use of these ues, with the references described above. All classes of syro-Babylonian literature are represented, including the orite (Tel al-Amarna tablets), Cappadocian, Elamite, etc. The great value of this work lies in the new values which registers. Thus the character [cuneiform sign], *muk*, is proved from *neiform Texts from Bab. Tablets*, xvii, 39, to have also the ue of *puk* in the imperative *šu-puk* (really, perhaps, *phuk*, as in Hebrew, Arab. سفك. *Ba* in Elamite texts ms to have had the value of *pa*. In *Cuneiform Texts*, ii, 26 (Rm. 339, 15) [cuneiform sign] seems to have had the values of and *il* (*sa*-an-gi-*il*-mut, the name of a stone). Four examples [cuneiform sign] with the value of *bir* are given, and *zi* was used for h *ṣi* and *si*. Especially useful are the compound groups h a one-syllable value which were used to form other words. many cases the modifications of sound have their parallels

in modern (and old) German—*b* like *p*, *d* like *t*, etc., and are probably due to similar confusion. There is an interesting note upon  and , which were confused at an early date. The value of *zer* for  does not appear, owing to the general opinion of Assyriologists that it did not exist, but it has more than one argument in its favour.

The Syllabary is good. It is the work of a widely read and acute scholar, and will be much appreciated.

T. G. PINCHES.

L'EGYPTE MUSULMANE ET LES FONDATEURS DE SES MONUMENTS. Par Mme R. L. DEVONSHIRE. 9½ × 6½, pp. 163. 40 full-page illustrations Paris, 1926.

In previous publications Mrs. Devonshire has devoted herself particularly to Muhammadan monuments of Cairo. She is the author of *Rambles in Cairo* and *Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders*, as well as a guide to the mosques and other buildings of the town. These books are designed primarily for visitors to Cairo, but they are useful to others, too. As aids to the study of Islamic architecture and art, they have considerable value

In some respects the present book resembles the previous works referred to. Its illustrations are concerned almost entirely with Cairene monuments, of which they give a carefully selected series of views. The earliest Muhammadan building shown is the Nilometer of Rauda, apparently the oldest Muhammadan building in Cairo still in existence. The pointed arch of the Nilometer, as Mrs. Devonshire observes, if original, is several years older than the arcades of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, which are usually supposed to offer the oldest examples of the pointed arch. The Fatimid and Aiyubid periods are adequately represented, the former not only by the well-known mosques but also by one or two others which have interesting features. The less known mosques have been chosen likewise once or twice to illustrate

the Mamlûk period, in which Cairene architecture reached its highest level. Several views of buildings of the Turkish period prove that architecture did not cease altogether to flourish in Egypt when it became a Turkish province.

Most of these illustrations are from photographs by Captain Creswell. The series altogether is admirable. It not only gives the means of following the architectural development, but conveys a vivid impression of the charm and grace by which most of the monuments are distinguished

The illustrations which are not architectural consist of four or five views of miscellaneous objects of Arab art.

The text of the book is a sketch of Egyptian history in the period between the Arab conquest in the seventh century and the French invasion at the end of the eighteenth century, dealing particularly with the prominent rulers (who were the founders of the monuments) and treating summarily the part of the time when Egypt was merely a province. Minor details are suppressed throughout, and the proper names that are apt to make Oriental history so tedious and difficult to non-Orientalists are reduced to the minimum. The narrative in consequence is very clear and easy to follow, and will be appreciated particularly by those who wish quickly to get a good general idea of the trend of events in Egypt under Islam up to modern times.

The book is extremely well printed H.M. the King of Egypt has authorized its being dedicated to him. It is a book that any one interested in Egypt or in Muhammadan art would be glad to possess.

A. R. GUEST.

ARABIC LITERATURE: AN INTRODUCTION. By H. A. R. GIBB. 7 × 4½, 128 pp. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Several guides to Arabic literature have become available in fairly recent years, including two or three in English. Mr. Gibb's introduction is one of "The World's Manuals", a new series intended both for the student and the general

reader The author aims at indicating the scope of Arab literature in its entirety and at discussing in greater detail its more purely literary branches. Accordingly he gives due consideration to the larger questions of literary origins and development, at the same time noticing the most prominent books and their writers, though the scale on which the volume is planned does not as a rule admit of much detail of individuals and individual productions.

The book is well constructed, well written, and readable, and contains a great deal of information in a small space. It will certainly be useful for the purposes for which it is designed and deserves to have a wide circulation.

It may be noted that Esh Shâfi'î does not appear in it. He seems to deserve a place as much as Abû Ḥanîfa, Mâlik, and Ibn Ḥanbal, who are all mentioned. A work that might be considered for mention in a future issue is *Sîrat Banî Hilâl,* a romance of great importance from some points of view. The useful list of books of reference and translations in the appendix does not include Professor Margoliouth's Life of the Prophet or Burton's version of the *Arabian Nights*

A. R. G.

La Domination Arabe en Arménie Extrait de l'histoire universelle de Vardan traduit de l'arménien et annoté Par J. Muyldermans $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 176 pp. Louvain, 1927.

The author Vardan flourished in the thirteenth century. The text of his universal history has been published twice, but not in critical editions This extract, which is a diploma work of the École pratique des Hautes Etudes, consists of a full critical edition of the text of the portion relating to the Arab domination, with a translation, particulars of the MSS. of the history, a bibliography, and other matter. The editor seems to have done his work most thoroughly and carefully.

The Arab domination, according to Vardan himself, lasted till just after the beginning of the tenth century. Vardan has utilized the works of earlier historians, some of which are lost.

Unfortunately the universal history, at least in the part covered by the extract, is very loose and unsatisfactory. It gives very little information about the Arabs, and seems to have extremely little value so far as they are concerned. The accounts of the Arab invasion of Armenia and the revolt of Babak, to which one naturally turns, are very bald and disappointing.

A R G.

L'EXÉCUTION TESTAMENTAIRE EN DROIT MUSULMAN, RITE HANAFITE. Par MUHAMMAD ABD EL GAWAD. 9½ × 6½, 165 pp Cairo. 1926.

One of a series published by the Séminaire Oriental d'Etudes Juridiques et Sociales under the direction of Professor Edouard Lambert, of Lyons, this book is a full statement of the law of the executor, setting out the conditions of his appointment, his functions and powers, and other rules relating to his office. The author contests certain views that Professor Lambert had expressed with regard to the executor and takes exception also to the English translation of some passages on the subject in the *Hidâya*, which he considers to have been the cause of confusion with regard to it. The statement of the law appears to represent the present position. It is founded chiefly on the late mediæval authorities and does not base itself directly on the origins.

A. R. G.

A HANDBOOK OF EARLY MUHAMMADAN TRADITION ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. By A. J. WENSINCK, Litt.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Leiden. Leiden: Brill, 1927.

Although tradition is perhaps the most important of the Islamic "sciences", and a great portion of Arabic literature owes its origin to the study, comparatively little attention has been devoted to it in Europe; of only one collection is there a European edition, and only one has been translated into

a European language. Dr. Wensinck has long been engaged on a concordance to the authoritative collections, and his handbook is apparently a by-product of the preparations for that work. It does for the tradition what Dr. W. Stanton's subject-index does for the Kur'an, and is proportionally more bulky; for, though in these collections the same traditions are constantly repeated, the number of volumes which the compiler had to peruse is considerable. There can be no doubt that he has accomplished a task of very great utility, for which his fellow-students will be duly grateful And he appears to have had no predecessors either in the East or the West. When Arabic authors cite tradition it is sometimes possible to verify the citations in Ibn al-Athir's dictionary of tradition, called *Nihayah*, but this valuable work does not refer to the collection in which the tradition is recorded. This is, however, a matter of some importance, since—among other reasons—the collections are not of equal authority, and the order wherein Moslem critics range them is on the whole right if for the notion of credibility we substitute that of antiquity. Dr Wensinck is to be congratulated on having produced an indispensable work.

D. S. M.

الادب الجاهلي (Pre-Islamic Literature). By Dr. Ṭā Hā Ḥusain, Professor of Arabic Literature in the University of Cairo. Cairo: Committee for Authorship, Publication, and Translation. 1927.

This is an enlarged edition of Professor Ṭā Hā Ḥusain's work on Pre-Islamic Poetry, which appeared last year and formed the subject of many articles and letters in the Cairene Press. Indeed, it is asserted that the earlier work was withdrawn from circulation owing to certain passages wherein the authority of the Qur'an was thought to be impugned. Its main thesis is very nearly identical with that of the reviewer's paper " On the Origins of Arabic Poetry ", which appeared

about the same time in this *Journal*, the writers having arrived quite independently at similar results. That thesis is that the authenticity of the collections of verse supposed to be the work of pre-Islamic poets is so doubtful that it is unsafe to use any of it as evidence either linguistically or historically. The Cairene Professor argues with justice that the uniformity of dialect which these poems display implies that the language of the Qur'an was spread over Arabia at a time when we know on the evidence of numerous inscriptions that other dialects (we might even say languages) were in use. He has with considerable skill enucleated the motives which led to fabrication of poems in Islamic times and their attribution to pre-Islamic bards. Indeed, he regards these bards as very largely mythical. He is not prepared to say whether Imru'u'l-Qais (who heads the list) had or had not any existence.

The latter part of his book is constructive, and endeavours to show that there were near the commencement of Islam "schools" of poetry, e.g. one started by Aus b. Ḥajar, and continued by Zuhair, al-Ḥuṭay'ah, Ka'b b. Zuhair, Jamīl, and Kuthayyir The value of this theory is somewhat discounted by its author's admission that many of the verses ascribed to these persons are spurious; by the observation that the only anecdote about Aus that is recorded is a silly fable, and the fact that the authorities from whom we learn the connexion between these persons are antiquaries separated from the latter by long distances of space and time.

Hence the destructive portion of Professor Ṭā Hā Ḥusain's work is by far the stronger, and it marks a stage in the pursuit of these studies in Arabic-speaking countries. It is the fact that intensely literary as were the communities which used the Ḥimyarī script—Glaser calls them a *schreibselıges Volk*—their monuments show no trace of verse, even where we should naturally expect it, as in funereal inscriptions; and that the tradition assigns to Arabian communities whom the Qur'an declares illiterate whole masses of verse involving an alphabetical artifice. Serious difficulties are involved in the

supposition that these collections (or parts of them) were preserved in writing and in the supposition that they were preserved *orally*, yet even more serious difficulties confront the theory that Arabic verse is itself a post-Islamic invention. Hence we are very much in the dark. Before, however, any positive conclusions of value can be attained, it is necessary that erroneous opinions should be cleared away; and in this direction the Professor has accomplished much that is of value.

D. S. M.

Eṡ-Šaqâ'iq en-No'mânijje von Taškoprüzâde mit Zusaetzen und Anmerkungen aus dem Arabischen uebersetzt Von O. Rescher. Konstantinopel-Galata: Buch- und Steindruckerei Phœnix, 1927.

Dr. Rescher is a most industrious translator of Arabic texts, but most of his works have been privately printed in a few copies, and so have been accessible to few students. Fortunately his latest work appears without the statement *als Manuskript gedruckt*, and probably can be purchased by those who wish to possess it. The original, which is a collection of biographies of learned and saintly personages, who flourished in the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to the time of Sulaiman the Great, was printed on the margin of the Cairene edition of Ibn Khallikan (A H. 1299, etc.), with a list of biographies; Dr Rescher's translation follows this text, which he has occasionally corrected from MSS. He has added a few notes, and a useful Index. The work is of great value for the history of the development of the later Orders of Dervishes, and sheds some light on literary and even political history besides. The German orthography appears rather quaint owing to the want of suitable types, but on the whole the printing does credit to the Constantinopolitan (or shall we say Kamalieh ?) firm.

D. S. M.

SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF ARABIC BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (1901–1926). Compiled by A. S. FULTON and A. G. ELLIS. London: British Museum, 1926.

This Supplementary Catalogue is compiled with the care and skill which we are accustomed to find in the publications of the British Museum. It is followed by a series of elaborate indices which should enable any searcher to find what he wants with ease. The number of columns is 870, but it would not be easy to deduce thence the number of volumes included, since the space occupied by the titles varies from a couple of lines to half a column or more Moreover, these include articles in magazines as well as volumes. Considering the copious output of the Cairene presses, and the very considerable output of other Oriental publishing houses, it might have been expected that the increase furnished by a quarter of a century would have been much greater; yet it is likely that few publications of more than ephemeral importance will be sought here in vain.

D. S. M.

كتاب الاغاني تاليف ابي الفرج الاصبهاني (KITĀB AL-AGHĀNĪ, TA'LĪF ABI'L-FARAJ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ.) Cairo: Cairene Library Press, Vol. I. 1927 = 1345.

Some two years ago the Cairene papers announced that Sayyid 'Alī Rātib had offered the Directors of the Cairene Library a large sum for a re-issue of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* in form more worthy of modern scholarship than the two earlier editions had displayed; and that this offer had been accepted. The announcement was copied in this *Journal*, and the conviction expressed that this design would be satisfactorily carried out. The first volume has now appeared, and

a cursory examination indicates that it quite fulfils the hopes expressed. This part, which is of 535 pages fol., contains no more of the text than 166 pages of the first edition; the extra space is occupied with prolegomena, various readings, elucidations of difficulties, and elaborate indices. Vocalization has been introduced on a large scale, and numerous devices have been employed to facilitate reference to the contents.

The MSS. employed, of which an account is given in the prolegomena, are all Cairene, and all late; but it need not be assumed that collation of the MSS in European libraries would have contributed anything of importance. The editors have utilized a number of printed books wherein the same matter occurs, and, indeed, appear to have done their utmost to ensure accuracy.

Readers of the prolegomena will note that the editors question the genuineness of the twenty-first volume, published in 1887 by R. Brunnow, and reprinted in Shanqīṭī's edition. I had understood that the material incorporated in that volume had been collected by the editor from various MSS. of the *Aghānī*, which contained matter not included in the Cairene edition; hence, though the Cairene editors observe with justice that Brunnow's volume has no Preface indicating its sources or even interpreting the symbols employed in the various readings—unless both their copy and mine are accidentally imperfect—it is unreasonable to doubt that the matter comes from MS. sources. Their other reasons seem more weighty, and at any rate deserve consideration.

At present I can only respectfully congratulate all those who have been concerned in the production of this edition of the great Arabic classic on the success which has attended their efforts. The munificence of Sayyid 'Alī Rātib deserves the gratitude of all those whom the Arabic language interests.

D. S. M.

ɪᴇ Rᴇᴠᴏʟᴛ ɪɴ ᴛʜᴇ Dᴇsᴇʀᴛ. By T. E. Lᴀᴡʀᴇɴᴄᴇ. London: Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, 1927.

The public has had to wait a long time for the appearance Colonel Lawrence's record of the campaigns wherein he yed so notable a part, and even now has to be satisfied with abridged edition; the monumental work, of which an ount was given in *The Times*, is in the hands of a few sons, and copies fetch enormous sums. The numerous pressions, for which there has been a call, show that the erest which his exploits excited at the time of their formance has by no means died down, and reviewers seem be unanimous in their admiration of the Colonel's matter l style.

he descriptions both of scenery and of persons are without stion brilliant; and the qualities exhibited by the author ind us of those displayed in emergencies by the greatest the English Empire-builders, Marlborough, Clive, llington. Hence this work is likely to have a longer life n many of the memoirs and *apologiae* issued by persons o took prominent parts in the Great War. Orientalists e it a special debt of gratitude for its minute geographical formation, and for the light which it sheds on the customs, ctivities, and mutual relations of the tribes resident in the ions which the author's operations covered.

ne who tried to compare the present state of Syria, stine, and Arabia with the aspirations involved in the o revolt would be *incedens per ignes suppositos cineri so.* Moreover, contemporary history is scarcely the ness of this *Journal*, which may content itself with joining e general welcome which has been given to this book.

D. S. M.

1. Qaṣīdas of Zahīr-i-Fāryābī. Edited with an introductio[n] and notes by Maulavī Ḥāfiz Jalāl-uddīn Ahma[d] Ja'fari, Arabic and Persian teacher in the Intermediat[e] College, Allahabad. 271 pages. Anwār-i-Aḥmadī Press[,] Allahabad. Price, Rs. 1/4.

2. Ruba'iyyāt of 'Umar Khayyām. With an Introducti[on] and Translation into Urdu. By Maulavī Ḥafiz Jal[āl-] Uddīn, Arabic and Persian teacher in the Intermedi[ate] College, Allahabad. 275 pages Anwārī-i-Ahmadi Pr[ess,] Allahabad. Price, Rs. 2.

These two books by the same editor are apparently new, though the date of publication is not given in either case. They have been published at a low price, but the typography in each case is so poor and blurred that the eyesight of anyone who read them both conscientiously from cover to cover would suffer greatly in the process. The editor is a Persian teacher of the old-fashioned school, who has devoted a great deal of industry and sound scholarship of the traditional non-critical and non-modern type to the explanation (in Persian) of the abundant difficulties in the Persian qaṣīdas of a by no means great Persian poet and to translating into Urdu a very large collection (908 in all) of quatrains, in many cases of very doubtful authenticity, attributed to 'Umar Khayyām. It must be admitted that Persian qaṣīdas abound in obscurities, and are always much more difficult and puzzling than masnavīs, ghazals, and rubā'īs, but I fear that to most, if not all, European scholars the brief and badly-lithographed notes of the editor would merely pile Pelion on Ossa.

The introductions, written in Urdu, give a great deal of miscellaneous information about the two poets concerned, but there is no *apparatus criticus*, and there is nothing to show in either case on what manuscript authority the text provided by the editor rests. It is a matter of no little satisfaction to find that there are still good scholars, with the sound, if limited, scholarly equipment once fairly common among

Muslims of northern India, who are willing to devote great deal of time to the study and exegesis of Persian rature, but it is to be hoped that a time may come when lian scholars may be forthcoming, who will combine all t is best in the traditional scholarship with a training in an appreciation of modern critical and comparative ods.

R. P. DEWHURST.

TRIGONOMETRISCHEN LEHREN DES PERSISCHEN ASTRONOMEN Abu'l-Raiḥān Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī DARGESTELLT NACH Al-Qanun Al-Mas'udī, von CARL SCHOY; NACH DEM TODE DES VERFASSERS HERAUSGEGEBEN von JULIUS RUSKA und HEINRICH WIELWITNER. Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire K.-G., 1927.

This fasciculus of 108 pages will make an appeal to a stricted and limited public, viz the very few mathematicians who are interested in the history of the early development mathematics. The geometrical methods employed by rly Arab mathematicians seem extraordinarily clumsy the light of modern analytical methods, and the results tained by them, though remarkable in view of their methods, w seem very meagre and incomplete. The value of π, for stance, which has now been calculated to over 700 places decimals, could not be calculated correctly by Al-Biruni more than three places of decimals. The tables of trigonoetrical ratios given in the seventh chapter and in the pendix have only a historical interest and possess no actical value. The geometrical treatment of the regular lygon of nine sides on the third chapter does contain some teresting features, which modern books ignore, but there is ttle else which is interesting except from a purely historical oint of view.

R. P. DEWHURST.

DASTŪR-I-'USHSHĀQ. The allegorical romance of Princes Ḥusn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart). By MUHAMMA YAHYĀ IBN SĪBAK, known as Fattāḥi of Nīshāpūr Edited by R. S. GREENSHIELDS, I.C.S., retd., M.R.A.S. Luzac and Co, 1926. Price 15s.

This badly bound and expensive book consists of 416 pag containing nearly 5,000 couplets of a Masnavī poem writt in Persian in the fifteenth century, together with a short preface written by the editor in English, which has also been translated into Persian by Mr. Darab Khan of the Scho Oriental Studies, whose rendering appears at the other e the volume. The editor describes the manuscript from w the text has been printed, but he does not state how manuscript was found or in whose possession it is now k Daulatshāh gives A.H. 852 (A.D. 1448) as the date of the p Fattāḥī's death. The last couplet of this Masnavī runs.—

پی این روضهٔ بستان عالم
چو تاریخ تمامش دار خرم

which may be translated "For this meadow of the garden of the world as the date of its completion take (the word) خرم [= happy]". This gives the date of the composition of the poem as being A.H. 840 (خ = 600, ر = 200, م = 40). Mr. Greenshields, however, by some strange mistake, declares that the chronogram is دار خرم, which would give the quite impossible date of A.H. 1045, and it is even more amazing to find that Mr. Darab Khan repeats and emphasizes this blunder, remarking: تاریخ تصنیف این کتاب بحساب ابجد دار خرم است یعنی ۸۴۰ هجری.

(The date of the composition of this book according to the Abjad reckoning is دار خرم, i.e. 840 Hijrī.)

Mr. Greenshields describes the poem as being new and interesting, and throughout graceful and melodious. The real truth seems to me to be that although no metrically correct

rse in Persian can lack a marked degree of harmonious lody, the subject-matter of this long poem is intensely ll, trivial, lifeless, and unreal, while it abounds in endless tances of verbal conceits, plays on words reiterated *ad useam*, and repeated harping not merely on the form of rds but on the shapes of isolated letters, and many other rilities of this kind, carried to a phenomenal extent, unusual at n in the worst kinds of artificial verse composition in es n. The Persian writer Daulatshāh himself singled out as carrying these conceits to an exaggerated pitch. ersian text of the poem which has been printed in ontains a great many blunders, hardly a single page e from certain typical errors such as ا for آ, ك for گ, which recur again and again. The tashdīd mark is lly put over letters, where it is not needed, and its use spoil the metre of the verse, e g. درّها (pearls) in . 126.

more serious errors, the few following out of many scores of others may serve as samples, on the basis of the Persian proverb to the effect that a handful may serve as a sample of an ass-load, (مشتی نمونه از خروار است); the meaningless word الهر in l. 8, p. 112, and again مداش in l. 17, p. 140, کراب in l. 11, p. 150 (the fourth shape not being a definite letter), کاشد in l. 23, p. 156 (but که باشد in l. 1, p. 157), میغکن for میفکن twice on p. 176 (ll. 3 and 14), نحل for نخل in l. 8, p. 197, and نحت for بیخت in l. 15, p. 203. There is much in Persian poetical literature which deserves printing more than this rather poor poem of Fattāḥī, and it is perhaps not ungracious to express the hope that, when the time comes for some of these better poems to be printed for the first time, they may appear with a smaller proportion of printing errors.

R. P. Dewhurst.

DAS WESEN DER LEHRE ZARATHUSTROS. O. G. vo WESENDONK. 8vo, iv + 68 pp. Leipzig: Ott Harrassowitz, 1927 3s

The author attempts to reconstruct the old teaching Zoroaster from the few Gathas which are believed to be t work of Zoroaster; he draws upon a very vivid imaginati combined with very wide reading; he goes back to a suppos pre-Aryan period of spiritual development alleged to reflected in the Rigveda and he evolves a peculiar Monotheis represented by that vague and undefinable form of Ahur Mazda found in the Mazdean faith. He tries, but unsucce fully, even to interpret away the fundamental principles of Dualism He is aware that everything connected with Zoroaster and the Avesta is the subject of keen controversy between scholars. The date and antiquity of Zoroastrian literature is a matter of conjecture, and it is well known that the writings now extant have been gathered or even composed by the priests in the time of the Sassanian dynasty. He therefore assigns to later developments everything which seems to contradict his own theory of pre-Aryan or ancient Iranian speculations. How keen his imagination is can best be shown, among other points, by the statement that Ezra brought Monotheism to the Jews in the time of Cyrus. He grudgingly admits other influences and postulates Elam as the home of Cyrus and the Achemian dynasty, and a supposed Elamite culture as that which may have had some connexion with Zoroaster. It is a disappointing essay in spite of the learning displayed therein.

M. GASTER.

DIE HELLENISTISCHEN MYSTERIENRELIGIONEN, NACH IHREN GRUNDGEDANKEN UND WIRKUNGEN. R. REITZENSTEIN. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, viii + 438 pp. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. 16s.

In the lecture delivered at a meeting of ministers in 1909 Professor Reitzenstein, the well-known classical scholar and

author of the work on the Poimander, developed a new ory as to the fundamental principles which lay at the root the Oriental mystery religions or mystery cults. He gave ominent position to Zoroastrian and Indian doctrines and aphysical speculations in opposition to those which he bed to the Babylonian and Jewish teachings and, to a in extent, Egyptian. Not being an Orientalist, he has obtained the assistance of a large number of Oriental lars, and from a small lecture as it was in 1909 it has now ome, in the third edition, a voluminous work. The lecture self has been expanded and largely altered so that it fills ninety pages, but the real value of this new edition lies in the immense material since gathered and now utilized in twenty appendices covering 327 pages. In a very ingenious manner Professor Reitzenstein now proceeds to describe the various stages through which the primitive mystery cults gradually develop into mystery religions, gathering to themselves most diverse elements, until they assume that form in which they appear during the Hellenistic period and then influence to a large degree nascent Christianity, more especially the teachings of the Apostle Paul. The author deals at some length with the Hermetic writings, on which he speaks with recognized authority, and he also includes in his investigations Mandæan traditions, which he rightly traces back to Palestine.

It is, however, questionable whether the division between Zoroastrian, or rather Iranian, speculations can claim to have been the first to have evolved the conception of Soul and of immortality, or even of the passing through trials and pangs of death to revive again as an immortal being, considering the Gilgamesh epic, with its wandering of the hero through the valley of the shadow and his desire of obtaining the herb of immortality. Take again the idea of the Passion of the hero, his apparent imprisonment and entombment and his resurrection, as already found in the Babylonian story of Marduk (as shown by Zimmern), not to speak of the Biblical story of the tree of everlasting life in Paradise. All these are

centuries older than the oldest portion of the Avesta, even if it should really belong to the fifth century B.C. The origin of the mystery cults stands in much closer connexion with ancient magic than has hitherto been accepted, for one can see how close the parallelism is between the magical literature found especially in the Greek papyri and some of the fragments of the ancient mystery cults, though the latter may represent a higher form of development. Leaving the problem of the primitive origins aside, this book is the work of a great scholar and profound thinker, a master of his subject, brimful with new and illuminating suggestions and ideas, and a marked contribution to the ever fascinating study of the mystery religions in their inception, development, and the influence which they have exercised ever since.

M. GASTER

DIE PALASTINA-LITERATUR. By PETER THOMSEN, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs' sche Buchhandlung · 1908 (for the years 1895–1904), 1911 (for the years 1905–1909), 1916 (1910–1914), 1927 (1915–1924). £2 7*s*. net.

The interest in Palestine, far from slackening, is evidently growing from year to year if we are to judge by the increased size of the volumes of this bibliography of the Palestine literature. It far surpasses in comprehensiveness all former publications. The author covers all the branches of knowledge connected with Palestine. Nothing escapes him. Even short articles appearing in some obscure daily paper are not allowed to pass unnoticed. It is impossible to describe in detail the wealth of information contained in this bibliography. History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnology, Egyptology, the political dominations which have succeeded one another, church history, liturgy, nothing is forgotten, it is all systematically arranged and each volume contains also carefully prepared indices of names and authors Each book is fully described, and whenever the price could be ascertained it is added and also references are given to the

reviews of these books. The political changes which have taken place since the Great War have evidently intensified interest in Palestine. The volume containing the bibliography of the years 1915–1924 has been doubled in size; whilst the previous volumes contained 203, 315, and 387 pages, the last volume divided into two sections numbers no less than 754 pages. This bibliography is an indispensable Vademecum for every student of the Holy Land and fully deserves the claim to be an international bibliography. The publication is supported by the German Palestine Exploration Fund.

It is evident that it would be a futile undertaking to try and search for a blemish, if there be any, in a book of this kind with its tens of thousands of titles, and which; moreover, has already been recognized as the standard bibliography, but I have ventured upon a test in connection with the section dealing with the Samaritans: not a single item known to me is missing—on the contrary I have been able to add to my own bibliography the information culled from this book. Ex uno disce omnes.

M. G.

SENNACHERIB'S INVASION OF PALESTINE. A critical source study by LEO. L. HONOR, Ph.D. 8vo, xv + 122 pp. New York. Columbia University Press, 1926. 9s. net.

As the author indicates, he re-examines in a critical spirit all the evidence available concerning the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib. His main point is to show that in fact no new material has been discovered for some time which should describe in a definite manner the events connected with that invasion. The different results at which scholars have arrived, which he enumerates, are only the result of different interpretations of the same material; they rest more or less on subjective hypothesis or, as he puts it, biased conclusions. *Such being the case, only the discovery of evidence will finally settle the problem. Though negative*

in its result, the study is valuable since it clears the air and may serve as a caution to those who are only too willing to accept one theory in preference to another without any real justification.

M. G.

Essai Sur Nicephore Gregoras. R. Guilland, L'Homme et L'œuvre, Paris. Paul Geuthner. 1926 Roy. 8vo, xl + 308 pp. 50 Frs

The author of this exhaustive study of Nicephore Gregoras, his life and work, modestly calls it an essay, but it is, in fact, the most complete presentation of the life and work of a man who was an outstanding figure in Byzantine life at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Born in Herakleia in the Pontos in 1295, he came as a young man to Constantinople Here he won the favour of the Grande Logothet Metochites and became soon the friend of the Emperor Andronikos Paleologos over whom he pronounced the Panegyric after his death He then shared the fate of all the friends of the late Emperor, but escaped with his life After long disputations with Barlaam of Calabria, from which he issued victoriously, he was again dragged into theological controversies which arose at the time when Pope John sent two delegates to Constantinople for the purpose of bringing about a union of the two churches. Nicephore Gregoras, though a layman, was chosen as the protagonist of the Eastern Church, and he helped in defeating the re-union. Further polemics involved him in trouble with the Patriarch and other church dignitaries, among whom Palamas and also the Emperor John Cantacozenos. He was condemned by the Synod, and after many changes of fortune he died practically a prisoner in the famous cloister of Chora; neither the time nor the manner of his death are known—it is believed that he died about 1360. He was a man of extraordinary capabilities and he was the Polyhistor of his time, and he put his imprint on the periods of the Paleologos and greatly

assisted in the literary revival which marked the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was extremely versatile in almost every branch of the sciences then flourishing in Constantinople. He was a great theologian and a man of science, an orator, historian, poet and a powerful controversialist. He occupied a prominent position as the exponent of the old Greek philosophy and he modelled his style after Plato. He was a great mathematician and he interpreted the work of Synesius; he wrote a commentary on the Ptolomaic system of Astronomy, and on the Astrolab. It is curious to note in this connection that he submitted to the Emperor Paleologos a plan for the rectification of the calendar, which the Emperor was too timid to adopt, and when Pope Gregory carried out that plan it was the Greek church which resisted it to this very day. A large number of his writings are still unedited—they are found mostly in the Italian libraries, in all probability brought thither by the Greeks in the time of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. Professor Guilland gives us now for the first time not only a complete history of the life of Gregoras, but also what is still more important, a careful study of all writings both printed and in manuscript referring to literature, history, philosophy, grammar, correspondence, etc., leaving, as he rightly remarks, the theological part to the historian of the Church, and the scientific to the student of the exact sciences. It is to be hoped that Professor Guilland will follow up his "Essay" with the publication of at least some of the most important works—chiefly, however, the correspondence of Gregoras, which is sure to throw a flood of light upon that period of Byzantine history. M. G.

TO MESOPOTAMIA AND KURDISTAN IN DISGUISE. E. B. SOANE. Second edition with a memoir by SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON and new illustrations. 8vo, xxi + 421 pp. London: John Murray, 1927. 18*s*.

The author of this book, who has now taken the longer journey to eternity, had in his lifetime joined the band of

those intrepid travellers who assume the garb of the native and thus disguised were able successfully to penetrate into the innermost recesses of foreign countries and foreign people Burton and Vambéry had travelled to Mecca and now Soane was able to mix with the Kurds of all the nations of the Near East, the most turbulent and almost inaccessible, and also with other nations, from Constantinople to the country of the Kurds and Mesopotamia He went among them as a friend and he was able to win their confidence by simplicity and unquestioned sympathy and we are now the richer for the admirable description of his sojourn among these people. Studied in their native country and among their own habits of life, he was the first to draw a picture of the Kurds which differs completely from that drawn by others from their often wild habits when in touch with enemies. A master of the Persian and Kurdish languages and dialects, and deeply interested in the religious life and in the popular customs and practices, he felt almost as one with the natives, so much so that he went so far as to embrace Islam. Thus, together with his strength of mind and great self-confidence, he was able to pass unscathed through the adventures which he so vividly describes in his book Packed full with accurate information, this new edition, enriched with a memoir by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, is sure to appeal to all lovers of the romantic and all those who are interested in the ever-shifting political panorama in that part of the world so closely connected with the oldest forms of civilization and with the beginnings of empire building. There are eleven illustrations, among them a portrait of the author, who, unfortunately, has been taken away at a very early age. Born in 1881, he died in February, 1923, and with him the greatest authority on the Kurdish language has also disappeared. It is sincerely to be hoped that the dictionary left by him in manuscript at the School for Oriental Studies will sooner or later be published.

M. G.

THE MYSTIC ROSE. By ERNEST CRAWLEY. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged by Theodore Besterman. Methuen & Co , Ltd., in two volumes, 30*s*. net.

Some authors seem to be ahead of their time , when their book appears it falls flat, but with the years that pass a keener interest is awakened and the second edition is eagerly taken up. Some of the theories expounded there for the first time have meanwhile made their way. Such was the case with Ernest Crawley's book which, after twenty-five years, appears again in a new edition prepared by Mr. Besterman. The author has unfortunately passed away before he could revise the book for the new issue, but the editor has done his best to incorporate into the book all the notes which the author had left behind, and he has added to it a rich bibliography and an excellent index. During the last twenty years the problems discussed in this book have been the subject of investigation by diverse scholars Each of them has propounded a theory of his own, all intended to explain the origin of social organization, the character and importance of the taboo, and many of the problems connected with marriage and the relation of the sexes under various conditions of life. Special attention has been paid in this book to marriage and the accompanying ceremonies and customs, to exogamy which he explains differently, to matriarchate, to marriage by capture which he denies, to the results of human contact for good and evil, and to many other questions which tend to explain social and religious customs. He based his theories on the psychology of primitive races and its survival among many nations which have preserved their old traditions, notably those in India and in other parts of Asia and Africa. This book is an important contribution towards the solution of one of the greatest problems of human life, continuing and amplifying and also greatly altering and often contradicting, as the author does, the results hitherto arrived at by Tylor, Frazer, McLennan, Robertson-Smith, and Westermarck, and offering new and original views which claim careful consideration. M. G.

ETHNOLOGIE UND GEOGRAPHIE DES ALTEN ORIENTS VON FRITZ HOMMEL. xi + 1,108 pp., 2 maps München: Beck, 1926

This volume represents the final stage of a series of works on the above-mentioned subject, the publication of which commenced in 1904. It is impossible to handle this book without a feeling of genuine admiration for the veteran author, who is to be congratulated on its completion. Few scholars are able to offer their life's work to their contemporaries in such an imposing style To digest this mass of close research work with due attention would take months, and to review it adequately in a few pages would be an impossibility. There are similar works by eminent scholars extant, but most of the results with the exception of quite recent studies are embodied in the present volume with approval or adverse criticism. The great variety of matter offered is bound to further treatment by others on special subjects, and to stimulate research in many directions The author's division of the Semitic race into Babylonians on one side and western Semites on the other is borne out by him on grounds grammatical and biographical, but does not, of course, reach finality, as differences of opinion still exist on various important details. One of these refers to the divers forms of the religious cult. The author adheres to the theory that the Babylonian Semites were sun worshippers, while those of the western regions adored the moon and the stars. This division, in fact, cannot represent the earliest period during which a more pronounced unity is probable. Then all Semites served Ba'al, in other words the pluvial fertilizer of the soil with which their very existence was bound up. The original meaning of this word as *husband* is established by numerous passages of the Old Testament, while those of *lord* and *owner* are secondary. Ba'al's symbol is the *ashērāh*, in other words the φαλλος, not only as to kind, but probably also as to etymology. So far no dictionary or any work of reference offers any help as to its derivation. It should also

be observed that in Hebrew *ashērāh* is generally of masculine gender. The dependence of Eastern nations on rain is clearly much greater than their fear of the sinister influence of the heavenly bodies, and this is so frequently expressed in many places throughout the Old Testament that it need not be further demonstrated. That the worship of sun, moon, and stars was largely the effect of fear is to be seen from the warning expressed in Jeremiah x, 2. Professor Hommel lays so much stress on his astral theory that even the origin of the alphabet comes under its influence. There is no reason to reopen this discussion, as it has been destructively dealt with by Lidzbarski, and suggestively replaced by another in this *Journal* in 1911. Even the late Professor Naville, and contemporaneously Sir W. Flinders Petrie, in their writings do not even mention the author's astral origin of letters. Altogether it does not seem to be right to speak of the *invention* of the alphabet, which appears to be the outcome of circumstances developed from small beginnings, and is of much more prosaic origin than is generally assumed. It must not be forgotten that neither Egypt nor Babylon, which alternately held sway over Palestine, succeeded in forcing their systems of writing upon the Phœnician people, who pursued their course independently and conquered the world for all times. The age of the letters is still under-estimated by many scholars, but our author is undoubtedly right in asserting that the Hiram of the Ba'al Lebanon inscription was the contemporary of Solomon. At a later period this angular style is not intelligible.

It is but natural that when speaking of Israel our author touches on Pentateuch criticism. In contradistinction to the majority of modern students he adopts a sceptical, not to say satirical tone in referring to their labours. In view of the many contradictions I agree with him that the whole question should be taken up afresh. Whether, however, all the details given by him command unqualified acceptance is a different matter. To choose one instance, the original

meaning of *ēl* as "a place of refuge" is quite uncertain. There is also a little too much of the dominating position of the lunar deity Its function in the Old Testament is decidedly secondary. There is nothing theocratic in the Hebrew terms for moon. On the contrary, they are all thoroughly secular, whatever they might be in Babylonian texts The alleged identity of JHWH with "sky" is highly problematic in spite of Gen. xix, 34. It is also difficult to find traces of moon worship in the Tetragrammaton, or any of its supposed abbreviations The whole topic is as complicated as the author himself admits, and one can scarcely say that his deductions have brought it appreciably near settlement Not much more enlightening are his remarks about what he calls the "Canaanite" idiom Biblical Hebrew will always remain more or less of a puzzle in spite of the strides made in its study. Who can say how much or little of its pre-historical character it has lost through being pressed through the mill of the *Māsōrāh*. Its relationship to Arabic must have been much closer at the time of the Patriarchs than can be gauged at present. The author's sharp criticism of Professor E König's work in this field is unjustified, though his remark that at this early epoch Aramaic was nothing but an Arabic dialect has much in its favour.

Coming to his main task the author discusses seriatim the various geographical units beginning with Babylon, its names, rivers, canals, cities, and shrines. He also touches on the much ventilated question of the original home of the Semitic race without, however, coming to a definite result. To this he attaches interesting observations on the fauna and flora of the district. This is followed by an attractive account of the earlier as well as recent travels and discoveries in ancient Arabia, confirming the late E. Glaser's assertion that the biblical Ophir was situated at the eastern coast of the peninsula The Arabic character of this name is beyond doubt. As to Meluhha he sides with Grimme against Sayce,

pointing out that this name is identical with Amaleq. This theory has much to recommend it, and is aptly defended from the linguistic point of view also by our author. Whether *Jārēbh* (Hos. v, 13; x, 6) is the name of a place is much less certain. It is hard to understand how he could accept Winckler's interpretation of the passage (1 Sam xv, 5) here, as the word in question is unmistakably a verbal form. In both passages in Hosea it stands in a relative sentence (*ṣifa*), viz. *who shall fight* (for Ephraim). Much space is given to Winckler's famous Muṣri theory, yet the verse 1 Kings xi, 40, makes the situation rather doubtful. Not very convincing is our author's discovery of a new country called *Mayim*, which is not recorded in any Hebrew dictionary. None of the passages quoted fit in with his theory. In Hos xi, 10, *miyyām* is a comparative form describing the unceasing movement of the sea. Apart from this the whole construction of the sentence is against it, and would at least demand a preposition before it. In Jer. xviii, 14, *mayim* is qualified by the plurals preceding as well as following, and cannot possibly refer to a country in singular

The author's well nigh exhaustive survey of the reports of ancient and modern travellers in Arabia, together with the most important maps available, is of great value. This is followed by a discussion of the list of Arabian peoples mentioned in the latter part of Gen x The paragraphs dealing with South Arabia deserve special attention, particularly in connexion with Glaser's discoveries. It is to be hoped that the posthumous work of the latter will eventually be published, because among many other matters it promises important information on ancient Ma'rib, to make good the meagre note on this ancient place given by Ibn Ishāq. Very original are the comments on the Nabataean inscription Euting 3. Professor Hommel himself admits that Winckler's suggestion with regard to the names of various deities mentioned therein are vague. Noeldeke's doubts that the Meccan Hobal occurring in line 8 cannot be easily set aside. The translation

of *mōtab* by "wife" is not convincing and requires to be confirmed by further discoveries. As to *amnad* Euting expresses doubts concerning the correct reading of various letters. Is it *ammu-nadd* (see Qorān xiv, 35, and passim)? The family relations which our author finds in the inscription look somewhat artificial, and Winckler's *schuchterne Frage* as to the equation *Habel-Hobal* will have to remain so for the present. An immense material is also given in the Addenda at the end of the book. It represents the results of intense study during a long period Special mention should be made of a long article on the attempts at deciphering the Hittite inscriptions, on the Etruscans, Babylonians, Arabia, and Egypt

The foregoing remarks are far from giving a full account of the rich contents of the book. The author himself would not expect entire agreement with all his new theories and explanations, which in many instances are but suggestions and probabilities. Acumen and learning are the outstanding features of the book. For all its fullness the diction is clear. Some of the sentences are rather lengthy, but not so involved as to obscure the sense. The work as a whole will remain of lasting value as a source of information and stimulus for generations. Much praise is also due to the publisher.

H. Hirschfeld.

L'Art à Java. Les Temples de la période classique indo-javanaise Tjandi Kalasan, Tjandi Mendout, Boroboudour, Tjandi Prambanan. Par M. P.-Verneuil. 11½ × 9, pp. 90, plates xcvi. Paris et Bruxelles: G. Vanoest, 1927.

The title sufficiently indicates the main subject of this work, viz. the description of the temples therein mentioned. But there are also chapters on the history of Java in the Hindu period, Brahmanism and Buddhism, and Javanese architecture

and sculpture, besides a bibliographical list of printed sources. The letterpress, if it does not give us much that is new, will at any rate be convenient to readers who do not care to grapple with the more detailed Dutch works on the subject. The plates, which are numerous and good, deal almost entirely with Barabuḍur and Prambanan, the Kalasan and Mĕndut temples being only represented by one apiece

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LE TEMPLE D'IÇVARAPURA (Bantãy Srĕi, Cambodge.) [= Mémoires Archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome I.] LE MONUMENT, étude architecturale, par HENRI PARMENTIER LES IMAGES, par VICTOR GOLOUBEW. LES INSCRIPTIONS ET L'HISTOIRE, par LOUIS FINOT. 14½ × 11, x + 140 pp, 72 plates, 14 text illustrations. Paris: G. Vanoest, 1926.

As appears from the title, this work is the first of a new series of publications undertaken by that very active and learned body, the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, whose other publications are so well known and highly esteemed. The special interest attaching to the present work is the light that it throws on the state of things in Camboja at a period when other evidence of the kind is deficient. The inscriptions show that this particular temple received endowments as early as A.D. 969 and as late as 1304. It is plain that at any rate in this part of Camboja, near the centre of the kingdom, Indian art, Hinduism, and Sanskrit learning were still flourishing in the fourteenth century; and the highly elaborated decoration of the temple, which appears to have been partially reconstructed in this relatively late period, though it may perhaps offend admirers of a severer style, is full of beautiful detail, evidencing refined design and expert craftsmanship. Besides contributing fresh

historical data, the inscriptions are also of great palæographical interest; like the architecture, they represent a sort of renaissance of archaic forms. The inscriptions are mostly Sanskrit, but some are in Cambojan. These last, however, as is generally the case, are rather short, and therefore not very rich in linguistic material

The three authors have all done their work admirably, and it is presented in a very fitting and beautiful form, finely printed and copiously illustrated with excellent plates.

Malay Grammar. By R. O. Winstedt. Second edition, revised. 7¼ × 5, 205 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927

The second edition of this well-known work has been carefully revised, but does not in essentials depart from its original, which has now been out of print for some time There is no need to say more about it here than to note that it is the standard Malay grammar for English readers, particularly as regards the language of Malay literature.

C. O. Blagden.

A Study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese Nation. By Genchi Kato, D Litt. x + 250 pp. Tokyo Meiji Japan Society. 1926.

Dr. Kato, who is the author of the article Shinto in the *Encyclopædia Brittannica*, and in charge of the Chair of Shinto in the Tokyo Imperial University, has placed students of the subject further in his debt by this learned volume Whether they agree with his conclusions or not, they will be grateful to him for gathering together so much material. His chief object has been to exhibit the "ethico-intellectual aspect in a later or more highly developed form" which is "seldom set forth with adequate thoroughness" by Western students, who have given the impression of Shinto as only "a rather

primitive nature religion ". He gives full recognition to this latter point of view in its earlier stages, but adduces such evidence as he can find in favour of an early ethical content. The evidence seems scanty, but deserves consideration. Later ethical ideas would no doubt have developed naturally with the inter-actions of a growing society, but it is far from easy to admit that ethical advancement did independently occur The advent of teachers of Confucian ethics in the first decade of the fifth century A D., and of Buddhism soon after, preceded a written system in Japan and the dawn of authentic history. These influences on the ethico-intellectual development of Shinto are fully acknowledged, but in the end the critical reader may still hesitate to concede that, apart from the directive stimulus of Confucianism and Buddhism, the scanty seed ascribed to the earlier stages would have produced the kind of ethical harvest we find in late Shintoism.

His unfaltering faith in the future of Shinto is based on its being " a national religion ". Therefore, it " never dies, it still is, and ever will be ". The religions of Greece, Rome, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, died with those nations, a statement which in some cases is open to question. But " Shinto is as old as the Japanese nation herself and will have its existence as long as the nation endures ". He evidently has no expectation of a Japanese Gotterdamerung. But will even the Japanese gods stand the rude impact of science ? His very " fundamental ethical principle, ' Sincerity,' or ' Truthfulness,' " may yet deal hardly with the gods in Japan as elsewhere. " Mikadoism or the Worship of the Mikado or Japanese Emperor, as a divinity, during his lifetime as well as after his death " is " the essence of life of Shinto " ; " glorifying their Emperor as the centre of faith ".

The book deals with Shinto in the Stages of Nature Religion, Pre-polydemonism and Polydemonism, Animatism, and Animism. There follow chapters on Fetishism and Phallicism ; Spiritism ; Anthropolatry and Ancestor Worship ; Totemism and Primitive Monotheism ; Polytheism ; Theanthropism ;

Ancient Shinto Practices; Intellectual Awakening; Amalgamation of Deities, Pantheism; The Imperial Regalia; Germs of Moral Ideas; Inner Purity, Ethical Transformation of Deities, and others. The titles of the works from which he has quoted alone cover 13 pages at the end. It is a book that the student of Shinto will wish to read.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Vilhelm Thomsen

On the 13th May this year Vilhelm Thomsen passed away in his residence in Copenhagen He was an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, as of a long series of other learned societies, and numerous distinctions of the highest order had been conferred upon him In his home city even the man in the street knew that he was one of Denmark's foremost sons, and in the annals of philology his name has long ago been entered as one of the very greatest

And this distinguished and world-famed scholar was the most unassuming, the most gentle of men He was happy in his harmonious home, his friends loved him dearly, and everybody felt at ease in his company He could speak with the same warm interest to a boy about his games and preoccupations, and to the savant about philological or historical problems. And everybody who came into touch with him felt the influence of his rich and warm personality

He led the quiet and peaceful life of the true scholar, and its chief events are easily summarized.

Vilhelm Ludvig Peter Thomsen was born in Copenhagen the 25th January, 1842, but spent most of his boyhood in Randers He came to the Danish University in 1859 and took up the study of theology, but soon gave it up and devoted his time to philology, which had already taken his interest in school Several eminent scholars, such as Madvig, Westergaard, C. W. Smith, and Lyngby were then teaching in Copenhagen, and they found an eager listener in young Thomsen. His interest in philological matters, however, carried him further than they could lead, and when he passed his final university examination in 1867, his range of knowledge was very wide indeed, and he had already written his first learned essay: *Det magyariske sprog og dets stammeslaegtskab* (The Magyar language and its affinities).

He now undertook a journey to Finland and learnt to speak Finnish, which language he had already studied for his work on Hungarian The result of his further studies was the famous book on Teutonic loan-words in Finnish, with which he took his doctor's degree in 1869 [1]

Afterwards he undertook a prolonged journey to south-eastern Europe, Italy and France, and after his return he took up the duties of a teacher of Greek in the Borgerdyd school in Copenhagen. In 1871 he was appointed as temporary, in 1875 as permanent, reader (docent) of comparative philology in the Copenhagen University, and in 1887 his readership was made into a professorship He retired in 1913, but he continued his research work, and he remained as president of the Danish Academy from 1909 to his death In his last years he was chiefly occupied with a revised edition of the Orkhon inscriptions

His masterly study on the Teutonic loan-words in Finnish at once assigned to him his place as one of the foremost among the world's leading philologists and brought out the features which characterize him as a scholar in clear light. Sober criticism and methodical stringency, an almost instinctive insight into the nature of the language, a rare power of combination, and a broad outlook are revealed in this fascinating book, which has retained its fundamental importance till the present day

Other scholars had already been struck by a certain correspondence in vocabulary between the Finnish and Teutonic languages, but nobody had as yet succeeded in explaining this state of things in a satisfactory way. Some savants were of opinion that the common words were originally Finnish, others held the opposite view, and still others thought of an original connexion between the two families.

Thomsen was the first to prove, through a thorough and

[1] *Den gotiske sprogklasses indflydelse paa den finske*, Copenhagen, 1869, translated into German as *Ueber den einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen*, Halle, 1870

strictly methodical analysis, that we are faced with ancient Finnish borrowings, beginning at a time which antedates the oldest Runic and Gothic stage In this way Finnish has become an important source from which we can draw conclusions about the shape of Teutonic languages in prehistoric times.

This state of things is of fundamental importance for our conception of the ancient history of the Teutonic races. The borrowings are numerous and of various kinds: words for birds and animals, for minerals and other objects, for clothing, tools and weapons, for law and administration, etc. It is evident that the relations between the two races were rather intimate at an early period, say about two thousand years ago, and also that the Teutonic races from whom the words were borrowed were in possession of a higher civilization than their Finnish neighbours. Thomsen shows that these Teutons must then have been settled somewhere in Central Russia or rather in the Baltic provinces, and that their nearest relatives were the Goths and the Scandinavian peoples. The forms of the borrowed words are older than what we find in Wulfila's language, and partly seem to go back to a common Gothic-Scandinavian stage.

The importance of the northern branch of the Teutonic family seems to have exercised a great attraction for Thomsen, and his studies soon brought new results.

In May, 1876, he delivered three lectures at the Taylor Institution, Oxford, on "The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State".[1] Here he proved that Scandinavians, and especially Swedes, were the first to organize the Russian State, and that the word "Russian" itself was originally a term denoting them.

Later on he returned to his Finnish studies, and in 1890

[1] German translation, Gotha, 1879; Swedish, Stockholm, 1882, Russian, Moskow, 1891; Danish, Copenhagen and Kristiania, 1919 (written about 1880)

published his important study on Baltic loan-words in Finnish,[1] in which he, with his usual skill and thoroughness, discussed another stratum of Finnish borrowings, which take us back before the beginning of our era.

He also turned his attention to a still older stratum, to the Aryan loan-words, and he gave his results in a series of lectures, but did not publish them, because Stackelberg took up the subject before he could do so.

We may deplore this resignation, but it was characteristic of the man, whose chief concern was the promotion of science and who did not want to imitate those who feel it incumbent on themselves to claim priority for their discoveries. There is another example of this state of mind.

In the winter 1874–5 Thomsen discovered the now well-known "palatal law", according to which the different treatment of ancient gutturals before *a* in the Aryan languages shows that the Aryan *a* was not originally a homogenous sound, but goes back to three Indo-European vowels, *a*, *e*, and *o* Other work prevented him from writing down his results before 1877, when he offered a paper, "Der arische a-Laut und die Palatale," to the *Kuhns Zeitschrift*. The editor asked him to submit his paper, but at the same time informed him of the fact that J Schmidt and Hübschmann had also arrived at similar results Like his friend, Es Tegnér Thomsen then suppressed his paper, and it was only at a much later date that the two scholars made their discovery known, Tegnér at the Oriental Congress in Stockholm, 1889, and Thomsen in his Works, Copenhagen and Kristiania, 1920.

And Thomsen could afford to show resignation. He knew that there are enough unsolved problems in philology and he subsequently turned his attention to one of the most difficult ones.

It had long been known that some mysterious inscriptions in unknown script and language were in existence in Southern Siberia on the upper course of the Jenissei. They were

[1] *Beroeringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) sprog*

reproduced in a publication issued by the Finnish Archaeological Society in 1889. That very year ancient stone inscriptions of a similar kind came to light near the Orkhon River in Northern Mongolia, and reproductions of them were exhibited at the Congress of Russian archaeologists in 1890 In 1892 similar copies were published both in Helsingfors and in St Petersburg, and Thomsen was at once attracted by the problems raised by these records.

The Orkhon stones also carried Chinese inscriptions, which seemed to show that they had been raised in memory of a Turkish ruler who died in the first half of the eighth century Thomsen therefore came to the conclusion that the unknown language was probably Turkish. He succeeded in finding out how the lines were arranged and in which order they should be read. A closer examination showed that there were altogether 38 signs, and it was accordingly unlikely that the alphabet was of the usual kind with only one sign for each principal letter. It might be a syllabic script, or there might be separate signs to mark certain modifications of the principal letters due to the nature of the surrounding sounds. And the latter alternative proved to be the right one In several cases the same sign occurred on both sides of another letter, which Thomsen inferred must be a vowel, and he succeeded in stating the existence of three such vowel signs. He further found that the remaining signs, which he took to be consonants, were not the same in the neighbourhood of the different vowels there must be some kind of harmonic sequence in the phonology of the language.

The next step was to identify some individual words, especially such as were of frequent occurrence and seemed to be titles. He first succeeded in identifying the Turkish word *taŋrı*, heaven, god, and step by step he proceeded, and the 15th December, 1893, he was able to lay before the Danish Academy his reading of the Orkhon inscriptions,[1]

[1] *Déchiffrement des Inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséi* A Russian translation appeared in St Petersburg, 1894.

which was followed in 1896, by a complete edition and translation, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées par Vilh. Thomsen,* published by the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsingfors.

It was the work of a genius which was here given to the world, comparable only to the discoveries which led to the reading of the hieroglyphs and the cuneiform inscriptions. and in Thomsen's case it was brought to completion by a single man and was not the result of the combined efforts of several scholars The records read by Thomsen were not of the same importance for the history of human civilization as the Egyptian and cuneiform texts, and the world at large has not, therefore, taken such an interest in his discovery as in those of his predecessors But his achievement is in no way inferior to theirs, and he will always be remembered as one of the greatest scholars of all times

I shall not try to analyse his remaining works [1] He wrote about Scandinavian and Romance languages, about Cyprian, Lycian, Etruscan, and Kolarian, and in lectures in the University and in learned societies he discussed various linguistic and historical problems, always with the same sobriety, methodical stringency and insight, and with the same wide horizon, which took in the different sides of every question.

Denmark has fostered a long series of illustrious philologists, of whom any country might be proud. But there is none whose name shines in brighter splendour than Vilhelm Thomsen's.

STEN KONOW.

B. L. Rice

By the death of Mr. Benjamin Lewis Rice, C I.E , who passed away in July last, the Royal Asiatic Society has lost one of its oldest members (he was elected in 1879) and Indian studies a pioneer worker of acknowledged merit. His father,

[1] They can now be consulted in a splendid edition, *Samlede Afhandlinger,* Copenhagen and Kristiania, 1919–22

Benjamin Rice, was an agent of the London Missionary Society, who laboured with ability and success in Southern India and produced numerous useful Kanarese works, both original and translations, for the purpose of religious and secular education ; and here Benjamin Lewis Rice was born on the 17th July, 1837. After a few years passed in the commercial world of London, he went out in 1860 to Mysore, where he held the posts successively of head master of the Central High School at Bangalore, Inspector of Schools in Mysore and Coorg (1865–8, 1870–3), Director of Public Instruction in the Mysore State (1868–9, 1873–83), Secretary to the Education Department of the Mysore Government (1883–90), and Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore (1890–1905), besides serving in 1882–3 as secretary to the Commission on Education of which Sir W. W Hunter was president. He finally retired from official duty in 1906. and spent the remainder of his life in Harrow He particularly distinguished himself by the large number of useful works on the history, antiquities, social conditions, and language of the Kanarese country written or edited by him, of which the most notable are the *Mysore Gazetteer*, edited by him in 1877–8 (of which a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1897), the *Mysore Inscriptions*, translated by him for the Government in 1879 ; his *Census Report on Mysore*, published in 1881 , the *Bibliotheca Carnatica*, a series of classical Kanarese works on poetry, grammar, and rhetoric edited by him, beginning in 1884 ; his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg*, published in 1884 ; the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, edited by him in 1886 and later, which contains the texts and partial translations of the inscriptions of Mysore State with introductions and includes a number of important records discovered by him , his *Coorg Inscriptions*, which appeared in 1886 (a second edition of Part I was issued in 1914), and his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, a summary of the historical data furnished by the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which he produced in 1909. A man of untiring

industry, wide learning, and earnest devotion to the pursuit of truth, he has rendered exceedingly great services to the cause of knowledge by the stimulus which he has given to historical and literary studies in Southern India

L D. BARNETT.

J. Estlin Carpenter

By the death of J. Estlin Carpenter, D.Litt and D D. (Oxford), Hon D D. (Glasgow), D Theol (Jena and Geneva), which occurred on 2nd June, the Society loses a distinguished member, and Oxford society a highly respected and dearly loved figure Dr Carpenter, who was born in 1844, after holding ministerial appointments in the Unitarian community at Clifton and Leeds, accepted a lectureship at Manchester College in 1875, and was Principal of that institution, by then established in Oxford, from 1906 to 1915. His interest lay chiefly in natural and comparative religion, of which he was appointed to the Wilde Lectureship at Oxford in 1914 He took a prominent part in organizing the Third International Congress for the History of Religions which met at Oxford, 15th to 18th September, 1908, and greatly contributed to its success His interest in these matters led him to study various Oriental languages and indeed profoundly He wrote on Pentateuchal Criticism, of which he is by some authors (e g Mr. Harold Wiener) treated as a leading exponent; he collaborated with Professor Rhys Davids in editing Buddhistic texts and was one of the recognized authorities on Pali, he wrote on the Synoptic problem, and on Theism in Mediaeval India. He translated Tiele's standard work on the History of Religion, and edited the translation of Ewald's *History of Israel*, a work which is now almost forgotten, but which exercised great influence in its time, though probably rated at its true value by Bishop Colenso.

As principal of Manchester College he won the warm affection and admiration of his students, many of whom have acquired fame. He extended its hospitality to representatives of

many systems and ideas ; thus, when 'Abd al-Bahā, the then head of the Bahā'ī community, visited Oxford, his address was delivered in this building. Till almost the end of his life his physical and intellectual vigour were unimpaired

D. S. M.

Ya'kub Sarruf

On Sunday, 10th July, literary and scientific circles in Cairo were grieved to learn of the death after a short illness of Dr. Y. Ṣarrūf, editor of the *Muḳtataf*, by far the most esteemed as well as the oldest of the Arabic periodicals, and a member of this Society since 1904. The esteem wherein he was held in Cairo appears in the account of his funeral,[1] which was attended by Cabinet ministers and distinguished members of all professions, and the messages sent to his family from King Fuad, at that time in London, and other prominent political personages, learned bodies, etc. His death followed by less than a year and a quarter the celebrations of the Jubilee of the *Muḳtataf*, which were initiated by the popular authoress, Mlle May, and of which the proceedings are recorded in the " Golden Volume " presented to subscribers to that magazine. A fairly lengthy biography of him is given by Elias Zakhoura in his work on the Celebrities of Egypt, dated 1897,[2] from which the following details are taken

Ṣarrūf was born 18th July, 1852, in the Lebanon, and studied at the American University of Beyrut, where he took a B.Sc. in 1870. For the next two years he was employed as lecturer in Arabic to the American mission in Sidon, after which he was principal for a year of the College established by the Americans in the Syrian Tripoli. He then returned to Beyrut as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science. " There was no experiment mentioned in the text-books of

[1] See the *Mokaṭṭam* of 13th July.
[2] مرآة العصر

chemistry which he did not demonstrate to his class, however dangerous it might be." During his tenure of this post at Beyrut he composed works on chemistry, toxicology, and other sciences, and translated books on various subjects from English and French into Arabic, partly with the co-operation of Dr. Fāris Nimr

He is best known as editor of the *Muktataf*, which was founded by him and his friend in Beyrut in 1876 In 1885 they migrated to Cairo, and in 1889, when the daily newspaper *Mokattam* was started, Fāris Nimr devoted himself to this, while Ṣarrūf directed and very largely composed the monthly The *Muktataf* seems in some respects to have been modelled on our *Nineteenth Century*, from which, as from other high-class magazines, it often reproduced articles, there can be no doubt that it has played a prominent part in familiarizing its Egyptian and Syrian readers with European science and literature The Arabic in which it is written, while free from pedantry, has a high reputation for purity and elegance. For a time he and his colleague edited a less serious journal called *al-Laṭā'if*.

My own acquaintance with him dates from the beginning of the century, and I venture to publish the last letter which I received from him some three months ago

لحضرة الصديق الفاضل الاستاذ مرجوليوث حفظه الله

اما بعد فقد ارسلتم الي منذ سنتين او اكثر رسالة عن
مكتشفات حميرية فيها صور الكتابات التي كشفت
وصور بعض التماثيل وقد عنيت حينئذ حتى نقلت كلماتها
الحميرية الى ما صارت اليه في العربية بشيء قليل من
التحريف او التصحيف حسبما يقع عادة في انتقال الالفاظ

من قوم الى قوم او من زمن الى زمن وكتبت ذلك
على الرسالة نفسها ثم افتقدتها الآن فلم اجدها والظاهر
انها فقدت حين انتقالنا من البيت الذى كنا فيه الى بيت
بنيناه حديثا . ولا اعلم من اين اطلب نسخة اخرى فاذا
استطعتم ان ترسلوا لي نسخة اخرى فذلك من فضلكم .
واذا تيسر لكم المجيء الى مصر قريبا فاننا نسر بان تشرفونا
في بيتنا الجديد ودمتم بخير وسلامة

المخلص يعقوب صروف

(The purport of this letter is that having in the perusal of my paper on "Two South Arabian Inscriptions" [1] noted down the Arabic analogues of the South Arabian words, which by ordinary processes of attrition had developed into the former, he had during a *déménagement* lost his copy, and requests me, if possible, to send him another. This, of course, I immediately did.)

D S. M.

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xi (1925).

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July–September, 1927)

The Council record with regret the death of Kaviraj A. Ch Bisharad, Mr. S. K. Bose, Mr. W. E Geil, Mr. Edwin Ransom, Mr. Lewis B Rice, and Dr. Y. Sarruf.

The following resignations have been received Mr. Samuel Cohen and Sir Armine Dew.

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Iakovlev, N Les études linguistiques et ethnologiques sur le Caucase septentrional

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Zetterstéen, K. V Aus dem *Dīwān al-Tadbīǵ* al-Giljānī's
Zimmern, H Sīmat, Sīma, Tyche, Manāt
Hess, J J Die Namen der Himmelsgegenden und Winde bei den Beduinen des inneren Arabiens
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INDEX FOR 1927

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CONTENTS FOR 1927

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

By R. P Dewhurst

By Jarl Charpentier

Indica by L D Barnett

PAGE

OBITUARY NOTICES

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1927

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

By R. P. Dewhurst

By Jarl Charpentier

Indica, by L D. Barnett

OBITUARY NOTICE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1927

PART I.—JANUARY

Some Poems in the Sabzawari Dialect

BY W. IVANOW

IT is one of the most popular devices of wits and humorists of all nations to make use of various slang expressions, dialectical or rustic sentences, or local words in order to add to the "fun" in their narrative. Persians are no exception to this. Moreover, educated people regard all the numerous local dialects of Iran as unwritten languages and in their writings occasionally make use of them, but only for such facetious purposes. Peasants and the less educated people strive to use high-flown diction in their correspondence, and even in their songs an imitation of this appears instead of their native dialects.

In his interesting paper the late Professor E. G. Browne summarized the information, which he gathered from different sources, concerning Persian poets who occasionally used some local dialect, or the ordinary colloquial of the lower classes, in their compositions [1] Since the appearance of that paper (in 1895), more information on the subject has become accessible, and it would be useful for students to draw up a brief summary of it here. In addition, some specimens of poetry are offered in the local form of the Khorasani dialect

[1] E. G. Browne, "Some notes on the poetry of the Persian dialects" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 773–825.

as it is spoken in the district of Sabzawar. They have for their authors two hitherto entirely unknown poets, viz. Nayyir and Fayyāḍ, and were found by me at Sabzawar in 1919.

Professor E. Browne's list contains sixteen names. There were, however, many others, who have been mentioned by the authors of different biographical works or anthologies. Quite incidentally, without undertaking special research, I came across several names in the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* of Badaoni,[1] the *Haft iqlīm* of Amīn Rāzī,[2] and the *Riyāḍu'sh-shu'arā'* of 'Alī-Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī.[3] There are reasons to expect that more information may be gathered from other biographical works, especially those of Taqī Kāshī, Sām Mīrzā, Nasrābādī, and Mufīd Bāfqī.

Starting with Khorasan, it is necessary to mention in the first place a poet of Nishapur, who lived in the middle and towards the end of the sixteenth century, viz. Dānahī Nīshāpūrī.[4] Dānah, his native place (now pronounced Duneh), still exists as a small village near Qadamgāh, some 20 miles eastwards from Nishapur. The exact date of his death is not known. Originally a peasant, he was not content with his lot, and tried the career of a poet. It brought him to India, as mentioned in the *Haft iqlīm*, and also by Badaoni, who refers to Dānahī amongst the other poets of Akbar's reign. Most

[1] Completed about 1596. The biographical appendix had probably been written earlier.

[2] Completed in 1594.

[3] The main portion written about 1748 and 1749.

[4] His name داہی can easily be misread as والہی, as may be seen in different copies of the same work, where the name appears in these two forms. The misreading as Wālihī leads to the confusion of this poet with a dozen or more others, who used the same *takhalluṣ*, but never wrote in dialects. For biographical information about Dānahī see the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, *Bibl. Indica*, 1899–1922, part iii, p. 229, or p. 319 in W. Haig's translation. In the *Haft iqlīm* the name of the poet is given in its correct form in the MS. in the India Office Library, see H. Ethé's catalogue, column 434, No. 767; in the MS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal (D 327, f. 198 v.) it appears as Wālihī. Cf. also the *Nafā'isu'l-ma'āthir*, in A. Sprenger's Oude Catalogue, p. 49, where the correct form of his name is also given. In the Society's copy of the *Riyāḍu'sh-shu'arā'* (D 102), he is referred to on f. 193.

probably his training in high-flown poetry was insufficient, and Dānahī preferred to compose his songs in his native rustic dialect which only few could understand, not to say appreciate, in India. Two of his poems are quoted by Amīn Rāzī, Wālih Dāghistānī gives a version of the second of them. It apparently is an extract from a *qasīda* in praise of Akbar. The language appears to be not pure dialect, but rather what probably was the bazari colloquial of the sixteenth century in the towns of Khorasan, there are dialectical forms, but the language seems to be "polished". To some extent this may be due to the "corrections" of the copyists, who took these irregularities for mistakes :—

قتلم آنشوخ خردکك[1] مکنه[2]،

جان فدا یش که خوش مکك[3] مکنه،

چشمکم مزنه[4] دلم میبره[5]،

چشمك دیگرش کمك مکنه،

شه جلال دین محمد غازی،

که دعایش بر فلك ملك مکنه[6]،

صله شعر شاعران گذر[7]،

یك لك ودو لك وسه لك مکنه،

[1] Double diminutive form, *khurdakak*.

[2] *Mukna* = میکند.

[3] *Sic*, in all copies, perhaps *khushmakak* ?

[4] *Muzna* = میزند.

[5] I.e. میبرد "steals my heart", or میرد "my heart stops".

[6] This verse is omitted in the *Haft iqlīm*.

[7] Apparently *gidar*, a common slang for دیگر.

مکه [1] مدحش [2] بصد زبان بکویم،

صله شعر من نهنك [3] مکنه،

مچه [4] نالم ز احمد و محمود،

هرچه مکنه بمن فلك مکنه [5]،

"That very little playful one kills me, (but) let my life be sacrificed for him, because he does it in a pleasant way (?).

He makes a sign with the eye, and my heart stops; another wink from him relieves me.

Shāh Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad, the ghāzī (Akbar), for whom angels pray in heaven,

Rewards the poems of other poets with one, two, or three laks (of rupees).

But (although) I glorify him in a hundred languages, he makes the reward of my songs as much as a finger-*nail-full* (?).

Why should I groan at the hands of Aḥmad or Maḥmūd, all that is done to me, is done by fate."

There was another poet, Ḥusaynā, apparently a pure rustic. His quatrains are sung even nowadays in the districts of Sabzawar, Turshiz, and Nishapur, but in all these places I was unable to gather any information as to his biography, or even the place in which he lived.

[1] *Mu ki* = من كه. [2] In the *Haft iqlīm* وصفش.

[3] Not clearly legible, in all copies: هنك، جنك، بهنك، بجنك. Perhaps *bā channak* (dim. from *channa*), "with some bargaining" (in rustic Persian diminutives are often used for expression of contempt). *Nakhinak*, or *nakhinak* (dim. from ناخون), may mean also "as much as can be picked up by the finger tip". [4] *Mu chi* = من براى چه.

[5] Instead of this verse the *Haft iqlīm* gives:

برقیبان که لطفها مکنی، دل زارم ترك ترك مکنه،

Amongst the poets of Khorasan there were many who were natives of Jam, Gunabad, Turshiz, Tun, Qain, etc., but apparently none of them excelled as a writer of dialectical poems.[1] Only in Birjand, further south, was there a local poet, Mullā Ṣabūḥī of Ziruch, some 5 miles westwards from the town, who chiefly wrote ordinary poems, but occasionally composed facetious verses in the Qaini. Nowadays they are all forgotten and only rarely is it possible to get a copy of his versified vocabulary of peculiarly Birjandi words, compiled apparently as a parody of the well-known *Niṣāb* of Abū Naṣr Farāhānī (beginning of the thirteenth century). It has the form of a long *qaṣīda*, rhyming in *-ar*.[2] Mullā Ṣabūḥī died, as I was told, about a century ago.

In other provinces of Persia there were many poets who similarly composed facetious poems in dialectized colloquial. Wālih Dāghistānī mentions several poets of this class: Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Iṣfahānī,[3] and another native of the same place, Laṭīf; [4] the latter composed high-flown poetry, but being an uneducated man, he used to fill his verses with slang and mistakes against prosody and rules of versification, and was seriously annoyed when his faults were pointed out to him. Of a similar class was a Tehrani poet, Mullā Sihrī,[5] who used for his poems "the language of Ṭihrān", i.e. probably dialectized "bazari". All three flourished apparently about the end of the seventeenth or in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Probably the real dialectical poet of the province of Isfahan

[1] Some twenty years ago an inhabitant of Birjand, Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Qāinī, compiled a *tadhkira* of some thirty local poets of Birjand, Qain, Gunabad, and Tun. Only a few of them are really local rustic poets. A copy of this work was brought by me to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

[2] There are several versions of it in circulation, but none of them appears to be complete.

[3] A.S.B. copy, f. 315 v.

[4] Ibid., f. 394 v.

[5] Ibid., f. 234.

was Darwīsh 'Abbās of Gaz, with the *takhalluṣ* Jazī. This village, situated some 15 miles north of Isfahan, on the Naṭanz road, possesses a peculiar dialect, which has been studied by the late Professor Zhukovski (see his *Materials*, part ii, pp. 33 sq.), who collected and published several poems of Jazī.

In the south-western corner of Persia there were many local poets, and apparently the custom of using the rustic or colloquial language in poetry was practised more frequently. Several names may be mentioned: Fāyiz,[1] Najmā,[2] Daftarī,[3] Muḥammad Taqī Khān,[4] Ḥaydar Khān,[5] etc. Not long ago some others lived, and their memory is quite fresh: Īzadī of Fars,[6] 'Alī Aṣghar Khān of Nihāwand,[7] etc.

For Central Persia, besides the famous Yaghmā Jandaqī,[8] there may be mentioned the rival and contemporary of the latter, Na'īmā of Samnan.[9]

The poets whose compositions are here published, Nayyir and Fayyāḍ, are different in character. Nayyir appears to be the more rustic, simple, and talented of the two. The language which these poets use is the Sabzawari dialect in a particularly pure form. It may perhaps be admitted that for facetious

[1] He lived in Shushtar and Basra; in 1902 he was still alive, and composed poetry in Mamasani and Bakhtyari, see O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Abt. ii, Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme (1910), p. xxxiii. It is difficult to decide whether he is or is not identical with Fāyiz, whose quatrains are popular amongst the peasants of Fars near Kaserun and Shiraz. Several of them were collected and published by me in the Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 43 and 44.

[2] See Mann, op. cit., ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mann, op. cit., p. xxxi.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Mann, op. cit., p. xxxiii. He died in 1906.

[7] Ibid. He flourished about 1850.

[8] See about him E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, vol. iv, pp. 337–44. His diwan has been lithographed in Tehran, 1866.

[9] A. Christensen, *Le Dialecte de Samnan*, *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Danemark*, 7-me s., S. de lettres, t. ii, Copenhague, 1915, pp. 287–91.

purposes the authors tried intentionally to expel all non-dialectical forms, of which there is always a great number even in the most rustic idiom. It is probable, however, that more than a century ago there were remote villages in which the language spoken by the peasants was exactly like this.

Biographical details about Fayyāḍ are not abundant.[1] He was a small landowner in Muqisa (*Mughītha* ?), a village some 25–30 miles from Sabzawar. A descendant of the poet still lives there. He is an old man, weakened by opium-smoking. Fayyāḍ used to compose poetry in praise of the local nobility and high officials, in literary Persian. His dialectical facetious poems were not numerous.

About Nayyir it was impossible to get even as much as this limited information. His surname may stand in some connexion with the title Nayyiru'd-dawla, which belonged to several local governors during the last century. But it was hopeless to find out even in which village he resided.

The poems of these two authors, published here, are in every respect, except in language, ordinary literary poetry, and have nothing to do with the real rustic songs either in spirit or in their technique. The contents of the majority of these specimens are the usual tiresome Sufic-like erotic verbiage. If they may be regarded as valuable documents from the philological point of view, as poetry they certainly are of the lowest possible quality. Besides, the poems of Fayyāḍ usually are unbearably long, full of repetitions. I believe it will not be improper if for the sake of economy of space, I omit here and there verses which do not contain anything new, and are not essential for the general flow of ideas in the poem.

The specimens published here are given in the original, in the form in which they were found in the possession of some inhabitants of Sabzawar. In this form, however, they are

[1] There are indeed many poets with the surname Fayyāḍ that are mentioned in the different *tadhkiras*, but those of whom biographical details are given seem to have nothing to do with the Sabzawari Fayyāḍ.

not only unintelligible to a foreigner, but as I found only few Sabzawaris were able to read and make sense out of them. Therefore I had all these poems read to me, corrected and explained These dictations I wrote down in phonetical transcription, which will be explained presently. · This phonetically transcribed form must be regarded as more reliable and authentic than the original. In order to facilitate comparison between the dialectical and literary forms, a literary paraphrase is added in the case of every poem. This paraphrase usually is *not poetry*, because the original metre and rhyme were lost with the change of language.

A complete review of the peculiarities of the Khorasani dialect is published by me separately (see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol xxi, 1925, pp. 233–313), and here I will explain only the system of transcription which was used in these specimens.

Vowels: *a* (guttural, like English *a* in *father*); *ä* (a sound varying in timbre from *a* in English *man*, to an indefinite *e* in *set, bird*): *e* (indifferent *a* or *i*): *i* (as in English *fit* and *feet*, sometimes dulled to *e*); *á* (like *a* in English *all*); *o* (indifferent, as in English *more*), *u* (as in English *full, moon*).

Consonants: These are the same as in colloquial Persian, but none of them is pronounced with effort: *q, gh* (rare, sounds like *q, k*, or *g*), *h, kh, k, g* (the latter two palatalize into *ḱ* and *ǵ*, i.e become like groups *ky* and *gy*, in which *y* is rather indistinct), *l, r, y, sh, zh* (like *j* in French *jour*), *ch, j, z, t, d, n, p, b, f, w, m.*

As in all Persian dialects, there is no clear distinction between the so-called long and short vowels. They can become alternately short or long as affected by quickness of utterance, intonation, position of the syllable, etc. Therefore, this division is not introduced into the present system of transcription.

SPECIMEN POEMS

TRANSLATION
PARAPHRASE
PHONETICAL TRANSCRIPTION
ORIGINAL TEXT

NAYYIR

1.—*Translation*

1. One night I went to Kūhpāya[1] to call on one of my neighbours.
   I said to her: tell me all about the girls of Kūhpāya.
2. She wept and, with eyes bloodshot, replied:
   O mulla, what have I to say about the girls of Kūhpāya.
3. How beautiful they are . . .
4. But better than these I saw, a flower-faced beauty at Dilwar.[2]
   I, the unfortunate, can be only a shadow if compared with that sun.

نیر

1.—*Paraphrase*

1 شبی رفتم بکوهپایه برشخصی ز همسایه،
به او گفتم که نقلم کن زدخترهای کوهپایه،
2 بگریه آمد وبدو چشم خونآلود جوابم داد،
که ای ملا چه بگویم ز دخترهای کوهپایه،
3 چه دخترهای مهپاره که از یك عشوه میدهند،
زپشت پای خود به قربان حسن دست میدهند،
4 از این بهتر بدلور دلبر گلچهره، دیدم،
من بیچاره در دنبال آن خورشید چو سایه،

[1] A village near Khusrawjird, 5 miles west from Sabzawār.
[2] Another village, close to Kūhpāya.

Nayyir

1.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Shäwi raftum bä Kuhwäyä bare shakhsi zi hamsäyä
   waresh guftum ki naqlum ku zi dukhtärhåye Kuhwäyä
2. wà geryä uma wu di chashi khineli jäwàbum då
   ki äy mälå chi war guyum zi dukhtärhåye Kuhwäyä
3. chi dukhtärhåye mahpare ki äz yak eshwa medåyan
   zi pushte påye khud wä kurwune husn dast mayä
4. ez i behtar be Dilwar dilware gulchähreye diyum
   mui bichärà da dembåle u khurshide chi säya

Nayyir

1.—*Original Text*

1 شوی رفتوم بکوهویه بر شخصی زهمسیه،
ورش گفتوم که نقلوم کو زدخترهای کوهویه،

2 وگریه امه و دی چش خین الی جوابوم دا،
که ای ملا چه ور گیوم زدخترهای کوهویه،

3 چه دخترهای مه پره که از یك عشوه مداین،
ز پشت پای خود و کروان حسن دست میه،

4 از ای بهتر بدلور دلور گلچهرهٔ دیوم،
مو بیچره در دنبال او خورشید چه سیه،

5. Said I: wait. let me have liberty to bring to thy notice: wilt thou grant what the heart of this thy old slave would rightly desire?
6. She looked aside for a while, and said: I will not accept thee.
   Said I: then pray that my life may come to an end.
7. O dear, I, the unhappy, will tell thee straight and clearly: amongst the girls of Kūhpāya my heart wants only thee.
8. Said she: do not talk nonsense, or thou wilt eat dirt for it.[1]
   Being such an idiot and so stupid, he wants . . .

5 بگفتمش به است عرضی کنم در خاك پای تو،
دل این پیر غلامت‌را داد میدهی اگر آید،

6 بپیْ سر یك نگاهی کرد گفت دل بتو نمیدهم،
بگفتم پس دعائی کن که تا عمرم بسر آید،

7 ای دلبر جان من بیدل بگویم راست‌و پاکش‌را،
ز دخترهای کوهپایه همین‌دلم ترا میخواهد،

8 بگفتا حرف بی معنی مزن گه خواهی خورد،
به این بیمعنی‌و خرکسی میخواهد مرا گاید،

[1] A common expression: to be punished for an intrigue, dishonest trick. In Persia this is treated as mild abuse, but in Bukhara it is used only in some especially vile cases.

5. buguftumāsh bā is arzi kunum da khâke pâye tu
deli i pire qulumātrā dâd mâti āgār āya

6. wā pāyi sar yak nāgâyi kār guf delrā wā tu nemitum
buguftum pas du'âyi ku ki tā umrum wā sar āya

7. ā delbār ju mui bedel bogoyum râst-u pâkāshrā
zi dukhtārhâye Kuhwaya hami delum turā moya

8. Buguftâ harfe bimāni māzu gi khurdānishrā bi
bā i bimāni-wu i khar-kusi moya murā gāya

5 بگفتومش به اس عرضی کنوم د خاك پای تو،
دل ای پیر قلومت ر داد میتی اگر ایه،

6 و پی، سر یك نگائی کر گف دل رو تو نمتوم،
بگفتوم پس دعائی کو که ته عمروم و سر ایه،

7 ا دلبر جو موی بیدل باگایوم راست و پاکش ر،
ز دخترهای کوهویه همی دلوم تور میه،

8 بگفتا حرف بی معنی مزو گی خردنش ر بی،
به ای بی معنی و خر کسی میه مور گیه،

9. Her ruby-like cheeks darkened, so that
compared with this spring of the water of life the huries
of Paradise are like mud.

10. Said I: how long must I sit at thy door?
Said she: sit, father, till thy soul leaves the body . . .[1]

9 به پهلوی رخ یا قوت رنگش ریخت سودائی،
به نزدیك آب حیوتش حور چو لای است،

10 بگفتم بردرت ای ماه نو تا چند بنشینم،
بگفت بنشین پدر جان که تا جانت بدر آید،

11 بشوخشوخي نظر کردم میان جفتهٔ مستش،
بدیدم بلبلش از خشتك تنبان اش مینماید،

12 که ناگه ململم بر جست رفت در غار سیمینش،
چو قوشی که ز بندش سر دهی بر غار بالوایه،

13 که ناگه موشکافم در درش رفت تا نافش،
زجا برجست برسر زد که که زاید و که گاید،

[1] The translation is omitted here and in the 3rd verse on account of what may be styled as the "excessive realism," from the Western point of view, of these verses.

9. bä päliye rukhe yåqit rangäsh rekh säwdåyi
bä näzdike lawe áwe hayátäsh hir chi låy-ä
10. buguftum ware därät äy måhe now tä chan bänchinum
buguf bänchi piyar ju ki tá junat bedar äya
11. bä shikh-shikhi nazar kärdum miune juftäyi mastäsh
bådidum bulbulish äz khishtake tammush munwäyä
12. ki någah mulmuliyum war jas raf tu qåle siminäsh
chi qushi ki zi bandäsh sar däyi wa qåle bulwäyä
13. ki någah mishikåfum däre därásh raf tá nåfäsh
zi jå war jast war sär zá ki ki zäya wu ki gäyä.

9 به پهلیء رخ یاقیت رنگش رخ سودا ئی،
به نزدیك آو حیوتش حیر چه لیه،

10 بگفتوم ور درت ای ماه نو ته چند بنچینوم،
بگف بنچی پیر جو که ته جونت بدر ایه،

11 بشیخ شیخی نظر کردوم میون جفتهٔ مستش،
بدیدوم بلبلیش ازْ خشتك تمبوش منویه،

12 که ناگه ململیم ور جس رف تو قال سیمینش،
چو قوشی که ز بندش سر دهی ور قال بلویه،

13 که ناگه میشکافوم در درش رف تا نافش،
ز جا ورجس ورسرزه که کی زیه و کی گیه،

Nayyir

2.[1]—*Translation*

1. When thou hast made a dimple on thy fresh cheeks, smiling with thine upper lip,
   thou hast made my kissing place lower than the corner of thy mouth.
2. Before thy face and thy locks, these two, first the day and secondly the night have become shy—
   why hast thou introduced into the world this new fashion?
3. I groan before thee, but does even a curl of thy locks feel sympathy?
   tell me, dear, why hast thou turned the day into night?

نیر

2.—*Paraphrase*

1 تاز پوز خنده رخ تازه‌ات (?) به گودی انداختهٔ ،
بوسه گاهم را بگودی از کنج لب انداختهٔ،

2 ازدو زلف و رویت یك روز و دو شب کرده پرهیز،
درجهان باز از چه رو این طرح نو انداختهٔ ،

3 داد دل برویت میزنم چین زلفت دل میدهد،
آخر ای یارم چرا روز را به شب انداختهٔ،

[1] Originally this poem contains eleven *bayts*. Four have been omitted after the *bayt* which here is marked 1, and one after the *bayt* 3.

Nayyir

2.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Tă ze pizkhandă bare bikă wă ǵaw ăndâkhtă-i
   bise gâhumră wa ǵaw ăz kunje law ăndâkhtă-i

2. ăz di zilf-u rit yak ruz-u di sháw kárdă păriz
   dă jehu wâz áz che ri i tarhe now ăndákhta-i

3. dâde del wăr rit muzunum chine zilfă dil mata
   akhir ăy yárum cheră ruzră wă show ăndâkhtă-i

Nayyir

2.—*Original Text*

1 تهز پیز خنده بر بیکه وگو انداختهٔ،
بیسه گاهمر وگو از کنج لو انداختهٔ،

2 از دی زلف و ریت یك روز ودی شو کرده پریز،
د جهو واز از چه ری ای طرح نو انداختهٔ،

3 داد دل ور ریت مزنوم چین زلفه دل مته،
آخر ای یارم چهر روز ر وشو انداختهٔ،

4. My lot is but the sadness of love—and for this I have mortgaged my soul,
although at any moment my soul may be refused as a security.

5. Thou hast left thy hair loose curling round thy shoulders, like a leopard.[1]
Thou hast made the cat moan for fear of the lover.

6. What should I do for the sake of thy love? Thou art a sea of knowledge;
but thou hast pushed the ship of Nayyir's hope into the rapids.

4 درد عشقت روزیء من در عوض جان در گرو،
تا نگاه کردی ببینی کز گرو انداختهٔ،

5 حلقه حلقه زلف تودر دوش ریختی چو پلنگ،
گربه‌را از ترس عاشق زیر مو انداختهٔ،

6 در ره عشق تو چو کوشم که بحر حکمتی،
مرکب امید نیررا بجوی انداختهٔ،

[1] The leopard is supposed to have a long mane.

4. darde ashkät ruziyi mu dar awaz ju da gerow
   tä negâh kärdi bewini käz gerow ändâkhtä-i

5. halkä-halkä zilfe tä da dush rekhti chu palang
   gurbá rä äz tärsi eshiq zire maw ändâkhtä-i

6. da rähe ashke tä chu kushum ki bahre hikmät-i
   markabe ummidi Nayyir rä be juw ändâkhtä-i.

4 درد عشقت روزی، مو در عوض جو د گرو،
ته نگه کردی بینی کز گرو اندا ختهٔ،

5 حلقه حلقه زلف‌ته‌د دوش رختی چو پلنگ،
گربه‌را از ترس عشق زیر مو اندا ختهٔ،

6 د ره عشق تو چو کوشوم که بحر حکمتی،
مرکب امید نیرر بجو اندا ختهٔ.

Fayyāḍ

3.[1]—*Translation*

1 Welcome the day when my wings will become free from this abode of sorrow,
when I will fly to the wilderness, being freed of the Heart and Love.

2 But if I had to groan about the talk of a new beloved, o heart,
then would I want to drink wine at the wine-shop with my former beloved.

3 God, for Thy mercy let me live to see the day of my union with her,
so that I become intoxicated with the love of the beloved.

فیاض

3.—*Paraphrase*

1 خوش آن روزی که پرم وا رود زاین غمکده خانه،
که فارغ ازدل و دلداری بپرم بویرانه،

2 وگر از لبلب دلدار نو ای دل مینالیدم،
میخوام با دلبر دیرینه می بخورم در میخانه،

3 خداوندا ز لطفت روزی ام کن روز وصلش را،
که من از عشق محبوب بشوم دلدار مستانه،

[1] Incomplete in the original text. It contains 20 *bayts*. Here omitted: two *bayts* after 4, two after 5; one after 7; two at the end.

FAYYĀḌ

3.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Khush u ruzi ki parum wá rāwā zi ghamkādā khana
   ki firigh äz del u deldári war pārum bạ wāyrānā
2. wá gār az lawläwe deldáre now ay del mānāhdum
   mukhum bä delbare däyrinā māy bokhrum dá māykhana
3. Khudáwändá zi lutfāt ruziyum ku ruzi waṣlāshrā
   ki mu áz ishke mahbıb bāshum deldáre māstana

FAYYĀḌ

3.—*Original Text*

1 خوش او روزی که پروم وا روه زی غمکده خنه،
که فرغ از دل ودلداری ور پروم بویرنه،

2 وگر از لولو دلدار نو ای دل منلید وم،
مخوم بادلبر دیرینه می باخروم د میخنه،

3 خداوندا زلطفت روزیم کو روز وصلشر،
که مو از عشق محبیب بشوم دلدار مستنه

4. If that beloved will become the candle of my entertainment, I, lover,
burning with love, will circle round her like a moth.
5 And if thou will not be, out of generosity, my Friend, at the bottom of the grave
how much dust have I to throw upon my head when I will fall into the hands of those two knaves ?[1]
6. Thou art the ruler of the Egypt of Love, sitting on the throne of glory,
(because) the shah of her beauty, in respect of tenderness, sits like a king !
7. For the love of her tresses, for the enchantment of the magical power of her eyes,
the policeman himself loiters drunk in the street of the wine-dealer.

4 گرآن محبوب شمع مجلسم بشود من عاشق،
زسوز عشق بر گرد سرش گردم چو پروانه،
5 مرا گر از کرم مؤنس نباشی در ته الحد،
چه خاك برسر کنم یار زدست آن جفت (درگنه)،
6 عزیز مصر معشوق بروی تخت مغروری،
شه حسنش زاین روی ناز بنشسته خدیوانه،
7 ز سودای سر زلف وز شورجادوی چشمش،
میگردد محتسب در کوچهٔ خمار مستانه،

[1] I.e. the angels, Nākir and Munkar, who will question every believer at the day of judgment. The word *dargana* is purely local ; I could not trace it in the literary language. Therefore it is left in the paraphrase as it is, in brackets.

4. gär u mahbib sham'e mäjlisum bäshä mui eshiq
zi suze ishgh war ǵarde säresh gärdum chi pärwana

5. murä gär äz karam minis näbäshi dä tahe alhad
chi khák war sar kunum yår zi dasti u jufte dargana

6. azize Misre mäshiqi bä riyi takhte ṁaghriri
shähi husnash zi riyi náz bänchastä khädiwana

7. zi säwdáyi säre zulf-u zi shure jáduyi chäshmäsh
mägärdà muhtaseb dä kichayi khamár mastana

4 گر او محبیب شمع مجلسوم بشه موی عشق،
زسوز عشق ور گرد سرش گردوم چه پرونه،

5 مور گر از کرم مینس نبشی د ته الحد،
چه خاك ور سر کنوم یار زدست او جفت درگنه،

6 عزیز مصر معشیقی بریٔ تخت مغریری،
شه حسنش زی ریٔ ناز بنچسته خدیونه،

7 زسودای سر زلف و ز شور جادوی چشمش،
مگرده محتسب د کیچهٔ خمار مستنه،

8. Compared with her chatter the words of Aristotle are merely idle talk, and
the speech of Plato but a silly story before the meaning of her words

9. Whole night, till I nearly die of sorrow, she keeps her nose against my nose
But as soon as I start joking, she turns away her face.

10 When I become intoxicated, like an angry dog she turns away from her lover.
She makes Satan perplexed with her ways of treatment, what things she is doing ! [1]

11. O breeze of the dawn ! Let me be sacrificed for thy sake, go to that exiled moon of Paradise,
and convey to her secretly the tidings of the lover.

8 به نزد گپ او حرف ارسطو لبلب خالص،
به پیش معنی اش لفظ فلاطون همچو افسانه،

9 همه شب از غمش تا جان بدهم دماغ بر دماغم دارد،
همین که بسر شوخی میکنم رویش‌را میگرداند،

10 همین که مست شوم سگ صفت از یار بر گردد،
(مخلوط) میکند شیطان از آیین اش و چیزمیکند،

11 صبا بر گردنت آی (به آن) مه ارم مهجور،
بزودی عرض عاشق را به او برسان غیبانه،

[1] The text here seems to be corrupt; the hemistich is two syllables shorter than it should be. *Gharqati* probably is غیرقاطی (or غیرقاتی). The second word, *qāti*, apparently Turkish, is often used in the colloquial language, cf. *bā ham qāti shud*, "it became mixed," etc.

8. be näzde ǵape u harfe Aristu läwläwe khâlis
be pishe mänish lafze Filâtu hamchi ausana

9. hama show äz ghamäsh tä ju metum nus wär nusum därä
hämi ki war säre shikhi männum rishrä mägärdana

10. hàmi ki naushä shum säk sifät äz yår war gärdä
gharqati männa Shaytu az inäsh wa chiz männa

11. sabå war gärdänät äy (wä u) mäye irume mahjur
bezidi arzi ishiqrä bä u bäräsu ghaybana

8 به نزد گپ او حرف ارستو لولو خالص،
به پیش معنی اش لفظ فلاطو همچو اوسنه،

9 همه شو از غمش تَه جو متوم نس‌ور نسوم دره،
همیکه ورسر شیخیْ منوم ریش‌ر مگردنه،

10 همیکه نوشه شوم سك صفت از یار ور گرده،
غرقتی منه شیطو از اینش و چیز منه،

11 صبا ور گردنت ای (و او) مه اروم مهجور،
بزیدی عرض عشق‌ر به او برسو غیبنه،

12. Tell her: so-and-so is bidding for the end of a single hair of thine,
and if thou wantest, he will send the whole treasure of his soul as payment in advance.

12 بگو به یك سر مويت فلانی مشتری شده،
اگر خواهی فرستد نقد جانش را به بیانه،

FAYYĀḌ

4.[1]—*Translation*

1. My beloved like a mirror reflects every one exactly.
She is like a night moth, more frightening than really causing pain.
2. With a thousand caresses she says from behind the curtain:
come here!—But she does not look at me, she only plays.

فیاض

4.—*Paraphrase*

1 یارم چو آینه هر کسرا ازصدق رویش میدهد،
پروانه سان هیبتش از درد بیش میدهد،
2 از پشت پرده یار میگوید با هزار ناز،
پیشم بیا مرا نمیبیند بازی اش مید هد،

[1] Originally seventeen *bayts*. Here omitted eight *bayts* after 2, and two after 4. The end may be not quite genuine, but taken from another poem.

12. bogo war yak säre miyät filäni mushtäri räftä
ägar khähi feristä nakde junäshrä bä bäyana.

12 بگو ور یکسر میت فلنی مشتری رفته،
اگر خهی فرسته نقد جونش‌ر به بیونه،

Fayyāḍ

4.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Yárum chi äinä har kas rä äz sikd rish mata
parwanä su häybatash äz dar' bish mata

2. äz pushte pärdä yår mäga bå hazår nåz
pishum biyå märä nämibinä bäzish mata

Fayyāḍ

4.—*Original Text*

1 یاروم چه اینه هر کس‌ر از صقد ریش مته،
پرونه‌سو هیبتش از درد بیش مته،

2 از پشت پرده یار مگه با هزار ناز،
پیشوم بیا مره نمبینه بزیش مته،

3. The lover follows her like a shadow, but a rival moves in his steps
She does not allow the lover to approach, but encourages the rival.

4. *Longing* for her face the soul became as thin as a hair, and the heart longs for it with utmost power,
but if the lover gets to his place, she gives it to the rival.

5. Then, inspired, I uttered to her this as an expression of my full submission,
and at a moment when one is almost annihilated, she gives one the distinction of life.

6. When one has become clean, smooth, freed from the unclean in the two worlds
in the agony of complete poverty she gives him a charter of kingship.

3 عاشق چو سایه در پی او و رقیب زپی،
آنرا بخود نمیرساند اینرا پیشی‌اش میدهد،

4 مو شده جان ز رویش میخواهد رویش‌دل زجان،
ورجای خود میستاند به مدعی اش مید هد،

5 بعد از هوا بخاطر تسلیم گفتمش،
در قرب نیستی شرف زندگی او میدهد،

6 چو شد صاف و بیغش و پاکزه در دو کون،
در قهر فقر محض رقم خسروی اش میدهد،

3. äsheq chi säya da päyi u wä rakib zi päy
   urä bekhud namarsana irä pishish mata

4. mi ämyä ju zi rish makhä rish dil zi ju
   wär jäyi khud mastana war muda'ish mata

5. bäd àz hawà bä khàtiri taslim guftumäsh
   dar qurbe nisti sharafe zindagish mata

6 chu raf sâf-u biqish-u päkizä dar di koun
  da käre fakre mahz ràqume khusräwish mata

3 عشق چه سیه د پی، او و رقیب ز پی،
اور بخود نمرسنه ایر پیشیش مته،

4 می امیه جو ز ریش مخه ریش دل زجو،
ورجای خوذ مستنه ور مدعیش مته،

5 بعد از هوا بخاطر تسلیم گفتمش،
در قرب نیستی شرف زندگیش مته،

6 چو رف صاف و بیغش و پاکزه در دی کون،
د مهر فقر محض رقم خسرویش مته

7. The lover is like a wick, the others like a gun—
and she gives every one what he deserves, whoever he may be

7 عاشق فتیله شده و اغیار چو تفنك،
هر یك هرانچه هست فراخور اینش میدهد،

Fayyāḍ

5[1]—*Translation*

1. Every time when night arrives my soul is ready to depart from my body for sorrow.
Come one night to me so that I may see how (good) this will be.
2. But if I should wail with a thousand groans, who will pity me?
My feet are tied, but the tyrannous sweetheart is still going on (with her tortures).

فیاض

5.—*Paraphrase*

1 جان از غمت بدر میرود هر وقت که شب میشود،
یك شب بیا برم تا ببینم چه طور میشود،
2 گر صد هزار جیغ کنم کیست که دل بدهد،
لنگم در بسته دلبر خون خوار بتاب میرود،

[1] Two more *bayts* of highly indecent contents are added to this poem in the original. They most probably do not belong to it at all.

7. āshigh pelite āmyā-wu aghyár chu tufaṇg
har yäk har unche hast färåkhurde ish mata.

7 عشق پلیته امیه و اغیار چو تفنگ،
هر یك هر انچه هست فراخورد ایش مته،

FAYYĀḌ

5.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Ju az ghamät bädär mara har wakh ki shäw mara
yak show biå bärum tä bäbinum chi täw mara

2 gar sad häzár jiq kunum ki's ke del bete
langum da bästä delbare khi khul bädäw mara

FAYYĀḌ

5.—*Original Text*

1 جو از غمت بدر مره هر وخ که شو مره،
یك شو بیا بروم ته ببینم چتو مر

2 گر صد هزار جیق کنوم کس که دل بته،
لنگوم د بسته دلبر خی خول بدو مر

3. Whenever *I look* at her *flower-like* face,
like water *through the basket*, rose-water pours from the *caldrons of my eyes.*
4. *If I* should ask thee : has the rival died ?—Say : yes !
But if thou wilt say : no!—my heart will melt from sorrow.
5. What life givest thou me, although thou showest me thy face ?
In the kingdom of love the troops of thy tenderness have started plundering.

3 گر به اندازم نگاه بگلزار رخسارش،
چو نی‌طبق زدیك دو چشمم گلاب میرود،
4 گر پرسمت رقیب مرد بگو که بلی،
ور گوئی که نی دلم از غصه آب میشود،
5 بر من چه عمر میگذاری و رویت را مینمائی،
درملك دل زلشکر نازت چپو میرود،

FAYYĀḌ

6.[1]—*Translation*

1. Look at my beloved when her veil is removed—
the sun appears to be as dark as the moon, if compared with her face.

فیاض

6 —*Paraphrase*

1 یارم رود چو دور نقاب ببین اش،
خورشید مثل ماه سیاهست پیش رویش،

[1] Originally nine *bayts*. Two of them have been omitted after the third *bayt*, as being illegible.

3. gär bändäzum nägá bä gulzáre rokhsáräsh
chu ney tabaq zà dike di chäshmum geläw mara
4. gär pursumät raqib bämurdä bogo ki hu
wár war gui ki nı delum äz ghusa àw mara
5. war mu chi umre mugzärı u ritrá munwäyi
där mulke del zi láshkare názät chapow mara.

3 گر بندزوم نگا بگلزار رخسارش،
چو نی طبق ز دیك دی چشموم گلو مره،
4 گر پرسمت رقیب بمرده بگو که هو،
ور گوئی که نی دلم ازقصه آو مره،
5 ور مو چه عمر مگذری و ریت رمنوئی،
در ملك دل ز لشکر نازت چپو مره،

FAYYĀḌ

6.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Yárum räwá chi dur näqáwe be bish
khurshide misli máhe siäh äs pishı rish

FAYYĀḌ

6.—*Original Text*

1 یاروم روه چه دور نقاو بییش،
خورشید مثل ماه سیا هست پیش ریش،

2. Her face like a mirror throws its reflexion on the walls; her neck appears like (that of) a huri of Paradise.
3. Once I saw a shirt in Jacob's hands: passionately longing for his (Joseph's) face, he was pale and unconscious.
4. She captures every morning and evening my heart with grief, (remembering) those curled locks I long for her moon-like face.
5. Last night I was with the beloved till dawn, and she worked at my heart with the bow and bow-string to the utmost.
6. Said I: take a stone so that thou wilt kill me easily (?) Said she: die, because behind every pleasure there is a thorn.

2 رویش مثل آئینه عکسی بدیوار می‌اندازد،
مینماید همچو حور بهشتی از وگلوش،

3 روزی در بر یعقوب پیراهنی دیدم،
ز شوق رویش همه .بی رویش و هوش،

4 هر صبح وشام میکند دلم ز غم در بند،
زا ین زلف پیچ پیچ دارم حسرت ماهی‌اش،

5 دیشب پیش یار بودم تا دم سحر،
از زهی و کمان بدلم کرد آنچه بیش،

6 گفتم که سنگ بیار تا زخفت بکشی تو مرا(؟)،
گفت بمیر کز .بی هر نوش هست نیش،

2. rish misli äinä aski bädiwål mändäzä
munwåya hanchi hire behishti äz u gulish
3. ruzi dä båre Yaqubu pirhäni diyum
zi showke rish hamä bi rish u hish
4. har suhbe shum mukna dılom rä zi gham då band
z'ı zilfe pich pıch darum hasrate mähish
5. dishinä pishi yår biyum tå dåme sahar
äz zähi wu kumun bå dilum ḱard unche bısh
6. guftum ki saṇg biyår tä zi khuffät bäkushtämi [1]
guf bämir käz päy har nush äs nish

2 ریش مثل اینه عسکی بدیوال مندزه،
منویه هم چه حیر بهشتی از او گلیش،

3 روزی د بر یعقوب پرهنی دیوم،
ز شوق ریش همه بی ریش و هیش،

4 هر صحب و شوم مکنه دلمِ ر زغم د بند،
زی زلف پیچ پیچ دروم حسرت مهیش،

5 دیشینه پیش یار بیوم ته دم سحر،
از زهی و کمن بدلوم کر اونچه بیش،

6 گفتوم که سنگ یار ته ز خفت بکشتمی،
گف بمیر کز پی هر نوش هست نیش،

[1] A strange form, but it seems to be exactly so in the original text.

7. Said I: I will never again come to thee. She said: thou art a cat
When its mouth cannot get the grease, it says: this is sour.

7 گفتم که در بی‌ات نیایم گفت گربهٔ،
پوزش بلانبه چو نرسید گفتا ترش،

Fayyāḍ

7.[1] —*Translation*

1. God, give everybody his bread only for to-day, not more!
do not worry, thou poor man, to-morrow He will give thee more
2. Whoever in this world will subsist on what he has honestly earned,
to him on the day of Resurrection He will give what he wants, in full satisfaction.
3. The lot that has been fated to one, o believers,
is that which has been prescribed; but He gives more.

فیاض

7 —*Paraphrase*

1 هر کس خدا یا روزی اش امروز بیش مده،
دلخور مباش فقیر که فردا پیش بدهد،
2 هر کس که درجهان کند پشت از حلال او،
در پیشگاه حشر در رضایش اورا بدهد،
3 روزی که بقسمتش باشد ای مؤمنان که او،
هرچه حواله کرده همان است گر چه بیش میدهد،

[1] Originally ten *bayts*. One is omitted after 5, and another after 7.

7. guftum ki där päyät nämiyum guf gurbāyi
pizäsh bä dumba chi näräsi guftá trish.

7 گفتوم که در پیت نمیوم گف گربهٔ،
پیزش بدمبه چه نرسی گفتا تریش،

Fayyāḍ

7.—Phonetical Transcription

1. Har käs Khudáy ruziäsh ımruz bish mata
delkhur mäbásh fakir ki färdásh pish mata
2. har kás ki dä jihu kunä pusht äz haláli u
dä pishgâhe hashar da rizásh ish mata
3. ruzi ke bekismätäsh bäshä äy muminu ki u
hàr che hawalä kärdä hamu's gär che bish mata

Fayyāḍ

7.—Original Text

1 هر کس خدای روزیش امروز بیش مته،
دلخور مباش فقیر که فرداش پیش مته،
2 هر کس که د جهو کنه پشت از حلال او،
د پیشگاه حشر د رضاش ایش مته،
3 روزی که بقسمتش بشه ای مومنو که او،
هر چه حوله کرده هموس گر چه بیش مته،

4. A rich man eats from the sweat of some one's forehead, and the poor eats from the hands of the rich ;
in this way He gives to one, and in that way He grants to the other.

5. To every one He gives as much as He thinks necessary, according to his wishes.
To one He gives a louse in the beard, to another pearls.

6. To one with difficulty He gives barley, to another palaw for nothing :
this He gives to one, and that to the other.

7. No one buys a hundred of my wise principles even for a farthing,
but to some inveterate scoundrels they give hundreds of gold coins.

8. If He gives to one bread in this way, to some (unfortunate) one,
out of anger He will make him to live again even when he dies.

4 منعم ز خویش میخورد و مفلس ز منعم،
آنرا چنانش میرساند اینرا چنینش میدهد،

5 هر کس را او فراخور منظر خواهشش،
یك را شپش در ریش یك را مرواریدش میدهد،

6 یك را به جبر جو میدهد یك را بمفت پلو،
آنرا از آنش میرساند اینرا ازاینش میدهد،

7 صد پند و حکمتم نخرد کس بیک فلس،
هر نا کسی (بلودهٔ) صد اشرفیش میدهد،

8 گر روزی، اورا بدر آرد بدین خو،
از کین مرده هم که باشد زندگی‌اش میدهد،

4. mun'im zi khuish mukhrā wu muflis zi mun'em
urā chunush marsana irā chenish mata

5. har ḱasrā u fārákhure mānzire khâhishesh
yakrā shupish da rish yaker márwārish mata

6. yak rā be jaber jáw mata yakrā bā muf pālow
urā āz ush marsana irā āz ish mata

7. sad pand-u hikmatum nákhara ḱas be yak fális
har nákasi boludaye sad ashrafish mata

8. gar ruziyi urā bādar ārā bādın khu
āz ḱine murdá'am ke bāshā zindágish mata.

4 منعم ز خوئیش مخره و مفلس ز منعم،
اور چنوش مرسنه اِیر چنش مته،

5 هر کس‌ر او فراخور منظر خواهشش،
یك ر شپش‌د ریش یك‌ر مرواریش مته،

6 یك‌ر به جبر جو مته یك‌ر بمف پلو،
اور از اوش مرسنه اِیر ازیش مته،

7 صد پند وحکمت ام نخره کس بیك فلس،
هر ناکسی بلودهٔ صد اشرفیش مته،

8 گر روزی، اور به در اره بدین خو،
از کین مرده م که بشه زندگیش مته،

FAYYĀḌ

8.[1]—*Translation*

1. I am not Ayyāz, who would devotedly serve Maḥmūd,
   who will become the slave of a slave and put on a coat of serge.
2. Neither will I, like the cursed Satan, stir troubles,
   day and night whispering evil designs into the ears of every one.
3. *Shaykh*[2] has given me capital, and sent me to travel,
   so that I may make some profit for myself on that money.
4. But the wicked flesh always grasps me from behind,[3]
   trying to seduce me gradually to waste that capital . . .

فیاض

8—*Paraphrase*

1 نه ایازم که زجان خدمت محمود کنم،

بندهٔ بنده شوم جبه‌را ماهوت کنم،

نه چو شیطان لعین تاب درهم اندازم،

که شب و روز به گوش این و آن (فیت) کنم،

شیخ سرمایه بداد و فرستادم بسفر،

که ز سرمایهٔ او بهر خود سود کنم،

نفس ظالم بر پهلویم گرفته شب و روز،

(نا خونك) میزند که سرمایه را نابود کنم،

[1] This poem is very popular in Sabzawar, and many people know th few lines by heart, but the original text, as well as the end of the song, co not be found, in spite of a long search.

[2] I.e. God.

[3] Literally: caught my side.

Fayyāḍ

8.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Nā Ayāzum ki zā ju khidmāti Mahmid kunum
bāndāyi bāndā ruwum jubārā māhit kunum
2. nā chi Shāytune la'in dāw da ham āndāzum
ki shāw u ru bā gushe i wa u fit [1] kunum
3. Shāykh sār-māyā bādā wu befristum bā safar
ke zā sar-māyāyi u bahri khud sid kunum
4. nafsi zālim bare pahlim giriftā shāw u ru
nakhinak [2] muznā ki sār-māyārā nābid kunum.

[1] There is probably no exact equivalent of this onomatopœic expression in the literary Persian, and therefore I have preserved it unchanged in the paraphrase.

[2] This is a diminutive of ناخون or ناخن, which means "a finger-tip-ful". With the verb زدن it gives the sense of digging in, trying to carry on an intrigue gradually.

Calcutta,
25th March, 1926

Six Babylonian and Assyrian Seals

By S. LANGDON

(PLATE I)

(1)

ᵈNannar-ra'im (?)[1] *mar Ma-nu-um- ša-ni-in-šu arad A-bi-nu-ḫi.*

"Nannar-ra'im (?), son of Manum-shanin-shu, servant of Abi-nukhi."

The design on this seal confines its classification to the period of the Dungi and the Isin dynasty (2409–2075). The worshipper stands, with hands folded at the waist, before a seated deified king,[2] and behind him stands the mother goddess with both hands raised (palms outward), imploring the aid of the divine king for her human *protegé*. This liturgical pose and design are characteristic of the Ur and Isin periods. See Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 57–70, and Langdon, *R A.*, 16, 64–5. Compare, for example, Delaporte, ibid , 116. The deified king extends a small cup toward the worshipper with his right hand. In the field above are the lunar crescent and emblem of the stellar Ishtar (Venus).

But the inscription presents a difficulty, for contrary to all religious ideas of this type of glyptic, the owner is described as the servant of a human, *Abinuḫi*, where we expect the name of a god. See *R.A.*, 16, 56. A similar inscription on a seal of the succeeding period of glyptic is "Daganija servant of

[1] *KI-AG.* The ideogram for *râmu*, in names of this kind, has not been translated into Semitic by Ranke, *Personal Names*, 129. With the above translation, an abbreviated form like *Nabu-ra'im* (*râm*)-*napišti* must be assumed.

[2] For definite proof that the seated deities with low round broad brimmed head-dress really represent the deified kings of Ur and Isin, see the seal of Ibi-Sin, *Museum Journal*, 1920, 169, and the writer's previously published statement, *R.A.*, 16, 65.

Sumuabu ', Legrain, *Museum Journal*, 1922, 66; Sumuabu was a king, and founder of the First Babylonian Dynasty, and the liturgical gesture of the worshipper (with the uplifted "kiss-hand") agrees with the glyptic designs of the First Dynasty A similar inscription occurs on a seal in Philadelphia, "*Natium arad Lugal-an-na-du,*" *Museum Journal*, 1923, 147 Lugalannadu was a patesi of Umma, Scheil, *Comptes Rendus*, 1911, 319 (period of Gutium dynasty) Therefore, we must assume that the custom of dedicating seals to kings and officials obtained also in the Ur and Isin periods *Abinuḫi* must be the name of some unknown official of this period. Black diorite, 25 mm. long. In possession of Mr. Casson, New College, Oxford.

(2)

U-bar-ta-ni amat [d] *Ku-ri-tum*

"Ubartani, servant of the goddess Kurîtu"

This is the seal of a woman, and is engraved with the familiar design of the glyptic of the First Babylonian Dynasty, the Amorite god Amurrû and his wife Shala. See, for example, Delaporte, ibid, 196–208, Speleers, *Catalogue des Intailles . . . des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, pp. 158 ff. In the upper field is a plain thick circle, which is undoubtedly intended to represent the four pointed star in a circle, symbol of the sun, as on the similar Brussels seal, Speleers, ibid, 159. There are other conventional methods of representing this symbol of the sun. The four pointed star often becomes the simple sign + enclosed in a circle, Delaporte, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, No. 46; *Cylindres du Louvre*, pl. li, D. 41, and occasionally the sun symbol is represented by the sign + alone, *Collection de Clercq*, 210, which became the cuneiform sign ⊁ on other seals.

The name *Ubartani* apparently contains the abstract noun *ubartu* and the 1st plur. possessive suffix *ni*. The Semitic word *ubaru*, *ubarru*, is a loan-word from Sumerian *ubara* =

kidinu, protegé, Syl. B. 353, *umbara*, *C.T.*, 18, 30 B. 18 = *rîmûtu*, mercy, *nirarûtu*, help. Spelled also *u-bur* in N. Pra., *JRAS*, 1923, 256, 15. I would explain the name *Ubartani* as meaning " our help ". The female deity *Kurîtum* is new to me, and I can find no information on the subject.

Black diorite ; 18 mm. long In possession of Mr. Casson.

(3)

Assyrian seal of late period Chalcedony, 31 mm long, 15 mm. thick ; in possession of Mr. L. D. Grand, Ministry of Defence, Baghdad. The figure of a human, repeated, before two divinities, in the Semitic gesture, *supinae manus*, see " Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer," *JRAS.*, 1919, 539-544 [1] On the left the worshipper is before a deity who stands upon a mythological animal, a human-headed bird with scorpion tail. The god holds in his left hand a rectangular object ; the hand of the extended right arm is represented by a small ball, as is the right hand of the deity on the right The beards of all four figures are represented by a ball simply The monster on which the god stands is probably a degraded form of the " scorpion man ". Two types of this fantastic animal are known :—

(1) Scorpion man with drawn bow. This design occurs on monuments of the Cassite and fourth dynasties ; *kudurru* of Nebuchadnezzar I, V Raw. 57 ; of Melishipak II, King, *Boundary Stones*, pl. xxix, and on late Assyrian seals, Delaporte, *Catalogue Bib Nat.*, 313 ; Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 576, 630, 629, 631, 632. In many of these examples of the Assyrian glyptic, the creature has a form which

[1] The Assyrian gesture with pointing index finger, described by Latin writers, and also common in Greece, was discussed, ibid., 539 ff , and 546 ff. Heuzey, *Origines orientales*, p. 270, suggests that this gesture represents a snapping of the fingers to attract the attention of the god, but it is more likely a modification of the Sumerian kiss-hand, from which the Greek προσκυνεῖν was derived. See *JRAS.*, 1919, 544. Heuzey's conclusion was adopted by Thureau-Dangin, *RA.*, 21, 189, who believes that the gesture of the pointing index finger is not found later than Ashurhaddon, but he does not refer to the discussion and evidence in *JRAS.*, 1919.

has suggested to some scholars the classical *centaur*. In several of the examples cited above the scorpion man is represented in conflict with the dragon of chaos, Tiamat or Zu [1]; here he replaces [2] the winged Ashur-Marduk, and there can be no doubt but that this god who subdued the dragon of chaos in the Assyrian and Babylonian versions of the Epic of Creation, respectively, is actually symbolized by the scorpion man. Note that on the seal, Ward, 624, the scorpion man of the second type stands behind Ashur in combat with a bull.

(2) Scorpion man without bow, bird-like design with two legs and without hands; two wings as in the first type. On a *kudurru* of Melishipak II, King, *Boundary Stones*, pl. xix, this creature undoubtedly replaces the scorpion man with bow, of the other *kudurrus*. It will be noticed that on the *kudurrus*, which contain the designs of the scorpion man, the spear-headed pillar, symbol of Marduk, does not occur (see Frank, *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, ii, 2, p. 38, 4), and consequently this fantastic animal probably represents Marduk here On two Assyrian seals, which portray the conflict of the scorpion man with the dragon, occurs the ideogram ⊹, Delaporte, ibid., 313, and Ward, 576.[3] This ideogram is probably identical with the sign +, which is an abbreviated symbol of the sun and the sun-god. See above under seal No. 2. Marduk is by origin a sun-god, in so far as he supplants Ninurta in the old Sumerian epic of creation. See the writer's *Epic of Creation*, p. 19.

For more examples of the second type of the scorpion man in Assyria, see the design on the second register of the throne of Ninlil, in the sculptures of Maltaī, *R.A.*, 21, 187; Ward, Nos. 600, 624, 767, 1297; Delaporte, ibid., 387–9; Ward, *Cylinders . . . in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, 277, 291; Otto Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, 257. The deteriorated

[1] See the writer's *Epic of Creation*, p. 19, n. 1.

[2] Compare the remarks of Ward, ibid., p. 200 and p. 209

[3] See also the early seal from Susa, Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre*, S. 306, Speleers, p. 179, No. 596.

type of the design on Mr. Grand's seal undoubtedly indicates the god, Marduk-Ashur, who subdued Tiamat and her dragon host, one of which is the *girtablilû*, "scorpion man".[1] The god stands on the conquered dragon, and hence this creature became a symbol of the god himself Before the scorpion man is the spear-headed pillar of Marduk on this seal. Babylonian symbolism deviated so far from the original myth of creation as to represent the scorpion bowman in the act of slaying *Tiamat* or *Zu*, who in the epic was his own leader! On the sculptures of Maltaï, *RA.*, 21, 187, Ashur stands on the dragon *mušruššû*, who is one of the dragons of the host of Tiamat, and probably denotes the Milky-Way in astronomy.[2]

If the scorpion bowman is to be identified with the constellation Sagitarius, whose astronomical name was *kakkab* *PA-BIL-SAG*, then the deity associated with this constellation must be Marduk. The god *PA-BIL-SAG* is identified with Ninurta, consort of Ninkaraka, Ebeling, *KAR*, 16, 11; 142, 24; *CT.*, 25, 13, 33 But this god was the original protagonist of the epic of creation, and was displaced by Marduk in the Babylonian version and by Ashur in the Assyrian.

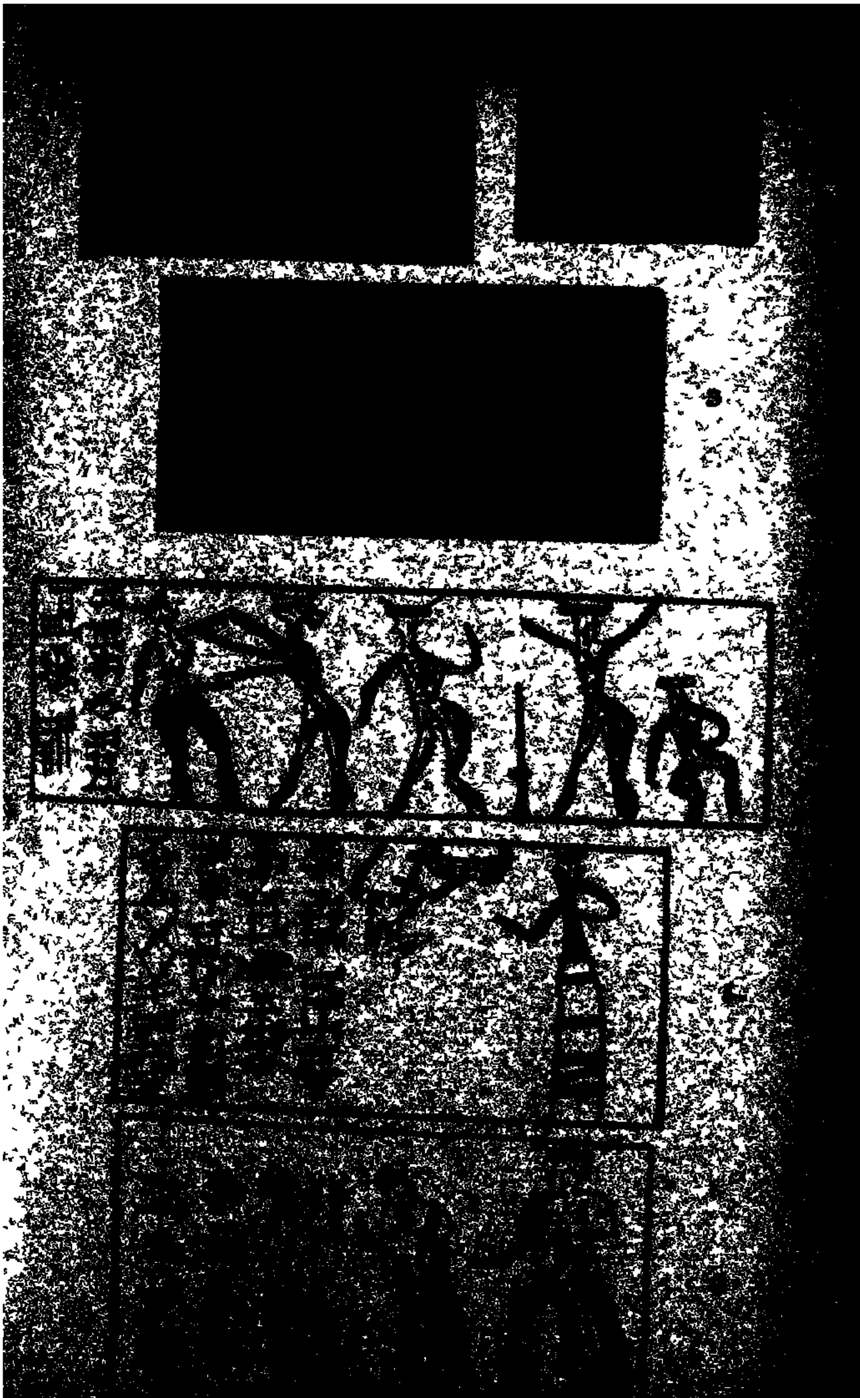
On the right side of this seal the worshipper stands before the winged god Ashur, again accompanied by the spear-headed pillar of Marduk. From his shoulders spring four rods, each ending in a cup-shaped figure and a ball. The left hand is extended toward the worshipper in the act of elocution. From the right hand hangs a long staff ending in a U-shaped figure These details are entirely new in Assyrian glyptic. But this is not all of the curious features of this remarkable seal. The right end is also engraved with an obliterated design in which the standing figure of a worshipper, with right hand raised to the lips, a comb shaped object and several round holes may still be seen.

[1] See Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 88, 141.
[2] *Epic of Creation*, p. 87, n. 9.

(4)

Black diorite seal, 25 mm long, 10 mm. thick. Period of First Babylonian Dynasty. In possession of Mr. Casson. The principal scene consists of two deities in combat, both nude except for a plain narrow waist-band. Each wears a plain conical cap, with wide brim, below which are a pair of bull's horns, drawn *en face*. The deity on the right, with his left arm plunges a dagger into the bowels of his opponent, and seizes his adversary's left upper arm with the right hand. The deity on the left defends himself with his left arm, by seizing the right upper arm of his adversary. His right arm hangs limply at his side. Behind the deity with dagger are two deities in precisely the same design Both follow after the deity in combat, but the one immediately behind turns his head backward toward his companion His right arm is extended downward, and the left raised in a striking attitude. The deity in the rear has both arms extended upward in attitude of horror. In the rear of these four figures is a miniature figure of a deity, entirely nude, facing in the opposite direction in attitude of collapse, the right leg half bent toward the earth, and the left leg extended to prevent his fall The right arm hangs limply at his side, and the left is held, with a wide sweep, to the waist in attitude of pain He probably represents a fallen adversary. The explanation of this design commonly called the " deities in combat " was attempted by the writer in the *Revue d' Assyriologie*, 16, 59–63. They represent the conflict between gods and the demons ; the latter are often represented as deities and not as fantastic creatures ; they have the same divine origin as the gods themselves. See *RA* , 16, 61, n. 3. A scene somewhat similar to our No. 4 will be found in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre*, S. 471, p. xlvii, fig. 3, and p. 58, where three separate combats between deities are represented. To my references in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* should be added three seals in the *Musée Cinquantenaire*, Speleers, *Catalogue*, p. 119, p. 120, p. 127, No. 571*a*.

The seal has a cartouche, which appears to be genuine, but



I fail to find an interpretation. *Ḫasisu-ṭâb (a-ab)*, seems to be the reading of line 1, i e "good is wisdom," an intelligible proper name. But *La-mu-sa*, if it be a name, should be preceded by *mar*, "son of Lamusa" Two proper names in one cartouche without any generic connexion would be inexplicable.

(5)

Rock crystal seal, 30 mm. long, 10 mm. thick, colour so neutral that the details of the obliterated designs are difficult to detect. In possession of Mr Casson

On the left two standing figures, rudely cut. A deity with horned tiara, flounced skirt represented by a series of circles; right hand extended toward the figure on the left, and left hand held to the waist; profile to the left. Before him a rude design of a human, arms raised above the head in attitude of astonishment. In the space between the figures in the upper field a fantastic feline animal apparently attacking the head of the human The design and attitude of the deity (*if genuine*) resembles the deity on Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre*, S. 522, *Collection de Clercq*, 198. The cartouche reads, *ᵈ Ag-šág-ga ᵈ Kal-sum-mu A-pi-il-Ištar ardu pâliḫ-šu*. The deity *Agšagga*, title of Nebo, is probably the restoration for *CT.*, 25, 36A, 30. *ᵈ Kal* or *lamassu*, *alad*, protecting deity, occurs in *alad zi-sum-mu*, *RA.*, 16, 93, No. 56, and it is assumed that *zi* is omitted here. In line four the last sign is *ir*, not *ni* as assumed in the transcription. If the sign *IR* be taken for the sign *ERIB* = *aškapu*, tanner (*RA.*, 16, 72, n. 2), then *IM-TUK-A* must be taken for a proper name. I hesitate to pronounce this seal a forgery, despite the corrections necessary to make an intelligible text. The style of the inscription is that of the Cassite period, cf. *RA.*, 16, 93, No. 56; but the figures indicate the First Dynasty.[1]

[1] I would translate the cartouche "To Agšagga, the protecting genius, who bestows the breath of life, Apil-Ishtar, the servant, his worshipper."

(6)

Black diorite seal, 20 mm. long, 10 mm. thick. In possession of Mr Casson First Babylonian Dynasty. A worshipper in the liturgical pose of the period, right arm raised toward the face, open hand bent toward the lips in "kiss-hand" position, left arm folded to the waist, low cap and long divided striated robe, facing the right, before a deity, horned tiara, divided striated robe, right leg advanced and placed on a hassock, decorated with three horizontal lines; right hand extended toward the worshipper, and holding a dagger. Behind the worshipper stands the interceding mother goddess, both hands lifted before the face, palms outward toward the deity, a gesture indicating protection from the blinding glory of the god.[1] Horned tiara and flounced robe The cartouche reads, "*d.Sin-ili servant of the god Amurrû.*"

[1] This explanation has been suggested to me by Dr A M Blackman

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. I: the Ha-za

By F. W THOMAS

AMONG the Tibetan MSS recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the now famous hidden library of Tun-huang (Ch'ien-fo-tung) is a roll of thin paper inscribed on one side with a part of a text of a Buddhist *sūtra* in Chinese The reverse contains a Tibetan document, which, as we may infer from many similar instances, was inscribed later. The Tibetan text, which consists of 254 lines of writing (*plus* the lower half of a preceding line) is a chronicle, covering without interruption a period of seventy-six years Each entry commences with the name of the year according to the twelve-year cycle, and then appends a brief resumé of the leading events, usually ending with the phrase "[so] one year". The text contains a large number of names, names of peoples, places, and persons, including royalties, generals, and ministers, Chinese envoys and Turkish *khagans*: and the whole conveys a lively impression of Tibetan activities during the period, especially of incessant campaigns against all co-terminous states, the Chinese, the Ḥbrog (nomads), and other tribes of Tibet. Of special interest for Indian history are the indications of Tibetan domination in Nepal.

As this text, of which an anterior portion exists in Professor Pelliot's collection in Paris, is to be edited in full by M. Bacot, who, after its cataloguing by Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, was the first to study it, I propose here to make only a few citations relating to the Ḥa-ża people, the subject of this paper. It should, however, be mentioned that[1] on the strength of various correspondences, e.g :—

year 12: death of queen Mun.caṅ Khoṅ.co (Wên-ch'êng), widow of Sroṅ.btsan.sgam.po = A.D. 681 (Bushell, *JRAS.* 1880, p. 438);

[1] Provisionally, in anticipation of M Bacot's conclusions.

year 39: reception of the Chinese princess Kim.śeṅ Khoṅ.co (i e Chin-ch'êng), as wife of the Tibetan king Khri ḫdus sroṅ = A D 710 (Bushell, p 457);

year 56: capture of the Chinese town of Kva.cu (An-hsi) = A D 727 (Bushell, p 462),

year 68: death of the queen Kim.śeṅ Khoṅ.co = A D 741 (Bushell, p 438),

the initial year of the India Office MS is fixed as adjacent to the year A D 672 and on the whole most probably coincides with parts of 672 and 673 This year having been an Ape year, the years A D 636, 648, and 660 will also have been Ape years, the other years of the cycle fall, of course, into their places; and we shall thus eventually be able to obtain approximate dates for various documents from Chinese Turkestan which make mention of cyclic years

The Ḫa-ża people occupy in history a position of considerable obscurity A tribe of "inner dwarfs" bearing the name *Śe-ḫa-ża* appears in the Tibetan chronicle of Ladakh; and Professor A. H Francke, in editing the chronicle (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, ii, pp 71 and 279), identified them with the people of Lahul, who themselves claim the designation. The name appears, according to Professor Francke, in Padma-sambhava literature, and, as belonging to a kind of fairies, also in Bon-po writings [1] Finding it in the documents from Chinese Turkestan, Professor Francke was tempted to refer it there also to Lahul (*JRAS* 1914, p. 46, and *Ancient Khotan*, p 1462). References to Western Tibetan countries are, however, hardly to be expected, and in point of fact rare, in those documents: and Professor Francke's suggestion was promptly countered by Professor Pelliot (*Journal Asiatique*, 1914, ii, p 124, note), who had previously (ibid, 1912, ii, pp 520–3) adduced strong reasons, including actual testimony, for identifying the Ḫa-ża with the Tu-ku-hun, a people well known in Chinese history (see

[1] For other literary Tibetan references see below, pp. 82–3.

Professor Cordier's *Histoire*, index) and located by Professor Chavannes in the mountains to the north of the Koko-nor lake in north-eastern Tibet Recently (*JRAS* 1926, pp 311–12) I have myself, perhaps without sufficient regard to Professor Pelliot's evidence, proposed an identification of the Ḫa-ža with (practically) the people of the Shan-shan kingdom, south and south-west of Lop-nor. The means of settling this question exist, perhaps, in the Stein documents, and I propose therefore to cite the references to the Ḫa-žas which I have found therein. Many of the passages have a general interest in relation to the geography, history and culture of Chinese Turkestan.

TEXTS [1] AND TRANSLATIONS [2]

1 Chronicle, ll. 33–5: Year 13 (Ape) = c. A.D 684:—

Ḫdun ma dbu . Ru śod kyi Re.skam.du.bsdu.ste | Khyu . Ḫdus tsan . dan . Rnegs . Khyi . ma . re . daṅ | Ḫa . ža . gsum mchid . śags . ḫtshal žin |

"The assemblage having been gathered in Re.skam of mid Ru.śod, the Khyu Ḫdus.tsan, Khyi.ma.re of Rṅegs, and the Ḫa.ža, these three, sent letters of complaint (protest ?)."

Ru-śod, Lower Ru, seems to be a district in eastern Tibet. *Khyu* is a tribal designation. *Rnegs* also is the name of a district. The exact force of the expression *mchid.śags*, which recurs in the documents (No. 15, ll. 30, 42, 44, below), is not certain; it might mean merely "letter".

[1] In all the texts which follow partly legible *akṣaras* are enclosed between square brackets and corrections between round brackets. Conjectural insertions are in *Italic*. Missing *akṣaras* are indicated by a corresponding number of dots, except where, especially at the beginnings and ends of lines, the number is not sufficiently determinable. In all cases the irregular spellings and punctuation of the originals are preserved.

[2] In view of the irregular spellings in the documents and the numerous words not hitherto recorded the translations are offered, especially in the case of fragmentary phrases, with some amount of reserve. In many cases, however, we have confirmatory evidence from other documents.

2. Chronicle, ll. 49–50: Year 18 (Ox) = *c.* A.D. 689:—

Btsan . po . Ñen . kar . gyi . Thaṅ . bu . ra . na . bžugs . śiṅ | Btsan . mo . Khri bans | Ḫa . ža . rje la . bag . mar . gśegs |

"The Btsan-po (Khri.ḫdus.sroṅ) residing at Thaṅ.bu.ra in Ñen . kar, the Btsan.mo (princess) Khri.bans went as wife to the Ḫa.ža king."

The name Khri.bans seems to have belonged to more than one Tibetan princess: for an earlier one see below (pp. 63–5).

3. Chronicle, l. 62: Year 22 (Snake) = *c.* A.D. 693:—

Rtsaṅ cen . poḫi Ḫbrog . bskos . nas | blon che . Khri . ḫbrin . Ḫa . ža . yul . du mcis par . lo . gcig |

"After defeating ("levying"?) the Ḫbrog (nomads) of Rtsaṅ.cen the Great Minister Khri.ḫbrin went into the Ḫa.ža country—so one year."

The Great Minister Khri-ḫbrin is perhaps identical with the Ch'inling of Bushell (pp. 447, 451, 453, etc.). Rtsaṅ-c[h]en, which is several times mentioned in the Chronicle, cannot be located with certainty The verb *mkhos*, from *ḫgas* (?), seems to be confused with another (*bskos*), which means "appointed"; or should we here understand the meaning as "raised levies"?

4 Chronicle, ll 68–9 Year 24 (Sheep) = *c.* A.D. 695:—

blon che Khri . ḫbrin . Ḫa . ža . yul . du . mcis . śiṅ | Stag. la . Rgya dur du Rgyaḫi dmag . dpon . Wan žan śo dan . g-yul . sprade . Rgya . maṅ . po . bkum.

"The Great Minister Khri.ḫbriṅ having gone into the Ḫa.ža country, at Rgya . dur in Stag la a battle was fought with the Chinese general Wan . žan śo, and many Chinese were slain."

Stag-la and Rgya-dur are not as yet located with certainty, nor have I the means of identifying the Chinese general Waṅ-žaṅ-śo. A place Stag is mentioned in a document from Mīrān (*MI* xxvii, 002).

5. Chronicle, ll. 70–1: Year 25 (Ape) = *c.* A.D. 696:—

Btsan po . Zrid . mdaḫ . na . bžugs . śiṅ | blon . ce . Khri .

> ḥbriṅ . gyis | Ḥa . ža yul gyi . Sil . gu cin . gyi . Ḥo . kol . du . Ḥa . žaḥi mkhos . bgyis
>
> " The Btsan . po residing in Zrid . mdaḥ, the Great Minister Khri . ḥbriṅ defeated the Ḥa . žas in Ḥo . kol of Sil . gu . cin in the Ḥa . ža country."

The places are not known (see below pp 67–8, 78) ; but it seems likely that Ḥo-kol implies a district by a river. Is it perhaps a simple equivalent of *Sil.gu.(cin)* which recurs in No 6, and in which *cin* most probably means " town " and *sil* may mean " river " (see p 79, below) ?

6 Chronicle, ll 140–2 . Year 43 (Tiger) = c. A D 724 .—

> blon chen po . Khri gzigs . gyis . bsduste | Bruṅ . pa . Rdo ḥphan koṅ . ni . byun | tshes . pon . Tre . goṅ . bchug ste | Ḥbon . da . rgyal . daṅ . žan Btsan to . re . Lhas . byin gyis | Sil gu . cin gyi . Ḥo . khol . du . Ḥa . žaḥi . mkhos . bgyis
>
> " The Great Minister Khri . gzigs having assembled (troops), the Brun . pa Rdo . ḥphan . kon rose, but was repressed by the tshes . pon (?) Tre . gon. The Ḥbon . da king and the uncle (minister) Btsan . to . re Lhas . byin defeated the Ḥa . žas at Ḥo . khol in Sil . gu . cin "

Dbaḥs Khri-gzigs became chief minister in the year 34 = c. A D. 705 (Chronicle, l. 102) His full name was Khri-gzigs-žaṅ-ñen (" uncle-relation " ?). The Ḥbon-da king, who recurs in the Chronicle, is perhaps king of a subdivision of the Ḥa-žas, the Ḥbon Ḥa-žas, who are mentioned below. The name Btsan-*to*-re we shall meet again. In the expression " uncle-minister " (*žaṅ-blon*) the word " uncle " should perhaps not be corrected to " noble " upon a supposition that a Chinese syllable is represented by *žaṅ*. In a polyandrous country the position of " uncle " has special aspects : and we need not understand an actual relationship of that king. In the exchange of courtesies and treaties with China the avuncular relationship seems sometimes to imply only a past connexion of families by that relationship ; and we can recall the use of the word " cousin " in Old

English. It is conceivable that the Ḫbon or Dboṅ Ḫa-žas were really "nephew" or "grandson" Ḫa-žas on the above lines and that the Dbon (below, pp. 79, 82) country came so by its name.

The rather strange-looking word *dbaḫs* (Chronicle, ll 102, 168, 190, 192, 196) is doubtful Does it signify "magician" or priest of a non-Buddhist religion (cf. *ḫbaḫ* "magician") ? That the "magician" should be a minister, as in this case, or a soldier, as in Nos 7 and 11, l. 51, below), or one who became a Buddhist *kalyāna-mitra*, as in a document (Ch. 0021), need cause no serious difficulty In a Tibetan history (*Rgyal.rabs gsal baḫi me lon*) of which a xylograph copy exists in the India Office Library the form *dbas* is found (Lhasa Expedition, F 1, fol 30*b*, l. 3)

7 Chronicle, ll 190–3 : Year 56 (Hare) = *c* A D. 727 .—

> Btsan po dbyar chab srid . la . Ḫa . ža . yul . du gśegste | śul . du dbaḫs Sum . po . skyes . bkaḫ . gyod . la chags | . dgun . Btsan . phoḫi pho bran . Jor . goṅ sna . naḫ bžugste | Ḫbon . Ḫa . ža rje . daṅ | žaṅ . dpon gdan tshom | dbaḫs Stag sgra . Khon . lod . blon . chen por bkah stsald | Ḫa ža . phal po . che . bya sga stsald |
>
> "The Btsan.po having gone in the summer to the Ḫa ža country to assume sovereignty, on the way, the *dbaḫs* Sum.po.skyes attempted to evade orders (*bkaḫ.gyod*?) The Ḫbon Ḫa.ža chief and the uncle commander resigned (exchanged ?) their posts. The *dbaḫs* Stag.sgra.Khoṅ.lod was appointed chief minister. The Ḫa ža for the most part sent presents"

On the term *dbaḫs* see above (No. 6). *Bya-sga* (*dgaḫ*) in the sense of "a present" occurs elsewhere (No 11, ll 4, 33, No. 13, l 4). Another Stag-sgra-Khoṅ-lod is mentioned in No 11, l 51, below

8. Chronicle, ll. 216–17 : Year 63 (Dog) = *c*. A.D. 734 :—

> Ḫa.žaḫi.pha.los.bgyis.
>
> "The Ḫa ža revolted."

9. Chronicle, l. 220: Year 64 (Hog) = c a.d. 735:—

Blon.chen.po.Cuṅ.bzaṅ.Ḫa.ža.yul.du.mchis.par.lo.gcig |

"The Great Minister Cuṅ.bzaṅ being in the Ḫa.ža country—so one year"

Cuṅ-bzaṅ-Ḫor-man, of Ḫbro in Mdo-smad, became chief minister in the year 57 = c. a.d. 728. Concerning other Cuṅ-bzaṅs see below (p. 66)

10 Chronicle, l 238: Year 71 (Horse) = c. a.d. 742:—

Khu.ñe.Mon.gaṅsu.blon.Maṅ.po.rjes.Ḫa.žaḫi.mkhos.bgyis.

"At Khu.ñe.Mon.gaṅs the minister Maṅ.po.rje defeated the Ḫa.ža."

The term *maṅ.po.rje* is properly an honorific, meaning "mighty chief", and in the documents it and the feminine *man.mo.rje* are found variously employed. In some cases, however, it was a standing designation, no doubt of feudatory chiefs. The person denoted in the present instance can hardly be the Khu-Man-po-rje Lha-zun, who in the year 34 (Chronicle, ll 87–8; a.d. 702) joined in defeating the Sum-ru and in the year 34 (ll 101–2, a.d. 705) was first made chief minister and then, displaying discontent, was replaced. That personage may be the Ch'umangpuchih of the Chinese history (Bushell, p 455). Possibly the present Man-po-rje is his son.

Khu-ñe Mon-gaṅs is clearly in the Ḫa-ža country. It is possible that *Khu.ñe* is equivalent to the *khvaniya, kuhaniya*, etc, of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, which seems to have a local sense without being exactly a place-name. Possibly it means something like "market-town". *Mon-gaṅs*, looks as if it meant "ice(-country) of the Mons", who are known as an inferior tribe in Western Tibet, and also, if I am not mistaken, in the documents from Turkestan. In *gaṅs*, however, I suspect that we have really not the word for "ice", but another word, usually written *gam* or *gams*, which we shall discuss elsewhere.

II This document was handed to me as one of the *trouvailles* of Sir Aurel Stein's third expedition. Its exact provenance is not stated It is fragmentary, having lost at the right hand about two-fifths of its width, and on the average about 16–17 *akṣaras* at the end of each line Some lines, especially at the commencement, are far more defective, and many are illegible, or hardly legible, at the beginning and elsewhere. The document measures in height 49 cm. and in breadth on the average about 14 cm : the entire width of the writing would appear from similar rolls to have been about 25–6 cm The obverse was originally devoted to a Chinese text, no doubt a Buddhist *sūtra*, whereof twenty-eight fragmentary lines, originally about 20 cm in width, are preserved The Tibetan text, fifty-five lines of writing, is in a rather small and cursive hand, well formed, such as is found in a number of other documents from Śa-cu, and which I should associate with the Shan-shan and Śa-cu regions It shows affinity to a rather larger form of writing which I have previously (*JRAS* 1926, p 508, n 1) assigned to the same regions

(1) . . Gya*n*.*can*.*mkhar* na.mdz . . . (2) . . . s .sto (?) .Khri .[g]das .dan | Cog [ro] .Cun .bzaṅ .ḫdam . kon (3) *Ma ga .Tho* gon .Kha .gan .la .phyag . [bgyiso (? bgyiste *or* bgyisna ?)] || ston.mo.ched.po.gsol . . | (4) sras mo (bu.mo ?) pha ḫbabs d[nul] lha dan | bya.dgaḫ.ched po (5) [du.bta] . . . . . *rtaḫ*i.lo.sor. dan. | dbyar.sla.ra.baḫi.[sku.bla].ched.po.*gsol* . . (6) spyan . . dbyar.Rma.chab kyi Mu to lyin.na chud du.btab. . . (7) . . lins.ched.po.bgyis.te || ri.dags. kyan.n . . (8) khrin.sa. . s.kyi.pho.braṅ.deḫi.dg[u]n. Sra.bal.gyi.Gya[n.ca]n.*mkhar*.*du* . . . (9) de.nas [deḫi] . . . gnam.gi.sras.Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.gi . (10) S[e].t[o] ña*hi*.khab.tu.bže[s]te.Ḫa.ža.rjeḫi.dpyan(d?) [la.gisu (legsu ?)].bkab.nas || . . . (11) [b]daḫi.Lyon.jen du.spar || de.nas.spreḫu.lo.so[r] || Sra.ba[l] . . (12) po yan.[der].gsol.||deḫi.dbya[r].yum.Btsan.mo.Khri.bans. kyi.žam.rin.du | . (13) Stoṅ.sde.mo.[spar].bkal.nas. || pho.braṅ.Rma.chab.kyi.[Glaṅ].ma.luṅ.du.[b] . .

(14) deḫi.ston.pho.braṅ.Sra.bal.gyi.G-yan.can.mkhar.du.btab.nas . . . (15) db[y]ar.*Gyaṅ*.[ca]n.mkhar.du.bžugste || žaṅ.Rgyal.tsan.suglas . . (16) žaṅ.lo[n].ḫdi.gñis.[sug.las.rjes].nas.rts[i]s.ched.po.bgyis | . . (17) [p]o.ya[n].der.gsol || [de]ḫi.dbyar.pho.bran.Se.ton.du.btab. | de.*nas* (18) [Ḫa.ža].sla.yaṅ.der.gs[o]l || de.nas.ḫphrul.gyi.lha.Btsan.po[ḫ]i . (19) db[e]n.sa.Stan.ri.Gnad.[ñ]uṅ.la.stsogs.pa.mchis.te || ḫdun.ma . . (20) rkaṅ.[bkris].sna.drugi.[g]yuṅ (byuṅ ?) btab || rkan.ton.dan.rtsis.ched.po.bgyi . . *khyihi*. (21) lo.sor.dan. | dbyar.sla.ra.baḫi sku.bla.ched.po gsol || de.nas.zla.ba . . (22) brtsan.gyis . . . Rgya.rjeḫi sras.mo.Mun.ś[e]n.Khon.co.bže[s] (23) žaṅ.Btsan.to.re.dan. | Ḫbro.žaṅ.Khri.bzaṅ.Kha.ce.btan.dan. | Cog ro . . . (24) [Sg]ra.*ya*.sto.mch[is].nas | de.nas.Btsan.mo.Khri.baṅs dan. | sras.Ma.ga.*Tho.gon.Kha.gan*. (25) gśegs.nas || yum.sras.kyi.žam.rin.du || Ḫa.žaḫi.žan.lon.[ched.po] . (26) Da.red Blon.yi dan || Mug.lden.dṅi.dbon.sor.daṅ. || [rta].dpon.Wan (27) [p]on.dan. || phuḫi.thob.pa. || thabs.can.gi.mchis.bran.la.stsogs.e . . (28) Muṅ.śeṅ.Khon.co.daṅ.mjal.nas. | phan.tshun.phyag.bgyis || ston . (29) sna man.po.phul || de.nas.Mun.śe[n.Kho]n.co.Dbon yul.dbusu (30) dur.btab || de.nas.pho.braṅ.Tsogi Rboṅ.yo.dur.btab.nas || dgu[n] . (31) sla.ra.baḫi.sku.bla.ched.po.yan.der.gsol || deḫi.dbya[r].pho.[bran].Lda (?).mṅ [mj] ? . . . (32) Mdo.blon.ched.po.(Ḫbro)[1].žan.Brtan sgra.ya.sto.la.stsogs.pa | phyag.ḫtshal . . . (33) pha.ḫbabs.daṅ. || bya.dgaḫ.ched.po.stsal.te.rlag.brdzans | dehi.sto . . (34) deḫi.dgun.Ḫa.žaḫi.žaṅ.lon.gyi.gco | Da.red Pon.yi.gum || de.nas . . . (35) g-yuḫi.yi.ge.ni.deḫi.rtsa.rol.du.thob || na[n].gi blon.po.žal.ce.p[o]r.n. . . . . . *byi.baḫi*.(36) lo.s[o]r.dan. | dbyar.sla.ra.baḫi.sku.bla.yaṅ.der.gsol || de.nas.ston.[mo] . . . (37) de.nas.deḫi.dgun.yan.Tsha.śod.du.bžugste | Btsan.mo.Khri.baṅs. . . . (38) žaṅ.Ñen.gyi.bu (?). | dbaḫs.Khri.bzan.spo.skyes.la.stsal.te.brdzaṅs *Ma.ga.Tho*. (39) gon.Kha.gan.gyi.khab.du. || Mug.lden.Ha.rod.par.gyi.bu.mo || Mug . . . (40) bkvag(?)nas || mtshan.yaṅ.'A.lye.baṅ.dig.žiṅ.du.btags || . . . (41) de.nas [glaṅ].gi.lo.la. | pho.braṅ.Tsha.śod.du.btab.nas || lo.s[o]r.daṅ.dbya[r] . . . (42) las.bguṅ (bkuṅ ?).ste ||

[1] This syllable is inserted below the line.

skyin.bar.Śud.pu.Khri.gzu.sbur.cun.bskos || bguṅ (?) . . . (43) deḥu.dbyar.pho bran.Tsha.śod.du.bžugste || lcam. Khon.co Gñi.ḥod . . (44) ched.po.gsol.te || rdzoṅs. kyan.nod.du.mchis || slar.yan.yan.l [ḥ ?] . . (45) g[z]la. brgyaḥ.daṅ | rṅa.mo.yan.rṅa.rdzi.daṅ.bcas | rta.yaṅ. rta.dzi.dan.bcas . . (46) daṅ.bcaste.brdzaṅs .|| pha. [sde ?.m]chis.paḥi.dbaḥs Dpon.g-yog.ri[l] . (47) de. nas.pho.bran.Tsha.śod.du.bžugste. | dgun.sla.ra.baḥi. sku.bla.ched.po.*gsol* . . . . *Ma.ga.Tho.* (48) gon.Kha. gan.gyis.khab.tu || Cog.ro Ston.re.Khon zuṅ.gi.bu.mo. Cog ro . (49) dig.žin.du.btags || Ston.re.Khoṅ.zuṅ. thabs.spar.te.dnul.gyi.yi.*ge* . (50) btab.nas || stagi.loḥi. lo s[o]r dan . d[gun . sla] . ra baḥi sku . bla . ched . po . . (51) rin.lugs. || dbaḥs.Stag.sgra.Khon.[.*l*od (?).daṅ] | Cog.ro.na.[o] (52) ston.ñen.[.un (sbur ?)].koṅ.daṅ. || Mug lden.daḥi.dben.sben.dan. | Da.red . . (53) stsal.te || Ḥa.ža.yul.du.mchis.nas || ḥbans.Ḥa.ža.phyogs . . . (54) slar.Ḥa.ža.[yul.du.bsla]d.de.gśegs.nas || śul.[du.so] . . o . . (55) . . e.yuṃ.*sras*

TRANSLATION

"(1) . . in Gyaṅ.*can fort* . (2) . . . *Sgra* ya sto.Khri.gdas and Cuṅ.bzan.ḥdam.kon of Cog.ro . . . (3) paid their respects to *Ma.ga Tho.* gon Khagan and offered a great feast . . (4) *gave* to his daughter five *pieces of* ancestral silver and

A.D. 636 great presents . . (5) . . . the *Sheep* year came and the great ceremony of the first summer month was celebrated (6) invited . . . In the summer entry was made into Mu.to.lyiṅ on the Peacock river (Hoang-ho) . . . (7) . made a great park. Wild beasts also . (8) palace of . . .

The winter *was spent* in Gyaṅ.can fort in Sra.bal . . . (9) Then in that *winter* the daughter of . . gnam having by Maga Tho.gon Khagan . (10) been taken to wife *at* Se.to.ña, *in fulfilment of* the Ḥa.ža chief's *design* . . (11) erected at Lyon. jeṅ in Bdaḥ (= Mdaḥ ?). Then the Ape year came.

A.D. 637 *In* Sra.bal . . (12) also was there offered In the summer, in the presence of the mother Queen Khri.bans . . . (13) lady of Stoṅ.sde having been commissioned to erect. The residence *was* in

Glañ.ma.luñ on the Peacock river (Hoang-ho). . . (14) In the autumn, having fixed the residence at G-yan.can fort in Sra.bal . . . (15) staying in *Gyan*.can fort, the uncle *minister* Rgyal tsan by letter . (16) in accordance with with the letters of these two uncle ministers a great census was made (17) also was there
A D 638 celebrated In the summer the residence was fixed at Se.ton Then (18) invited the Ḫa.ża again there Then the "revealed divinity". the Btsan.po's (19) Gnad.ñuñ of the hermitage Stan.ri and others having come, an assemblage . . (20) made . . of foot wrappings of six kinds A review (*rkan.ton*) and a great census were
A D. 639 made *Then the Dog* (21) year came, and the great ceremony of the first summer month was celebrated Then month (moon) (22) the Brtsan took *to wife* Mun.ś[e]n Khon.co daughter of the king of China . (23) sent to Kashmir the uncle (minister) Btsan.to.re and the uncle (minister) Khri.bzan of Ḫbro; and the Cog.ro . (24) *Sgra.ya*.sto arrived Then Queen Khri. bañs and her son Maga *Tho.gon Khagan* . (25) having come, in the presence of mother and son the great Ḫa.ża uncle minister . . . (26) Da. red.blon.yi, and Mug.lden, commandant of the *dni*, came and Wañ . . . , commandant of horse, . . . (27) commandant and the upper classes (?). The wives and so forth of the people taking part in the occasion (?) . . . (28) having met Muñ. śeñ Khon.co, there were mutual greetings Festivity (autumn ?) . . . (29) varied were offered. Then Muñ.śeñ Khon.co in the middle of the Dboñ country . . . *at Rboñ.yo*. (30) du fixed *her residence* Then, the residence having been fixed at Rboñ.yo. du in Tsog, the winter . . . (31) the great ceremony
A D 640 of the first (summer) month was also there celebrated In the summer the residence being at . . . (32) the great minister of Mdo, the uncle Brtan Sgra.ya.sto of Ḫbro and others paid their respects . . . (33) ancestral . . . and great presents having been given, they were sent back. In the autumn . . . (34) In the winter the chief of the

Ha.ža uncle ministers, Da-red Poṅ.yi, died Then (35) put turquoise letters at the foot thereof (of the tomb) The Home Minister *was made*
A D 641 magistrate . *the Mouse* (36) year came, and the ceremony of the first summer month was also there celebrated. Then in the autumn . . . (37) Then, spending the winter also at Tsha.śod (Upper Tsha), Queen Khri.bans . (38) sent to *dbaḥs* Khri bzaṅ spo skyes, the son of the uncle Ñen, as a gift . . . (39) in the mansion of *Maga Tho*.gon Khagan the daughter of Mug.lden Ha.rod.par, Mug . . (40) having *given birth to a daughter*,
A D 642 the name 'A.lye.baṅ.dig was given . . . (41) Then for the Ox year the residence was fixed at Tsha.śod (Upper Tsha). The year came, and in the summer . . . (42) arising from . . , the Śud. pu Khri.gzu.sbur.cun was appointed steward . . . (43) In the summer, the residence *being* in Tsha.śod (Upper Tsha), the princess Khon.co Gñi.ḥod . . . (44) offered a great *feast* The towns also received instructions Subsequently, one after another . . . (45) a hundred friends (?) and a hundred female camels with camel-grooms, and a hundred horses with horse-grooms . . (46) accompanied were sent The *dbahs* Dpon.g-yog, who was in the Pha district (who belonged to the parental relatives ?). . (47) Then, the residence being in Tsha.śod (Upper Tsha), the great ceremony of the first summer month was celebrated. . . . (48) In the mansion of *Maga Tho*.gon Khagan the daughter of Khon.zun of Ston.re in Cog.ro, . . . of Cog.ro . . . *the name* . . . (49) dig was given. In honour of the occasion Khoṅ.zun of Cog.ro silver *letters*
A D 643 . (50) put. The Tiger year came, and the great ceremony of the first winter month *was celebrated* . (51) courier and the *dbaḥs* Stag.sgra Khon. *lod* and Na . o in Cog.ro . . . (52) Stoṅ.ñen Sbur.koṅ and Mug.lden, the *dben.sben* (?) there, and Da.red . . . (53) having been sent and having gone into the Ḥa.ža country, the Ḥa.ža subjects revolted (?) . . . (54) While returning into the Ḥa.ža country, on the way . . (55) . . . mother and son . . .

This document seems to me to be, in spite of its fragmentary condition, one of the most interesting that Chinese Turkestan has yet yielded Its feminine inspiration is apparent: the preoccupation with domestic interests, the ceremonies, the residencies in various palaces, the meetings of relatives, especially women, the marriages of Maga Tho-gon Khagan, and, apparently, the births of his daughters are recorded with an appreciation which would not otherwise be in keeping. And the inspiration emanates evidently from Queen Khri-bańs, the mother of Maga Tho-gon Khagan, who herself figures prominently in the narrative.

Fortunately, there is no difficulty in dating the events recorded. The marriage of the Tibetan king Sroń-btsan-sgam-po with the Chinese princess Mun-śen Khon-co (Wên-ch'êng), recorded in ll. 22–9, is assigned by the Chinese to the year A D 641 and by the Tibetans to A D 639 (Bushell, p. 444; Csoma Kòrosi, *Tibetan Grammar*, p 183). The fact that in the document the latter year (639), which may be taken as either correct or at least for this Tibetan document valid, is a "Dog" year accords well with our identification of the first year ("Ape") of the Chronicle with A.D. 672. For upon that supposition a "Dog" year should coincide with the year A D. 638, and the difference between 638 and 639 may be merely calendrical. The period covered by the document (Horse–Tiger years) corresponds accordingly to A D. 635–43.

Who then are Queen Khri-bańs and her son Maga Tho-gon Khagan? The queen is evidently a Tibetan lady of Sroń-btsan-sgam-po's family; and we have already, in the larger Chronicle, had mention of a Tibetan princess Khri-bans, who in the year 18 (A D. 689) was married to the Ḫa-ża king. Another (?) Khri-bańs is recorded in a literary document. The name is therefore recurrent in the royal lineage of Tibet.

But this Queen Khri-bańs is evidently in special connexion with the Ḫa-żas Her son, however, bears two distinctively Turkish appellations: for this is true not only of *Khagan*,

but also of *Maga*, which is apparently the same as the *Moho* (Iranian *Baga* ?) which the Chinese apply to certain Turkish rulers during the period about A.D 700 (Chavannes, *Documens Chinois sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, Index). The middle name appears to be doubtful; for, while it reminds us of the great ruler Ton-ngo Khagan, who died in A D 630 (Chavannes, p 25, n 3), it corresponds more exactly to the phrase *tho.gon*, occurring with the meaning "boundary-stone" (or the like) in a Tibetan document from Śa-cu (Ch 79, xiv, 5) It is, therefore, possible to conclude either that the husband of Khri-baṅs was himself a Turk, or that out of compliment to the Turks his son received Turkish titles

There is, however, another possibility which seems to deserve serious consideration. Professor Pelliot has shown (*T'oung-Pao*, 1920–1, pp 328–30) that the Tu-ku-hun established near the Koko-nor used both the title *khagan* and another, *mo-ho*, which he regards as a form of the Mongol *abaγa* "maternal uncle" If so, it seems natural to inquire whether the *Tho-gon* which we have between the two titles is not the name of the Tu-ku-hun king Mujung No-ho-po, who was installed in A D 636 (Bushell, p 448, Chavannes, p. 189, n; Cordier, vol i, p 417), i e. almost the very year in which our document seems to relate the accession of a young prince. I must leave this question in the main to Sinologists, who may be able to decide whether the syllables *Tho-gon* (*Do-gon* ?) can in any way be reflected in the name of Mujung No-ho-po. But one or two points may be noticed here: (1) Since Khri-bans is probably a sister or aunt, or at least a near relative, of Sron-btsan-sgam-po, it may seem unlikely that she should be queen among the Tu-ku-hun, who were at this period the great rivals and enemies of the Tibetans This objection may not hold good in the face of general experience and of the particular fact that according to Chinese testimony (Bushell, p 449) "the Tu-ku-hun and the T'ufan families were originally allied by marriage". But the part played by Khri-baṅs and her people in the welcome

of the Chinese princess Mun-śeṅ Khon-co seems hardly reconcilable with our knowledge (Bushell, pp. 443–4) that the marriage of the princess to the Tibetan king had been frustrated in A.D. 634 by the intrigues of the Tu-ku-hun, who had then (in A.D. 635) been disastrously defeated by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's armies; (2) the Ḫa-ža [king] seems to be "invited" by Khri-bans' party in l. 18, A.D. 638. He therefore is not dead,[1] and he is hardly Khri-baṅs' husband. Therefore, if she is a Tu-ku-hun queen, the Ḫa-ža chief is not king of the Tu-ku-hun. On the other hand, the Ḫa-ža ministers and others are certainly prominent in her thoughts; (3) the name of one of Maga Tho-gon Khagan's daughters, 'A-lye-baṅ-dig (l. 40), has more a Turkestan than a Mongol appearance, and the last syllable *dig* at least, which recurs in the case of a second daughter (l. 49), is perhaps a Chinese word *tig*, which actually occurs at the end of a female name as translation of the Sanskrit *Śrī*; in fact, *ban.dig* looks very like *wan.tig* "Rājya-śrī"; (4) the places named, while belonging to North-Eastern Tibet, seem to fall not in the sphere of the Tu-ku-hun, but rather to the south of them, in the region where the Chinese recognize a Tang-hsiang kingdom.[2] They are the following:—

(*a*) Mdo, North-Eastern Tibet, and its districts Cog-ro and Ḫbro, which are known from the Chronicle, and also from the *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* and *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophons and from other sources. (Ha-rod-par and Se-ton may be reserved.)

(*b*) Mu-to-lyiṅ and Glan-ma-lun, stated to be on the Hoang-ho.

(*c*) Tsa(Tsha)-śod, "Lower Tsa," often mentioned in documents from Chinese Turkestan.

(*d*) Sra-bal (Ra-bal), in Cog-ro, mentioned in a document from Chinese Turkestan (Ch. 73, xiii, 8).

(*e*) The Dboṅ (Boṅ) country, often mentioned in *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* and *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophons.

[1] Possibly, however, l. 10 indicates that he is dead, in which case it is the Ḫa-ža *party* that is invited.

[2] Conquered by the Tibetans soon after A.D. 634 (Bushell, p. 528).

On the whole, while leaving this question to Sinologist and Turkologist scholars, I do not find in the document any certain indication that Maga Tho-gon Khagan was a Tu-ku-hun or that his titles associate him rather with the Tu-ku-hun than with the Turks or that he was himself a Ḫa-ža king or heir-apparent: he may have been the latter, and he is clearly in some close connexion with the Ḫa-žas

The other persons mentioned in the document do not seem to be at present identifiable. But in several cases the forms of the names may be parallelled. A Cuṅ-bzaṅ of Ḫbro became in A.D 728 chief minister of Tibet, has been noted above (p. 57); and another (?) is mentioned in a document from Mazār-Tāgh (north of the city of Khotan) (b ii, 005); parallel to the Btsan-to-re of l 23 we have in the Chronicle a Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin (ll 85, etc) and a Snan-to-re Skyi-zun (l 85), and at Mazār-Tāgh a Tshaṅ-to-re; Btsan Sgra-ya-sto (l. 32), the *žan.blon* of Ḫbro, recalls the žaṅ Rgya-sto of the Chronicle (l 125)

The phrase *rkan.ton* (l. 20), which we have rendered by "review", is certainly some performance connected with military exercises; and in the Chronicle (ll 6, etc) it is found associated with a *rtsis* or army census *Śud-pu* occurs as a military title in a document from Śa-cu (vol 69, pl 84) and also in other documents (Chronicle, l 237; M T. a. iii, 00161, c i, 0068)

Rin.lugs (*lus*) (l 51) seems in some places (Chronicle, ll 187, 254; M I. xxviii, 0036) to mean "courier". *Sku.bla* (ll. 21, 31, etc) can hardly have here the natural sense of "exalted body": it seems to denote some solemnity: it recurs, perhaps with varying sense, in M.I., i, 35*d*, iii, 6, iv, 44, 46, 138, xxviii, 3, and Ch. 9, I, 34, 35*a*, 2, 36*a*, 4

Concerning *dbaḥs* see above (p 56).

12 Fr. 66 (paper, cm. 32 wide × 18 high. Eight lines of clear cursive writing above two fairly legible red impressions of a seal).

(1) ༄ | : | jo.cho.blon.Gtshug.bžer.daṅ | blon.Legs.sgra. la | | Lha.Ḫbrug.brtsan. (2) gyi.mchid.gsol.baḫ || Lha.dpal.mched.kyi.ža.sna.nas || thugs.rtag.tu.bde.bar.smon.te || mchid. (3) yi.ge.las | sñun.gsol.žiṅ.mchis.na || bkaḫ.stsald.pa.tsam.tu.chi.gnaṅ || Ḫa.ža.steg.žiṅ. (4) paḫi | stsan.las | khal.sum.cu || jo.co.blon.Legs.sgra | pho.bran.nas.gnan.baḫi.graṅs.daṅ | bkum. (5) nas || skyin.ba.Śa.cur.ḫbul.bar | blon.Brtan.bžer.mchid.gyis.ḫtsal.nas || Śa.cuḫi.stsan.mnan | 'Im.ka. (6) cin.dan | Dzeḫu.Tshin.tshiṅ.gi.sṅon.tu.yaṅ btab || Steg.žiṅ.pa.yan | God.stsal.lagste || God.kyi.phyag.rgya.yan.nos. (7) lags || brgya.la.snar.phulte | bul.rgya.mar.thal.na.yaṅ || stsan mnan.dan | blon.Brtan.bžer.tu.btug.cin | (8) slad.kyis. | stsaṅ.rtsis.gyi.tshe || ñen.tu.myi.ḫgyur.bar.mdzad.par.gsol ༑

Two Seals

l. 1. Tshan.lon.

l. 2 Lha.ḫbrug.brtsansa

(ll. 1–3) "To My Lords Councillor Gtshug.bžer and Councillor Legs.sgra: respectful letter of His Highness the Ḫbrug chief He prays for the perpetual happiness of your respected Highnesses. In the written letter, wherein you inquire concerning his health, you have been pleased moreover to send instructions. (ll. 3–5) Upon comparison of the grain (hay ?) of the Ḫa.ža.steg farmers, thirty loads, with the number vouchsafed by My Lord Councillor Legs.sgra from his residence, Councillor Brtan.bžer has sent by letter instructions to deliver at Śa.cu what is owing. (ll. 5–6) Of Śa.cu the entire grain (hay ?), and of 'Im.ka.cin and of Dzeḫu Tshin.tshin, has previously been remitted. That of the Steg farms has been sent to God, and the God signature also has been received. (ll 7–8) Up to 100 having been delivered before, when the receipt comes down, the grain (hay ?) is complete. With respects to Councillor Brtan.bžer we beg to undertake that hereafter, when the grain (hay ?) is brought to account, there shall be no shortcoming."

Seals: Tshaṅ.loṅ [= °*blon*, "Minister General"], His Highness the Ḫbrug king.

The situation here seems to be that the Ḫbrug chief, who clearly is in possession of Ḫa-ža Steg, 'Im-ka-cin and

Dzeḫu Tshin-tshin, has received from the Tibetan minister, probably residing at God, a letter requiring him to deliver to the Tibetan officials at Śa-cu a residue of his tribute of corn. He has sent the corn to God and now notifies the Śa-cu Tibetans, who have furnished their superior at God with the statistics They shall, therefore, not be expecting delivery at Śa-cu

This letter proves that Ḫa-ža Steg, 'Im-ka-cin and Dzeḫu Tshin-tshin were under a single ruler, who was a tributary of the Tibetans Ḫa-ža Steg is, therefore, in the same general region as Śa-cu, where are the headquarters of the Tibetan Residents The termination *cin* in 'Im-ka-cin is obviously the same which we have seen in the Ḫa-ža "Sil-gu-cin in Ḫo-khol", and it is probably the word represented by the Chinese *ch'êng*, meaning "town", in such names as Sha-ch'êng "stone-town", and so on It can be shown that *Dzeḫu*[1] is probably a tribal, or titular, designation, well known at Śa-cu, and it may be conjectured that Tshin-tshin of the Dzeḫu is some place named on the maps.

It is worthy of note that the seal of the Ḫbrug ruler, and the titles which it contains (*tshan lon Lha.Ḫbrug.brtsans*), should be in Tibetan language For we cannot suppose that by race or name he was a Tibetan The Ḫbrug are mentioned in a document from Mīrān (xxiii, 007); and clearly their country, which we must now identify with the Śa-cu region, is the *B[r]ug.cor*[2] or "Brug Province" mentioned by the side of *Dru.gu.cor* or "Dru-gu Province" in a narrative from Śa-cu itself (Ch 75, xv, 4) and in the Chronicle, l 162.

The meaning of the word *steg*, which does not appear in the Tibetan dictionaries, is obscure *Stegs* occurs in the senses (1) "bridge", (2) "support", and—since *st* and *th* correspond in Tibetan—it is perhaps connected with *theg*, which also means "support" and is used further as a rendering of the

[1] Chinese *Tsao*, a family at Śa cu (*Serindia*, index)?

[2] *Cor* is perhaps identical with the *tch'ouo* (*tchour*) of Chavannes, index?

Sanskrit *yāna* Since we have already found it in another local designation (*Tsa.bo.steg*), it probably bore a local sense, and we may perhaps regard it as meaning literally " road ", so that *H̱a.ża.steg,* will mean " the [district along the] H̱a-ża road ". Two other words in the document are likewise of uncertain sense One of them, *stsaṅ,* I have conjecturally rendered by " grain ", because for " harvest " or " crop " we seem to have in the documents a different word (*skya*)[1]: it might, however, be a form of *rtsva* " grass ". The other word *mnan,* which in ordinary Tibetan means " curse " (*mnaẖ,* which might be a variant, means " power "), may have the sense of " entire " or " complete ".[2] *Bul.rgya,* apparently = " receipt ", is found elsewhere (Ch. 73, xv, fr 3, and Ch 80, vi), and *mar.thal* " arrives below " (cf. *phar.thal* " get through ") recurs in No. 18 *infra.*

13. Fr 67 (Paper, cm 32 wide × 23 high: part cut away at bottom; ll 9 of clear cursive writing above a red seal, representing a Garuḍa)

(1) | | blon.Lha.bżer.dan | żan.Legs.bzan.gis |
| H̱dun.tsa.żaẖi.Bde.sum.tshal.nas. (2) ẖbrugi.loẖi.
dbyard. | bkyeẖi.phyag.rgya.phog.ste. | | żaṅ.stag.
Rma.Gyu.goṅ.la.mchid. (3) stsald.pa. | | ẖbrugi.loẖi.
dbyar. | | Sa.cu.phyogs.kyi.stsaṅ. | rtsis.gñer.bkum.
na. | stsan.yaṅ. (4) khal.grans.man.mo.żig.ẖgribs.par.
gyurd. | de.dag.la.snar.God . pa . yan. | sgo.sgoẖi.bya.
dgaẖ.stsolpho. (5) daṅ.sṅa.skyin.sde.rjes.daṅ.nod.daṅ. |
Khaṃs.ma.gtogs.pha.dag.nas | bkaẖ.luṅ.dam.żag.daṅ.
sbyar.na.ẖgal.bar. (6) gtad.pa.las | slar.bstu.bar.chad.
paẖi.bkye.dṅos.kyan.stsal.pha.lags || żaṅ.dnos.kyaṅ. |
Śa.cuẖi. (7) stsaṅ.dam.żag.chan.kyi.ẖtshal.ba.la.gtogs.
phas | ẖbrugi.loẖi.ston.thog.las.stsaṅ.ma.ẖtus.gyi.bar.
du. (8) yan.man.tu.myi.mchi.bar.chad.de. | dmag.
phon.la.yaṅ.spriṅ.lags.gyis | stsaṅ.gñer.chags.kyaṅ.
bkye.lam. (9) ẖbyun.ba.bżin.ẖtus.par.ẖtshol.chig ||
Seal: || bde.blon.ẖdun.tsa.nas.bkye ||

[1] Sir A. Stein records (*Serindia,* p. 716) a word *ts'ang* = "granary" *Stsaṅ* recurs below (No. 13) and elsewhere.

[2] *Mnan* is found with *stsaṅ* in Ch. 80, v, 1, M T., b 1097, and elsewhere.

(ll. 1–2) "By councillor Lha.bžer and the uncle Legs. bzan, from Bde.sum.tshal in Ḥdun.tsa.ža, in the summer of the Dragon year, sent, seal attached, letter to the uncle Tiger (military) officer Rma Gyu.gon

(ll 3–6) On careful examination of the amount of the grain (hay ?) from the Śa.cu district for the summer of the Dragon year, the grain (hay ?) has fallen short to the extent of many loads. Of this if we exclude the God crop and what was variously (?) bestowed as presents and that previously owing which is retained by the lord of the district and that of Khams, the deliveries are out of conformity with the orders which were associated with a fixed date. Instructions requiring a further remittance are hereby sent. (ll. 6–9) A further important matter: in regard to the delayed dispatch of the Śa.cu grain connected with a fixed date a letter has been sent to the general, requiring that there be no long postponement of the collection of the grain from the autumn crop of the Dragon year It is also requested that those engaged in storing the grain should send it in as means of dispatch present themselves"

Seal: "Sent by the assemblage of worshipful ministers."

Bde-sum-tshal (l 1) "Wood of the Three Bdes" is not otherwise known to me; but names of similar formation (*Sum-cu-bo*[1]) are not uncommon, and place-names ending in *tshal* "wood" are the most common of all. The *Rma* prefixed to the name of the addressee Gyu-gon (l 2) indicates, no doubt, that he originated in the district of the Rma, or Upper Hoang-ho, river But, since the tribute demanded is that of Śa-cu, where the letter was preserved, he must have been in charge of that region.

The document emanates from an assemblage of ministers, which, as we know from the Chronicle, usually took place once in the summer and once in the winter.

Concerning *stsaṅ* (ll. 3, etc) and *bya.dgaḥ* see pp. 56, 69 In l. 6 I have taken *žan* as intended for *gžan* "other", since *gžan.yaṅ* often means "furthermore".

[1] e g. *Bzaṅ-sum-tsal*; *Ñiṅ-sum-khol* (Chr ll. 38, 62)

14. Back of Ch. 87, xiii (Paper, two fragments, 30 cm. wide by c. 18 and c. 7 respectively high ; fragmentary at beginning and in middle ; ll. 19 of clear cursive writing) :—

(1) . . . bran.śu (?) . . . (2) lha.dpal.ḫphrul.daṅ.mtshuṅs. pa.ḫi . . . (3) bkaḫ.stsald.par.ci.gnan. || slan.chad . . (4) lam ḫtsal.žin mchis. || sña.slad.bkaḫs.sprin.las. g-yar.tu(du).mjal . . . sk . . . (5) gśegs.pa.yaṅ || žan.lon. man.chad.na.mchis.pa.rnams.kyis.kyan || phyogs.rtog. m . . . (6) ste | bdag.gis.Ḫa-ža.yul.daṅ. | Kva.cu.khrom. du.rtog.tu.btaṅ.ba.rnam.gñis. || ḫthu . . (7) mchi.nas ? || ḫdi.dag.phyogs.phyogs.bzuṅ.žiṅ.mchis.pas.|| bye.brag. ma.phyed.gyi . . -u . . (8) ni (no ?).mar (mer ?).myi. mchi || glo.ba.ñan.pa.la.dgons.na.ste ? | de.bar.tsher. to.śor.pa.yan. | dpon.snaḫi . . . (9) bžugs.so.ḫtsal.la || p[h]yogs.sum.legs.par.dpyad.de || ḫdi.dag.cal.col.tu. bla.nas.ma. (10) rmas.par. || gdan.žan.lon.chen.po.sar. || myur.tu (du) Rta.zor.tu.gśegs.pa.ḫi rigs || chen (11) po.sar.gśegs.te. | gsol.dan.dbyons.śig.par.myi. gdab.pa.ḫi.sñad.ma.mchis. || dbyon.ba (tsa ?).(12) ḫi. tus (dus).su. || bkaḫ.śags.thugs.la.ci.dgons.pa.gdab.pa. ḫi.rigs. || rṅo.thog.pa.mchis (ma.mchis). (13) par.sñan. sñuns.pa.gsol.žes.bkaḫ.ḫbab.bam.myi.ḫbab || spod.sga. gyer.śas.śig. (14) sñan.sñuns.na. | thugs.dpags— (20 *akṣaras*, part of leaf lost between ll 14 and 15) (15) b.dan. | *Ba*(o ?)*d*.g(a ?)ms.ḫdun.par. || myi.ḫdi.rgyun. tu (du).m . . (16) der.rmas.te || sug.pa.myi.brgyud.par. yi.ge.stsald.par.ji.gnaṅ. || man . . (17) śag.śig.tag (dag). ji.ḫdra.bdag.chag.spun.gi.ma.rgan.mo.žig.daṅ.nu.bo. byis.ba. (18) gñis.śig.mchis.pa.la. | noṅ.žo.mchis.sam. ma.mchis. || Śa.cur.ḫtul. (19) man.rab.pas. || yi.ge.žib. mo.spriṅ.bar.gsold. ||

(ll. 1–4) " . . . The noble lord, equal to a theophany, has been pleased [previously] to send instructions. Once more we wish for a route. (ll. 4–6) The previous letter of instructions having reached us in the upper country, we came to ——. When the alternatives were being considered by the persons present, including from uncle ministers downwards, I took into consideration the Ḫa.ža country and Kva.cu fort, two possibilities. (ll. 6–8) Upon our coming together, these people taking various sides, we could not make a decisive choice and so are not going

down. In the meanwhile, dejectedly reflecting, we went on in grief (ll 8–13) Some leaders proposing that we should stop, we deliberated upon the three alternatives. In the course of these people's babble, without inquiry on the part of their superiors, a recommendation[1] was made, more or less, as follows: 'It is proper to proceed at once to Rta-zor, to the presence of the uncle Great Minister at his Residence Going to the great man, there is no harm in presenting a request and asking for an interview (*dbyons* ?) At the time of the interview, it is proper that he should give a decision as he may think fit. If that is not possible, you can [merely] inquire as to his health'. (ll. 13–14) When the hermit merely made some indifferent inquiries as to health (?), attentively . . (ll. 15–17) and at our coming together at Bod.gams (?), these men, one after another, asked, 'Your hands not being tied (?), please send a writing' *What is a little advice* ? (ll 17–19) we two here, an aged mother of a family and a younger daughter, a child, are we or are we not anxious ? We beg that the best of the ascetics at Śa.cu should send us precise instructions in writing"

This letter is evidently addressed to a high ecclesiastic or religious authority at Śa-cu It mentions the Ḫa-ža country and Kva-cu (An-hsi) as two alternative destinations: apparently it is written from the upper country. We should therefore envisage some place in the mountains where the alternative would present itself The situations of Rta-zor and Bod-gams (?) are not known

15 Vol 56, fol 72 (Paper, 56 cm high × 30 cm. wide; fragmentary at beginning and lower right; ll 50 of clear cursive writing).—

(1) . y[i]g.tsan || (2) . . . [g]s.las. || gser.chu.ṇu. sum.rgyud.du.gnan | (3) . . *c.* 20 *akṣaras* . . . gs.daṅ. ma.sbyar.bar || phal.than.du.na.phabste.phraḫ | (4) . . . *c* 17 *akṣaras* . [d]bab.par . . . . [g]sol pa.las || bkas.gnaṅ. ste.yus.ḫdi.dan || (5) . . . dbab.par.nod.-l.thug.pa.lags || gže.nin.slad.kyis || Ḫa.ža (6) . . d.g[sa]r.du.ḫdzugs.par. chad.nas || pho.bran.nas.bkaḫ.lun.stsalpa.las || bdagi ||

[1] Or "a previously (*bla.nas*) not mentioned recommendation" (?).

(7) myes.po.Led.koṅ.sñon.gum.gis.kyaṅ || blar.žo.śa.cher.phul.baḥi.rjesu || rje.blon.ḥphrul.gyis.dgoṅste.thugs || (8) phags.mdzad.nas || tham.žin.chin.gsar.btsugs.kyi.ston pon.tu || Led.koṅ.gi.bu.tsaḥi.nan.nas.rṅo.thog | (9) pa.las.bsko.bar || bkaḥ.lun.myin.gis.stsal.nas || bdag.cag.bu.tsa.kha.cig.gžon.ba.dan.rje.blas.gyis.bskal. (10) paḥi.skabsu || bde.blon.gis.Khye.stug.bskoste|| Khye.stug.dgun.lo.lṅa.drug.tsam.na.gum.nas || da.ltar.kha.rno.bar || (11) blon.Koṅ.gsol.baḥ || rje.blas.ḥdi.blon.Kon.spad.gyis.žo.śa.phul.baḥi.bkaḥ.drin.sgor.gtshigsu.gnan.baḥ | (12) ma.lags.te || myes.po.Led.koṅ.gi.bu.tsa.rṅo thog.pa.las.bsko.ḥo.žes.ḥbyuṅ.ste || khoṅ.ta.myin.gis.smos.pa | (13) ma.mchis.paḥi.steṅ.du.rno.thog.pa.las.bsko.ḥo žes.ḥbyuṅ.ba.ḥdi daṅ.sbyar.na.yan | bdag.cag.spad.spun.Led | (14) kon.gi.bu.tsa.las.rno.ma.thog.pa.ma.mchis.śin. || khar.Tsa.chun.sar.pa.glo ba.riṅs.te.žig.ciṅ ñi.dog.tu.śor.paḥi | (15) dpon.sna.dan.g-yon.khrin la.ma.gthogs.pa.dan || bdagi.pha.Ma ko caṅ.gis.ḥdamste gsolpaḥi bkaḥ drin | (16) stsalpa.dan.sbyar.na || Led.kon.gi.bu.tsa.las.rṅo.thog.cin || blar.dpen.paḥi.žo.śa.phul.bas || bkaḥ.lun | (17) luṅ.stsal.ḥdi.dan.lhan.por ḥbyor.pa.yan. || bdag.cag lagste || da.ltar.rje.blas.kha.rno.ba.ḥdir.yaṅ.bdag | (18) cag.gan.bskos.na.rṅo.thog.cin.blar.dpen.paḥ || Dbon.Ḥa.ža.rje.chis(ches).la.gthogs.pa.dan. || Ḥa.ža.blon.thugs | (19) ches.pas || bkaḥ.lun.dan.sbyar.te bdag.rno.thog.par.spus.gsol.pa.dan || stoṅ.pon.tu.bdag myin|| (20) gis.bsko.bar || bkas.gnan.ba.daṅ.sgo.yus.gon.tu.gsol.pa.ḥdi rnams dan sbyar žiṅ || ston pon tu.bdag | (21) bsko.bar.ci.gnan || blon.Kon.gi.gsol tshig.rnam.chig.las || bdagi.phu.bo.Klu.bžer.khar.Tsachin | (22) rñiṅ.paḥi.stoṅ.pon.ḥtshal.žes.gsol.ba.ni || bdag.cag.pha.tsan.spyir.gnaṅ.baḥi.rje.blas.ni.ma.lags || bdagi.(23) pha.Ma.ko.can.sgos.žo.śa.phul.baḥi.rje.blas.Kon.tsar.ḥtsal.ba (bu ?).tsam.tu.paste | | bdag.chag.pha.tsan.spyiḥi.bkaḥ.drin.tu || (24) thob.pa.ḥam || blon.Koṅ.gsol.ba.ltar || Led kon.gi.bu.tsa.rje.blas sgo ltan.tu.btsir.myi.gdaḥ.ba.dmyigs | (25) kyis.gsol.pa.lagste || rje.blas.ḥdi.la.sñad.myi.gdags.śiṅ || bdag.bsko.bar || bkas.gnaṅ.ba.daṅ.dpon || (26) sna.bthu.baḥi.bkaḥ.luṅ.daṅ || rje.blas.ḥdir.bdag.cag.Led.koṅ.gi.bu.tsa.rṅo.thogs.las.bsko'.bar. || bkaḥ.luṅ.las. (27) ḥbyuṅ.ba.daṅ ||

Dbon.Ḫa.*ża.rje.dan* || Ḫa.ża.blon.gis.żu.ba.gsol.pa.
dan || bdag.nan pa rje.blas.gyi.rṅo.thog.myi.thog ||
(28) dbyaṅs.paḫi.gżı.daṅ.thugs.tshod.tu.sbyar.żin.sgo.
yus ḫdı.rnams.zur.ḫdi.bżin.btod.de || dmyıgs.gyi.naṅ.
tu. (29) rmos. śiṅ || bdag.bsko.bar.mol.bar.cı.gnaṅ |
| Thir.bul.blon.Kon.gıs gsol.paḫ. | . . (30) gi.mchıd.
śags.las. || khar.Tsa.cın.sar.pa.glo.ba.rins.paḫı.dpon.
sna.dan | | g-yon.khrın.la.kho . . . (31) gthogs.pa.daṅ.
dṅos rno.thogpar | | Dbon.Ḫa.ża.rjes.spus.bthus.pa.
dan || bkas.gnan.że . . . (32) bdagı.myes.po.'O.dol.cu.
dan.lo.stug.spad khar.Tsa *cın.sar.paḫı.stoṅ.pon* ḫtshal.
ba.las || sug rjed . (33) tshor.nas || blar.gsol.pa.las ||
ḫphral.tu (du).dṅul.ched.po.pho.ña.las.sgor.stsal || legs.
[mo] . (34) las.kyaṅ || ma.nons.par.gyur.te || khar.Tsa.
chın.sar.pas gżı.bzuṅ.ste || tham żın.ston sde.gc[ig]
(35) la || ston.pon.tu.yan.Led.kon.gı.bu.tsa.las.bsko.
bar || bkaḫ.lun.stsal.nas || rgyud.bżın.'O.*dol.cuḫi*.(36) bu ||
bdagı.pha Khye.stug bskos || myes.po 'O.dol.cu.la.yan.
thabs.gser.stsal || slad.kyıs.b[dag]ı.*pha Khye* (37) stug.
la.yan || phu (phra).men stsal.te || bkaḫ.drın rım.pas.nos.
pa.dan sbyar na || nons.skyon.ma.mcı*ste.bye* (38) bug
(brag).phyed.pa dan || Ḫa.ża rjes.żu.ba gsol.pa.las.nı ||
Led.kon.gı.bu.tsar bstuste || Khye dpal . (39) myı.
bżı.rno.thog.par gsol paḫ || Led.kon.gı.bu.tsar.
ḫdraḫıs.kyan || khar.Tsa.chın.gsar.rñıṅ gı.*stoṅ.pon*.
(40) 'O.dol.cu.dan.Ma.ko can.spun.gñıs.re.re ḫtshal.
te || bdag.chag.phu.rgyud.gyı rje.blas || khar. Tsa *chin*
(41) ston.sde.myın.tsam. || tham.żın.tu.bsgyur.bar.
paste || bkaḫ.lun.las.kyan ḫbyun.ba.lags . . (42) la.
Khye dp[al].myı.gthogs.par.nı || dnos.gyı.mchıd.śags.
las.ḫbyun.bas.[kya]*n* . (43) gnan.ba.yan.sgyus.gsol.
pas || sgyus.gsol pa.myı brtsan.bar.mdzad.paḫi.bkaḫ.
[l]un . . (44) Thir.bul.Khye.dpal.gi.mchid.śags.las ||
bdag.chagı.myes.po.Led.kon.blar.glo.ba.ñe.n . . . |
ḫbans . . (45) phyag.tu.phul.baḫı.ḫgel || gser.myi.rabs.
gsum.tu.gnaṅ.ba.dan || khar.Tsa.chin.sar.paḫi.stoṅ.
pon.chan | (46) khyur.gnan.ste || myes.poḫi.mchid.drin.
ḫdı.rnam.gñis.las.ma.mchis paḫ || bdag.chag.spad.khu.
mtshan.gıs | (47) mnoste || bkaḫ.drin.pham.rgyal.tu.gyur.
ches.gsol.ba | dan.po.bdag.chagi.myes.po.Led.koṅ.
bkaḫ.drın || (48) gser.rgyud gsum.[daṅ] || Ḫa.ża.khar.
Tsa.chin.gsar.rñin.stoṅ.sde.gñis.gyi.stoṅ.pon.chaṅ.

khyur.gnaṅ.nas || *bdagi* | (49) myes.po.'O.dol.cu.daṅ | nu.bo.Ma.ko.caṅ.spun.gñis.re.re.bskos.te || khar.Tsa. chin.rñiṅ.paḫi.stoṅ.pon || nu.bo.Ma.ko.can.ḫtsal || (50) ba.las.gum.nas||rgyud.bžin.Khye.dpal.gi.phu.bo||K[lu]. bžer.da.ltar.ḫtsal.ba.lags || khar.Tsa.cin.sar.paḫí.stoṅ ||

. . . . .

(ll. 5–10) It having been decided to post him next year to New . . Ḫa ža . . . and the order having been sent from the palace, my grandfather Led kon died beforehand. In consequence of his having previously (?) sent in a large contribution (in payment for the post ?) the noble Minister, out of regard for the unrealized purpose, issued orders with his (Led.kon's ?) name that one of Led.kon's family, according to competence, should be appointed commandant of the 1,000 stationed in New City as a whole (or is *tham.žin.chin* a proper name ?) We, the family, being at the time some youths and under the tutelage (?) of His Excellency (or Reverence), the worthy Minister appointed Khye.stug. (ll 10–17) Khye.stug having after five or six years died, upon that opportunity the Councillor Koṅ petitioned Your Excellency, the contribution paid by his (?) father should not be quoted by Councillor Kon as a private service. The case is that one of our grandfather Led.kon's family should, according to competence, be appointed, and he is not mentioned by name; over and above which, as regards this "should, according to competence, be appointed", we brothers being of the family of Led.koṅ and not incompetent, and the several officers of New Khar.Tsa.chin, intelligent men, come for the summer solstice and persons not belonging to (*gyon.khrin* "wrong judgment" ?),[1] having, when admonished (assembled ? chosen ?) by our father Ma.ko.caṅ, kindly sent a petition; we being of the family of Led.koṅ and competent, and having presented a highly (?) useful contribution,[2] are entitled to the issue of this order. (ll. 17–29) Whomsoever of us His Excellency on the present occasion should appoint, he being competent, it is highly convenient: it is agreeable to the Dbon Ḫa.ža chief, and the

[1] "Not liable to wrong judgment" ? or "against whom nothing is known" ?

[2] The phrase *dpen.baḫi.to.ka* recurs in M I. x, 2, which also has the *chaṅ.khyu* of ll. 45–6 and 48 below.

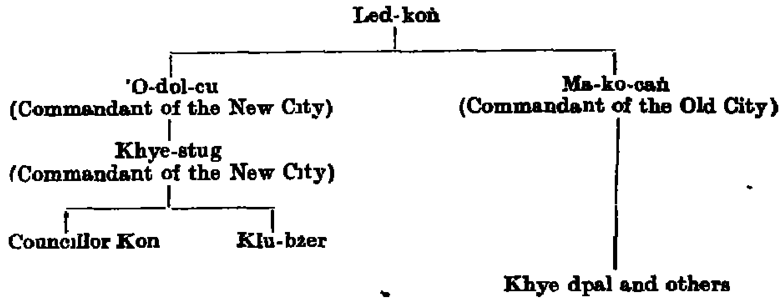
Ha-ža minister has in addition to his kind recommendation given a testimonial to our competence Considering the order given to appoint us by name as commandant of 1,000, and the special pleas proffered above, be pleased to appoint us commander of 1,000 In one petition of Councillor Kon, he pleads, "appoint my elder brother Klu.bžer Commandant of the 1,000 of Old Khar.Tsa.chin" This is not on the part of His Excellency a grant to our father's family in general If the special contribution made by our father Ma.ko.can is placed by His Excellency to the credit of Kon, does it constitute a kindness to us, our father's family in general? In regard to Councillor Koñ's petition, it is pleaded under the idea that the family of Led.kon cannot be individually selected by His Excellency (?) If His Excellency has hereto no objection, then, in view of the order given to appoint us, and the recommendation of the various officers in common, and the application to this occasion of His Excellency's recommendation to appoint us, the family of Led.kon, according to competence, and the courteous request of the Dbon Ha.ža chief and the Ha.ža minister, and the reasons which His Excellency has for deciding as to the competence or incompetence of our unworthy selves, and these special representations composed according to the measure of our ability, if His Excellency will spare a moment to these and will turn them over in his thoughts, may he be pleased to deliberate as to our appointment

(ll 30–5) Respectfully presented petition of Councillor Kon: *According to the above* letter of complaint we have the various intelligent officers of New Khar.Tsa.cin, and the persons not belonging to (*gyon.khrin*) . . . , the testimonial of the Ha.ža chief as to actual competence and the orders issued . . . My grandfather 'O.dol.cu and (*dan.lo.stug.spad* ?), being appointed commandant of 1,000 at New Khar.Tsa.cin, on hearing of the . . honour, petitioned further and separately (*hphral.du* ?) sent specially by messenger a great deal of silver. Even if he did not do well therein (?), yet no offence was committed. (*ll 35–8*) *Orders having* been sent to make New Khar.Tsa.cin a starting-point and appoint from the family of Led.koñ a commandant of 1,000 for the whole (*tham.žin* ?) Thousand District, in due succession my father Khye.stug, son of

'O.dol.cu, was appointed. To my grandfather 'O.dol.cu, moreover, on occasion (on other occasions ?) gold was sent Afterwards to my father, Khye stug, also fine silk was sent In view of the kindnesses successively received, if no offence or fault is found *in me*, a decision should be made. As regards the courteous petition of the Ha.ža chief, he pleads competence on the part of four persons, Khye.dpal and *the others*, belonging together to the family of Led.kon. (ll. 39–44) Equally of the family of Led.kon, 'O.dol.cu and Ma.ko.can, two brothers, were appointed *commandants of* 1,000 for New and Old Khar.Tsa.cin respectively. To pass over the fact of His Excellency, of our elder line (?), having been nominally over the Thousand District of Khar.Tsa.cin, but really over the whole (*tham.žin* ?), we have also the application of an order . . . That Khye.dpal does not belong to . since it appears from the actual letter of complaint . . the grant is falsely pleaded. An order invalidating the false plea *should be sent*

(ll 44–6) Respectfully presented letter of complaint from Khye.dpal: My grandfather Led.kon being a great friend, in addition to placing in his hands . . . subjects, gold was granted to three generations of men (Led.kon and his sons and grandsons), and he was appointed general (*chan. khyu* ?) commandant of 1,000 for New Khar.Tsa.chin. Kind communications (*mchid.drin*, in respect to (?)) our grandfather, save on these two occasions, there are none. (ll 46–8) We, brothers, uncles, and nephews having received nothing (*ma.nos.te*: or *mnos.te* "having reflected" ?), beg for a kind decision for or against (*pham. rgyal*) Originally our grandfather Led.kon was favoured with three gold chains and the general (*chan.khyu* ?) command of the 1,000 of New and Old Khar.Tsa.chin, two Thousand Districts (ll 48–50) My grandfather 'O.dol.cu and his junior Ma.ko.can, two brothers, were severally appointed. As commandant of 1,000 for Old Khar.Tsa.chin the junior Ma.ko.can was sent. He having died, in due succession Khye.dpal's senior, Klu.bžer, should now be sent. As *commandant of* 1,000 for New Khar.Tsa.cin. . . .

The complicated family connexions wherewith this document is concerned may be represented more or less accurately as follows :—



On the death of Ma-ko-can Councillor Koṅ claims for his brother Klu-bžer the appointment as successor. The obscurities which remain are due partly to the fragmentary opening of the document and partly to the infirmity of the Tibetan language as regards the distribution of speakers: it is not clear who are the spokesmen of the first plea. For our present purpose, however, these matters are secondary. The important points are geographical and historical

The document comes from Sa-cu and is, no doubt, addressed to the chief Tibetan representative there, or is a copy of a communication to the Tibetan prime minister It relates to the military command of two places in the H̱a-ža country, old and new Khar-Tsa-cin, occupied by the Tibetans. That a H̱a-ža country was adjacent to the Śa-cu territory we have already seen.

The name Khar-Tsa-cin contains two words meaning "fort" or "town", the first *khar* (*mkhar*) being Tibetan, and the second *cin* (? = *ch'êng* in Sha-ch'êng "stone town" and *can* in *H̱on-can-do*, etc.) Chinese. One of them, at least, is an addition, and this will be the Chinese element, since the existence of a place Khar-Tsan in the Śa-cu region will be proved below. But *Khar-Tsa* would mean "the town Tsa" or "town of the Tsa people", and clearly it should be associated with—

(1) Tsha-śod, "Lower Tsha" mentioned above (p. 65).

(2) Tsa-bo and Tsha-bo-steg, mentioned in documents from Mīrān (viii 40) and Mazār-Tāgh (a ii 0065, a iv 00128, a vi 0065).

(3) Tsha-na (Mazār-Tāgh, a ii 0097).

(4) Tsa-steṅs in Ḫo-yug (Chronicle, l. 51).

The manner in which the Dbon Ḫa-ža chief and his minister are cited is interesting. Value is attached to their recommendation, but the appointments are not in their hands. This means that they were local authorities in whose territory were the places under Tibetan occupation.

Two of the persons mentioned as governors of the forts are designated by what are clearly place-names, 'O-dol-cu (where 'O, as in other cases, means "river") and Ma-ko-can (with *caṅ* = "city") That such was a common practice in Turkestan has, it is hoped, been proved (*Festgabe H. Jacobi*, pp 47 sqq.): the present case is interesting as indicating, by contrast with the names of the other members of the family, that dignitaries were specially liable to be thus designated. It is so in Europe The place-names will have referred either to birth or to residence.

The language of the document is formal and long-winded, with many repetitions and clichés, such as *steṅ.du* "over and above", *daṅ.sbyar.na* "as regards", *ḫbyun.ba* "what arises from". It is very modern in its official or legal parlance. *Chaṅ.khyu* (ll. 45–6, 48) recurs in M.I. x, 2.

The Ḫa-ža chief here mentioned can hardly have anything to do with the Tu-ku-hun of the Koko-nor region, who disappeared into China about the year A.D. 670.

16. M.I. xxiv, 0031 (Wood, 15 × 21 cm.: ll. 3 of clear cursive writing, 2 on obverse, 1 on reverse: complete).

> (1) ༄ || Ḫa.ža.skya.ba.las.gži.mkhan.ji.mchis. (2) pa. rmos.na.mchis.na.so.paḫi.graṅs.chode.thoṅ. (R. 1) śig.
>
> "While those Ḫa.žas who depend upon the crops are engaged in ploughing, send soldiers in fixed number."

This is evidently a message to the commandant at Mīrān. Whether the Ḫa-žas in question were the local peasants or whether, as is now usual in Tibet, they travelled with their yaks or oxen from place to place—which seems more

likely, as giving a reason for the supervision of the soldiers, who would prevent brawls—a not remote situation of the Ha-ža country is implied. *Chode* is for *chod.de* and *thoṅ* is imperative of *gtan*

17 M I xxviii, 1 (Wooden document, cm 12 × 2, broken at right, with loss of probably a small number of *akṣaras*: ll 4 of clear cursive writing, 2 on obverse, 2 on reverse)

(1) ༄ || Ha.ža.khri.sde.stod pa [1] Rgya.la.gthogs . .
(2) rnams || skya.re.*gcig*i.re.stsha.sbyar.te | khri . .
(R 1) gyis.Drug.cun.gyi.nas rna (dna = dan ?).bsre ži(ṅ)
. (R. 2) kha.cig.lug.du.ma.hbyor.te.Gnag.du. brdzaṅ(s) .

"When the Ha-ža *farmers* of the Upper Royal district appertaining to China have put together the separate grain from each several crop, the royal *officers*, having combined it with the barley of Drug.cun, should despatch some, according as sheep are available, to Gnag"

This document, found at Mīrān, emanates probably from the authorities in Tibet, and it further establishes the adjacency of the upper royal Ha-ža district to Mīrān, since it comes within the purview of the officials there. But this district "appertains to or adjoins China",[2] that is, by way of history or suzerainty, since at the time it is clearly under Tibetan control Probably, therefore, it was previously under the supervision of the Chinese officials in Kva-cu or Śa-cu, or in the Shan-shan country.

In case *Drug.cun*, which occurs also in Ch. 83, vi, 5 (°*chun*), M.I. iv, 57, means *Dru.gu.chun* "the little Dru.gu"—and *Drug* as short for *Dru.gu* can be attested—the location of the Dru-gu would be placed beyond doubt.

Concerning Gnag I have little doubt that it is identical with the Nag.śod "Lower Nag", which is often mentioned in documents from Mīrān (ii, 16 and 32; iv, 138; viii, 37; xiv, 67, 76, 115, 129, xxv, 001); and obviously, considering

[1] Is there a *ru* or *du* here below the line ?

[2] That this translation is open to no doubt will be shown below (p. 82)

the destination of the corn, it is either in the Ḫa-ža country or on the Lha-sa side of it.

As regards the language of the document, I have taken *stsha* as equivalent to the *rtsan* or *stsan* which we have found elsewhere. This is quite in accordance with the general variations of spelling, as is the writing *dna*, with subscript *n*, for *dan* : cf the frequent *bžre* for *bžer*.

18 M.I. viii, 91 (Wooden document, 15 × 2 5 cm. : broken at right, with loss of probably a small number of *akṣaras* : ll 6 of clear cursive writing, 3 on obverse, 3 on reverse).

(1) ༄ ‖ žib.tu.rtsis.mgo.gon.du.stsald.pa.lags | phan.tshun.du.m . (2) gdugs.mtshan.spyade ‖ mchi.baḫi.dusu.[sna.ma].daṅ.phyi.ra (phyi.re ? phyir ?).dan . . . (3) tsher.bgyis.nas ‖ mar.thal.baḫi.rjes.nan.ma.byun.[na] (R 1) śul.du.gar.ḫtubs.par.btsugs.nas ‖ ye.myeg (myig ?) . . (R 2) par.bgres.te | snon.nas.stshus.la | drind.cin.lcebs (R 3) cig | rjes.nan.Tshal.byi.ltar.byuṅ.na | Ḫa.žaḫi.sten.du.[b] . .

"A detailed account total (*mgo* ?) has been sent above To and fro occupied noon and night, and, while coming (or while so engaged, *spyade.mchi.baḫi.dusu*), grieved *by* former and later . *even* if there were no bad omens of my arriving down there, *yet* on the way putting up where I could ; having grown old in complete . . . . from former times crippled (*stshus.la* ?), in kindness let me commit suicide. With bad omens having come within sight of Tshal.byi, up to Ḫa.ža . . "

The important point here is the adjacency of the Ḫa-ža country to Tshal-byi, which, as I shall show elsewhere, was a district comprising Cherchen and Charklik (Nob). For the rest, the translation is in part doubtful owing to the defective text and to the uncertainty of the meaning of some words, e.g. *myeg* or *myig*, *stshus-la* (? = *tshur.la* "hither", "until now"), or = *ḫchus* "crooked". *Rtsis.mgo* "head, or total, of account," occurs in the Chronicle (l. 52) and in M I. iv, 93*b* (l. 2), and xiv, 0012 ; and that *rjes.nan* means "bad omen" is proved by the occurrence elsewhere (M I. xxvii, 21, 1. 12) of *byams.paḫi.rjes* "good omen".

19 Lha-sa Potala Pillar Inscription B (published by Col Waddell in *JRAS* 1910, pp 1276–9)

(25) Rgyaḫi.snd.kyi.ñam. (26) drod.rtog.cin.Khar.tsan.phyogs.su. (27) thog.ma.drans.paḫi.dmag.dpon. (28) du.bkaḫ.stsald.gyis.kyan.dgra.lha. (29) thabs.mkhas.la.gros.gyis.soṅ.ste. (30) Rgyaḫi.khams.su.gtogs.paḫi.Ḫa.ża. (31) . bsdus.Rgya.las.maṅs(bans).phal. (32) po.che.bsñad.pas.Rgya.spa.goṅ.ste

"Reflecting upon the *ñam.drod* (= "troubles" ?) of the Chinese realm, he, though appointed commander of the army which first invaded the Khar-tsan district, was wise in the expedients of the god of war and had recourse to counsel. Having brought over the Ḫa-żas appertaining to the Chinese country, he detached (?) from China the subjects generally and gave China a fright"

That the Ḫa-ża people is here mentioned (Col Waddell had read *ża.ża,* p 1258) was suggested with reserve by Professor Pelliot in 1912 (*Journal Asiatique*, ii, 1912, p 522, n 5) All doubt is removed by the phrase *Rgya....gtogs.pa*, which we have now found in the same connexion (above, p 80): and we may also adduce the testimony of the Tibetans themselves, who have furnished Sir Charles Bell with a translation naming "Hasha" (*Tibet Past and Present*, 1924, p 273) That the Ḫa-żas were the instruments in the Tibetan aggressions upon China is in accord with known facts For in the Chronicle the Dbon Ḫa-ża king plays a prominent part in the campaigns against the Chinese Now we are told of the Pailan, the western neighbours of the Tang-hsiang (and Tu-ku-hun), that after their conquest by the Tibetans (c A D 635) "their warriors were usually placed in the van of the invading armies" (Bushell, p. 528) This suggests an identification of the Ḫa-żas with the Pailan, a point to which we shall recur below. The rôle hardly suits the Tu-ku-hun

Khar-tsan can hardly be other than the Ḫa-ża town Khar-Tsa-cin, with which we have already met (above, pp. 78).

The above are not all the passages containing a mention

of Ḫa-žas: and, in particular, we may adduce the fact that the *Rgyal.rabs gsal.baḫi.me.lon* credits king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po with a Ḫa-ža wife—

> btsun . mo . Ḫa . ža . bzaḫ . Kho. ḫjo.mod.Khri.dkar ti. śags . bya . ba . khab . tu . bžes . pas . sras . Maṅ . sroṅ . maṅ . btsan . ḫkhruṅs (I O Xylograph, fol 28*a*, ll 1–3)
>
> "he having taken to wife a noble Ḫa.ža lady, named Kho.ḫjo.mod.Khri.dkar.ti.śags, there was born a son Maṅ.sroṅ.maṅ.btsan."

But the other references, inasmuch as they are either without geographical implication or are at present too fragmentary for use (although they seem to bring the Ḫa-žas into connexion both with the Dru-gu and with Nob-chuṅ-nu, i e Charklik), may for the present be reserved What we have so far definitely ascertained may be summarized as follows.—

Geographical—Ḫa-ža country was certainly adjacent on the one hand to the region of the Shan-shan kingdom (comprising Cherchen, Charklik, and Mīrān) and on the other hand to the Śa-cu district. It included places named Sil-gu(-cin), 'Im-ka(-cin), Khu-ñe Mon-gans and Old and New Khar-Tsa(-cin), which is probably identical with the great stronghold (*khrom chen.po*) of Khar-Tsan in the Śa-cu region.

Historical.—The Ḫa-ža (or some of them) originally "appertained to China". In the time of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po they were in friendly relations with the Tibetans, and later on certain Ḫa-ža chiefs, called Dbon (or Ḫboṅ or Ḫbon) Ḫa-žas, figured prominently in the Tibetan armies which warred with China, particularly in the campaigns in the Śa-cu and Kva-cu region, wherein we know the Dbon Ḫa-žas and the city Khar-Tsa(-cin) to have been comprised. It is probable, therefore, that the Tibetan routes to Shan-shan and Śa-cu lay through Ḫa-ža country. The Ḫa-žas were sometimes at variance with their Tibetan allies or suzerains, and we hear of their being defeated in A.D 696, A.D 724, and A.D 742.

Cultural.—More than one passage mentions H̱a-żas in connexion with agriculture, and this applies both to Mīrān (Nos 16–17) and to Śa-cu We may now add a passage from a document from Māzār-Tāgh, north of the city of Khotan (to be quoted hereafter in full), where a H̱a-ża is mentioned as conveying "grain" or "hay":—

stsaṅ.ẖdren | H̱a.ża.Gyu.brtsan.gyis |
"Grain (hay)-conveyor the H̱a.ża Gyu.brtsan"

It seems possible that the H̱a-żas descended from the upper country with cattle or yaks to assist in the ploughing and harvest of the districts of Chinese Turkestan.

Of H̱a-ża personal nomenclature the only at present citable examples are the above-mentioned Gyu-brtsan, the name of queen Khri-dkar-ti-śags, and that of the writer of another document (Ch 77, x = vol lv, fol 20), who describes himself as a "humble H̱a-ża" (*Ha.ża.nan.pa*), and is called Khris-legs The names of the two H̱bon-da chiefs *Khri-zun* and *Btsan-zun* contain an element *zun*, which recurs in the name of Khoṅ-zun of Cog-ro and in those of the Khu chief Lha-zun andothers; it may be simply Tibetan It therefore appears that all the H̱a-ża names which we know, if we put aside as doubtful a certain Żag-ldom (Fr 61 = vol liv, fol 17), are of a Tibetan character, which, however, might be by way of translation or adaptation The place-names *Khar-tsan*, *Khar-Tsa(-cin)*, *'Im-ka(-cin)*, *Sil-gu(-cin)*, in H̱o-khol, and *Khu-ñe Mon-gans* also present a Tibetan or Turkestan appearance: with *Sil-gu* (? = river-gorge = *H̱o-khol* ?) we may compare the name of the fort Sta-gu in the Mīrān region and the Hanguya of Khotan The people's own name rhymes with Bru-ża, if it is really represented by the *Ajha* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, the date of the latter would perhaps exclude the Tu-ku-hun.

It is now time to adopt an attitude towards Professor Pelliot's identification of the H̱a-żas with the Tu-ku-hun (*Journal Asiatique*, ii, 1912, p 124; ii, 1914, p. 144 and n).

This identification seems in part unquestionable, since it depends upon actual equivalence in certain documents. But it hardly accords with the geographical and historical facts adduced above, since the Tu-ku-hun seem to have lost all significance after their overthrow by the Tibetans in A D 663 and 670, and their country does not appear to have extended so far westwards as to include the hinterland of Śa-cu, Mīrān, and Charklik It seems possible therefore that in the literary equivalence *Ḫa-ża* = *Tu-ku-hun* there is a confusion of two peoples who jointly at one period occupied the mountain background contemplated from the Shan-shan kingdom, the Lop-nor region, Śa-cu, and Western Kan-su In this question are involved the name *A-ch'ai*, which Professor Pelliot has found (*T'oung Pao*, 1920–1, pp. 330–1) actually assigned to the Tu-ku-hun, and which seems a good equivalent for *Ḫa-ża*; also the equation *Drug-gu* = *T'ü-chueh* = Turk of Professor Pelliot (loc cit.) as against the *Drug-gu* = *Tu-ku-hun* of Colonel Waddell (*JRAS*. 1909, pp 935–7) Moreover, the situation of the Sum-pa also comes into the question (Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, loc cit.). It may be that Professor Pelliot is entirely right; but it seems worth while to proceed to an examination of the Tibetan passages referring to the Drug-gu.

Hittite Legends

By A. H. Sayce

AMONG the Hittite cuneiform documents discovered at Boghaz Keui is a considerable number of legendary texts relating to the gods and heroes, the creation of the world and the like. Unfortunately they are all in a very fragmentary condition, but as progress is made with the examination and copying of the collections in Berlin and Constantinople it may be hoped that in many cases a sufficient number of fragments will be found to allow some of the texts to be more or less completed. I have already attempted a translation of the fragments of a legend of the Great Serpent (*JRAS* April, 1922), and the Yuzghat tablet edited for this Society by Dr. Pinches and myself some years ago (1907) contains one of the *mugauwas* or circle of "stories" connected with the deified king Telibinus, the Telephus of Greek tradition.

In the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, xii, No 65, a fragment containing what is probably part of the 3rd column of a Creation myth has been published, of which the following is a transliteration and translation :—

(2) . . . [ud-da-]a-ar is-me na-as sa-ra-a . . .
(3) . KAS-an i-ya-at na-an AN-MES-as AN UD-us . . [da-]a-ir
(4) . . . a-ru-ni kat-ta-an-da pa-it

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(2) "*. . . the word (of Kuwarbis ?) he (i.e. the sea) heard ; up [he came] . . .*
(3) *. . the road the took ; him the Sun-gods . . . [did not welcome ?]*
(4) *. . . down to the sea he went.*"

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(5) AN Mu-ki-sa-nu-us AN Ku-mar-bi-ya-as ud-da-a-ar a-ru-ni EGIR-pa me-mi-is-ki-o-wa-an da-a-[ir]

(6) e-khu ! khal-zi-is-sa-i-wa-at-ta AN-MES-as at-ta-as AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-ni-ma-wa-at-ta . . .

(7) ku-e-da-ni khal-zi-is-sa-i nu-wa ud-tar li-li-wa-an nu-wa khu-o-da-ak e-khu !

(8) e-khu-ma-wa-gan ID-za tag-na-za kat-ta-an ar-kha nu-wa-at-ta AN-MES-as AN UD-us .

(9) tag-na-as-sa AN-MES-mu-us li-e u-wa-an-zi ma-a-an sal-li-is a-ru-na-as ud-da-ar is-me . .

(10) na-as-gan sa-ra-a khu-o-da-ak a-ra-a-is na-as-gan tag-na-as ID-as-sa KAS-an GUR-an ar-kha . . .

(11) AN-KI-ya-as sar-ra-at-ta-at na-as-gan a-na AN Ku-mar-bi sar-khu-la-az tag-na-za GIS SU-A . . .

(12) kat-ta-an sa-ra-a u-it a-sa-an-na-as-si GIS SU-A-an a-ru-ni ti-i-e-ir mu-za-gan sal-li-is [a-ru-na-as]

(13) GIS-SU-A-si e-sa-at GIS PASSUR-un-si u-nu-wa-an-da-an a-da-an-na [az-]zi-ik-ki-iz-zi

(14) AMEL QA-SU-GAB-a-as-ma-as-si KURUN [-in a-ku-]wa-an-na bi-es-ki-iz[-zi] . . .

(15) AN Ku-mar-bi-is-gan AN-MES-as[-sa AN UD-us] sal-li-is-sa a-ru-na[-as] . . . an-zi

(16) nu-za az-zi-ik-gan-zi [e-ku-u]-gan-zi .

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(5) "*The Kuwarbis gods of Mukis repeated the word to the sea* ·

(6) '*All's well!*' *the father gods cry to thee, O Kuwarbis, and* [*following*] *the word which to thee*

(7) *they cried, the word hastened forward; it was soon* '*All's well!*'

(8) *and* '*All's well!*' (*came*) *away down from river and land But to thee the Sun-gods . . .*

(9) *and the earth-gods* (tagnas karim-mus) *did not come When the great sea heard the word . . .*

(10) *he came up at once; away down the path of river and land he* [*came*];

(11) *heaven and earth were shattered; for Kuwarbis in the heart of the earth a throne he* (*i.e. the sea*) [*prepared*];

(12) *he came down (from) above. To him seated on his throne in the sea they drew near Then the great [sea]*
(13) *mounted his throne A table was provided for him, and food he ate.*
(14) *The cup-bearer offered him wine to drink . .*
(15) *So Kuwarbis [and the Sun-gods] and the great sea [rejoiced together];*
(16) *they ate, they drank, [and were merry];"*

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(17) AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-a-[ar]
(18) AN Mu-ki-sa-ni AMEL Ê-GAL .
(19) la-ga-a-an khar-ak GIS . .
(20) GIS za-ak-ki-is-ma bi-es-si[-ya-an ?] . .
(21) [wa]-ar-su-la-as GIM-an . .
(22) [nu-us]-si bu-us-si-in

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(17) "*Kuwarbis [utters] the word . .*
(18) *To the god of Mukis the man of the palace . .*
(19) *take a portion (?) . . .*
(20) *and the unclean thing disappears . . .*
(21) *the irrigated land also [he bestows ?]*
(22) *to him a . . . [he gives ?].*"

Notes

(2) We learn from the Hittite version of the Epic of Gilgames that Kuwarbis (written Kumarbis) was the equivalent of the Babylonian god El-lil The Hittites, accordingly, will have seen in him the god of the earth and visible world.

(3) There were many sun-gods in the Hittite pantheon besides the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Kizzuwadna.

(5) Mukis was a district on the south-western frontier of Aleppo. The plural form is interesting: in the Vannic texts the "Khaldis-gods" (*Khaldi-nini*) are similarly invoked by the side of the supreme god Khaldis Cf. the O.T use of ***Elohim*** for ***El***.

(6) The lacunæ in the text make the translation I have

given doubtful *Attas* might stand for the nom. sing. *attis* as well as for the plural, and since proper names in Hittite, as in Etruscan, have a gen sing in *-s* (possibly, like the nom *-s*, for earlier *-nza* still preserved in Luvian) Kumarbis might be a genitive But on neither supposition would the sentence yield any sense

(7) For *lilwan* see the Arzawan Letters, ii, 11

(9) The Hittite word for "god" was *karimmis* (Ehelolf, *Zeitschr. f Assyr*, N F, iᵗ, p 313). Another word *sîwas* (Greek θεός, Lakonian σίορ) was also used as in Luvian

(10) The verb *ara-* is literally "to rush" like a raging sea or wind.

(11) The Babylonian equivalent of *sarkhu* was *libbu* "the heart" in the sense of "entrails"; see *KT*. vi, p 79, 21 (compared with l 18). *Sarkhuwandas* denoted the womb.

(13) The verb *unu-* "to furnish" (like *unuwaskhus* "reaping-hooks", *KUB* viii, p 36, 6) was borrowed from the Babylonian *unu(tum)*

(19) *Lagân* must be connected with the verb *lagâri* (*KUB*. viii, p 22, 9, 10 *mân-gan antukhsas lagâri nasma-s-gan GIS-RU-az katta mâuszi* "When a man cuts himself (?) or falls from a tree") In *KUB* xii, p 25, 11, we have *aliyas laganas* "slices (?) of the heart" Cf. the Greek λάγανα "thin cakes".

Kuwarbis, it will be observed, is stated (l 5) to have been a god of Mukis, which adjoined the territory of Aleppo. The name has the characteristic Mitannian suffix *-bi* (also *-pi* and *-wi*), and we learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Kundtzon, 59, 8) that the Mitannian language was spoken at Dunip, which like the neighbouring city of Aleppo (Khal-bi, Khal-pi) possesses the same affix. The earth-god, Kuwar-bis, accordingly, will have been borrowed from Mitanni. "The Great Sea" was the Mediterranean, so called to distinguish it from the lakes which occupy a considerable part of the interior of Asia Minor.

Since the publication of my article on the Legend of the

Great Serpent our knowledge of the Hittite vocabulary has advanced considerably, and a fragment of a duplicate copy of the Legend has been published (*KUB* xii, p. 50). In Col i, 20, the word *uemit* should be translated "he found", and in line 23 *kharabkhut* is "you (plural) are hostile". With advancing knowledge of the Hittite verb it becomes more and more difficult to force it into the categories of Indo-European grammar, and we now know that the termination *-t* represents not only the 3rd person (sing. and plur.) but the 1st and 2nd persons as well *Da-* does not signify "to give"; hence Col ii, ll 17–19 reads: "When he had taken the hand of the king the first *purulliyas* (harvest festival), namely, we made" and in Col iii, 8, the translation is "took" instead of "gave". In Col ii, 22, *kheus* signifies "the rains" and *bêdât* is "removed" rather than "ordered" *Eikta* (l 25) is "demanded" and is the scribe's mistake for *ueikta* (correctly written in Col iii, 16); similarly *ueik* in Col iii, 12, is "demand". Line 30 should be "you have sent no orders to me".

A large part of Col. iv can now be restored and some of the readings corrected in certain passages of the first copy:—

(1) [a]-na AMEL IM-ME [pa-]iz-zi-us AN-MES
(2) pa-iz-zi AN-[MES-us] i-e-ir
(3) pa-iz-zi-us-sa kha-an-te-iz-zi-us
(4) AN-MES-us i-e-ir
(1) "*To the seer the gods who march*
(2) *proceed; the gods act:*
(3) and (4) *and the gods who march in front act.*"

(5) AN Za-li-nu-u-wa-as khal-ku-i-es-sar me-ik-ki
(6) AN Za-li-nu-i-sa DAM-šu AN Za-as-kha-bu-na-a-as
(7) a-na AN O ALU Ne-ri-ik-ga sa-al-li-is
(5) "*The sheaves of the god Zalinus are many;*
(6) *and the wife of Zalinus is Zaskhabunâs;*
(7) *in the court of Tessub of Nerik he is a prince.*"

(8) um-ma AN-MES nu a-na AMEL IM-ME AMEL gab-bu-tal-li
(9) ma-a-an-wa a-na ALU Ne-ri-ik-ga pa-i-o-wa-ni
(10) nu-wa-as-sa-an ku-wa-bi e-šu-wa-as-ta [1]
(8) "*Thus* (*spake*) *the gods* · '*To the seer, the* gabbutallis:
(9) *When we go to Nerik*
(10) *it shall nevertheless come to pass.*'"

---

(11) um-ma AMEL gab-bu-tal-li [2]
(12) ma-a-an [3]-wa-as-sa-an NÂ ŠU-O-BAR [4]-A e-es-tu-um-ma-at
(13) nu-za AMEL IM-ME bu-o-ul ti-an-zi [5]
(14) [nu] AMEL IM-ME AN Za-li-ya-nu-un ku-is khar-zi
(15) nu-us-si se-ir [6] NÂ ŠU-O-BAR-A ki-it-ta
(16) na-as-sa-an a-bi-ya e-sa-ri
(11) *Thus* (*spake*) *the* gabbutallis-*man*
(12) "'*Now when you sit on the . stone,*[4]
(13) *then the seer shall approach the grain* (?) [5]:
(14) *the seer who holds the god Zaliyanus*
(15) *for him* (*i e the god*) *has placed the . . stone,*
(16) *and he shall sit there.*'"

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(17) nu AN-MES-us khu-o-ma-te-es an-da a-ra-an-zi
(18) nu-za bu-o-ul ti-an-zi nu AN-MES-na-as da-bi-na[-as] [7]
(19) sa ALU Kas-ta-ma AN Za-as-kha-bu-o-na-a-as sal-li-[is]
(17) "*So all the gods flock thither.*

[1] Text No. 1 has *-ti* instead of *-ta* Friedrich translates "we shall sit". Besides *esuwassan* instead of *esuwasta*, Text No 1 has *kuwabit* instead of *kuwabi* and "Tessub of Nerik" instead of simply "Nerik".

[2] The scribe has omitted the final *-s* of the nominative (as is not unfrequently the case).

[3] Omitted in Text No. 1.

[4] BAR-A is written SU-A as if to indicate a connexion in sense with GIS SU-A "seat"

[5] Text No 1 inserts *mân* "when" before *bûl* *Bûl* is probably connected with *buwalatis* explained in the vocabularies by SE-BAD-DA, Ass. *bû* and *sinium* A verb *bûwâizzi* occurs in *KUB.* viii, 38, 14.

[6] Text No. 1 has the corrupt reading *nuwattar waser!*

[7] Text No 1 has *khumandassa* "and all".

(18) *Then he approaches the grain* (?), *and the totality of the gods* (*do likewise*).

(19) *Of the city of Kastama Źaskhabunas is ruler* "

(20) ku-i-sa AN Za-li-nu-i-sa-as DAM-ŚU

(21) AN Ta-a-az-śu-wa-ar[-sa-an-za]

(22) ki-e III AMEL-MES i-[na ALU Ta-ni-bi-ya]

(23) a-sa-an-zi nu [a-ap-pa pa-ra-a BE]

(24) i-na ALU Ta-ni-[bi-ya A-SAG ku-e-ra-as]

(25) SARRU-wa-za [bi-ya-an-za]

(20) " *And she who is a wife of Zalinus*

(21) *the goddess T*

(22) *these* 3 *men in* [*the city of Tanibiya*]

(23) *settles. Afterwards further, as before stated,*

(24) *in the city of Tanibiya* [*a field*]

(25) *by the king* [*was given*]."

The signification of *mâu, mâi* (Col i, 5, 7, 25) is still doubtful The words must, however. be verbal and not nominal forms *Mâi* is found in the title of an astrological tablet (*KUB* viii, p 13, c 2) of which all that is preserved is : "[If] . rains occur the land *mâi*." *Mâu* is found in *KUB* xiv, p 29, 13, 14 : *Khingan arkha namma miyattin nu-gan* LIB MAT ALU *Khatti* . . . *nat sesdu mâu nat karûiliyatta parâ* . . . "[If, O gods,] you thereupon send (literally, plant) away the pestilence within the Hittite land [the priests will sacrifice ?]; they will lie down and see visions (?), they will . . . away to thee as in days of old " The sense seems to be settled by a passage quoted by Dr. Forrer (*Forschungen*, ii, p. 18) : *mân tamêtazziya kuêzqa uddânaz akkiskittari nat-za-gan nassu teskhit uwallu nasmat ariyasesnaz* [*uem*]*iyattaru nasmat* AMEL AN-LIM-*nianzama edas mâu nasma ana* AMEL-MES *sanga kuit khûmandâus watarnakhkhun nat-sa-mas suppaya seskisganzi*, "if for any other reason one shall die, whether this shall come thro' a dream, or they shall discover it thro' an oracle, or a divinely inspired man shall see a vision (*mâu*), or, as I ordered all the priests (to do), they lie down in a clean place."

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DATE OF THE DANISH-NAMA-I-JAHAN

The MSS. of the *Dānish-nāma-i-jahān* are comparatively common, and their description may be found in the Persian catalogues of different libraries. It is a brief naturalistic encyclopædia compiled by Ghiyāthu'd-dīn 'Alī b. 'Alī Amīrān Ḥusaynī Isfahānī. The date of composition was not so far properly ascertained. C. Rieu, in his Persian Catalogue (vol. ii, pp. 439–40), regarded it as an early work, and H. Ethé, after having correctly "guessed" the date in his Bodleian catalogue (No. 1456, as the ninth century A.H.), subsequently (India Office Cat., No. 2173) preferred an earlier date, the seventh-eighth century A.H.—thirteenth-fourteenth century A.D.

It appears that these copies do not contain the dedication found in others, to Abū'l-fath Sultān Maḥmūd. This is given in the copy belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 1363 of my catalogue of the *older* collection), as also in another copy of the Mulla Firuz library (Rehatsec, Catalogue, p. 117). This dedication gives a key to this long-standing puzzle.

In the so-called "Curzon Collection" in the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 572 of my catalogue of that collection), there is a treatise on mathematics, the *Durratu'l-masāḥat*, composed by the same author in 890 A.H.—1485 A.D., and dedicated to the same prince.

The latter, therefore, is the Timuride, son of Abū Sa'īd, who was the great-grandson of Tīmūr. He was only supreme ruler for a few months at the end of 899 and in the beginning of 900 A.H.—A.D. 1494; but long before this, since 864 A.H.—A.D. 1460, he was governor of Mazandaran.

Yet another work by the same author, the *Asrāru'l-ḥurūf*, was written in 870 A.H.—A.D. 1465–6, and dedicated to the brother of Maḥmūd, Abū Bakr, who was then the governor of Badakhshan (E. Browne's Cambridge Cat., p. 219).

Dedications to these princes were due most probably to the fact of the author's being in their service. Therefore, as there are many traces, in the *Dānish-nāma*, of Iṣfahānī's personal acquaintance with Badakhshan (as noticed by C. Rieu), it is easy to define the period in which this work appeared as approximately between 870 A H —A.D. 1466—and 900 A.H — A.D. 1494, i e the year in which Maḥmūd died

W. Ivanow.

PIDAR-SUKHTA

A resident in Persia hears this unflattering epithet a great many times a day. Its meaning is usually explained as "one whose father has been burnt in Hell"—alluding to his sinfulness and moral deficiency This, however, seems to be wrong, and the burning in question is not a retribution for sins after death, but an allusion to the desecration of the graves of relatives. Two other usual threats of abusive character are apparently connected with this: *pidarat-rā dar āwaram*— "I will exhume thy father," and *pidarat-rā bisūzānam*— "I will see thy father burnt." In a rustic song (from the district of Sabzawar, in Khorasan), the unsuccessful suitor threats :—

Alo dukhtar morāt murdā binum
kulun bā dastum kabrāsh kandā binum
kulun bā dastum kabrāsh dā nāyāstu
nāyāstun-rā bā otāsh burdā binum.

I.e. :—

O girl, I (will) see thy mother lying dead,
I (will) see a spade (*kulang*) in my hands and her grave (*qabr*) open ;
I (will) see a spade in my hands, and her grave in the reed-bed,
I (will) see the reed-bed having been set on fire !

It is obvious that in the peaceful slumber of Persian provincial life such excessive threats of revenge are merely an "ornament of speech", and are, in fact. one of the numerous instances of exaggerations of which the Persians are so fond. Ordinary mortals, if they try to desecrate the

graves of their enemies, do this in quite a non-violent way (*rīdam ba gūr-i-pidar-i-tū*). But historical works give evidence that exhumation and the burning of corpses out of hatred have been actually practised in the different corners of Iran comparatively not long ago. In E. Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (vol. iv, p. 52) many instances are given of such acts of revenge that were committed by Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī (1502–27). He decapitates and burns the exhumed corpse of Farrukh-Yasār, does the same with the tombs of the Shīrwān-shāhs, etc, and his enemies often act in a similar way. The same customs were observed in Eastern Iran also. The author of the beginning of the seventeenth century, Ākhūnd Darwīza Ningrahārī, in his *Tadhkiratu'l-abrār wa'l-ashrār* (lith. Peshawar, 1309 A.H., pp. 160 sq.), narrates many similar stories concerning the local feuds of the different Afghan tribes which inhabit the borders of India.

W. IVANOW.

PERSIAN VERSION OF THE DARIUS GOLD TABLET

The new trilingual inscription of Darius edited and annotated by Mr. Sidney Smith in this *Journal* [1] is of such interest for Iranists that some further discussion of its Old Persian version seems desirable.

A re-transliteration of the facsimile (following the system usually adopted) shows certain small, but noteworthy, changes:

1. *Dārayavauš X* [2] *vazarka X Xyanām* [3] *X dahy-*
2. *uvnām* [4] *Vištāspahyā* [5] *puθ^ra Haxāmanišiya*

[1] July, 1926, pp 433–6.

[2] The conventional abbreviation (e.g *Dar. Pers. b, et passim*) for *xšāyaθiya* "king".

[3] Defective writing for *Xyānām* (see *Dar. Sz.* 5).

[4] i e. *dahyūnām*. Elsewhere we have only *-unām* (as in *Bh. a*, 3). See Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, Paris, 1915, p. 164. Similarly we find *pa-ru-u-va-na-a-m* = *parūvnām*, *parūnām* in *NR. a*, 6–7, etc., beside the usual writing *pa-ru-u-na-a-m* = *parūnām* (Meillet, p. 47).

[5] Pleonastic writing, as in *NR. a*, 12–13, etc., for the more usual Vištāspahyā. The Avesta also shows the pleonastic form. Etymologically, i, not ī, is required.

3. *θātiy Dārayavauš X ima xšaθ^r^am tya ada-*
4. *m dārayāmiy*[1] *hačā Sakaibiš*[2] *tyay pa-*
5 *ra Sugdam*[3] *āmata yātā ā*[4] *Kūšā hačā Hida-*
6. *uv āmatā yātā ā Spardā*[5] *tyamaiy Aurama-*
7. *zdā frābara hya maθišta bagānām m-*
8. *ām Auramazdā pātūv utāmaiy viθam*[6]

The translation given by Mr. Smith is quite correct except that lines 4–5 mean, rather, "from the Scyths who [are] beyond," and that line 7 should be rendered, "may the greatest of the gods, Auramazdā, protect me and my house." The corresponding Babylonian version, *ša rabbû alla ilani*, seems to mean simply, "who is great(er) than the (? other) gods" (cf. Ex. xviii, 11, גָּדוֹל מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִים).[7] With "even as far as Kush from India" (lines 5–6), cf. the מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד־כּוּשׁ of Esther i, 1

The only passage in the text which calls for extended comment is contained in lines 4–5 :

Old Pers.	*hačā Sakaibiš*	*tyay*	*para Sugdam*
Bab.	*ultu Gimirri*	*ša*	*nibirtum Sugdu*
Elam	*Šakqabeikkimar*	*akqabe*	*Šuikdamiudduma*
Trans.	" from the Scyths	who [are]	beyond Sogdiana
	āmata yātā ā	*Kūšā*	
	adi	*Kūšū*	
	[*kuiš*	*Kušāya*]	
	even as far as	Kush "	

[1] Written *-mi-i-y*.

[2] Read thus (cf. e g *martiyaibiš*, *Bh.* i, 56–7), in conformity with the frequent use of *Saka* (*Bh k*, 2 , *NR a*, 25, 25–6, 28 ; *NR.* xv , *Dar. Pers e*, 18), rather than *Sakibiš*, which presupposes a base in *-in*, whose meaning ("possessing") would be practically impossible to reconcile with the context.

[3] Elsewhere written *Sug^u^d^a^*, *Suguda* (e g *NR. a*, 23). *Cf*, perhaps, the Avesta form *Suγδa-* and the Greek *Σογδιάνη* (cf. Meillet, p. 75).

[4] For the reading *āmata* ā rather than *amata* . *a* see my remarks in the text under (3).

[5] For the conventional reading *Spardā* (*s^a^-p^a^-r^a^-d^a^-a*) see Meillet, pp 26, 59.

[6] Pleonastic writing as contrasted with *viθam* in *Bh.* i, 69, 71 (cf. Meillet, p. 46). The Avesta likewise has *vīs-* beside *vis-*, the latter being etymologically correct (cf. Sanskrit *viś-*).

[7] For *alla* " than " see Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908–13, ii, 426–7.

(1) *hačā*. This word is here used with the instrumental, as in *Dar. Pers. d*, 11; *e*, 20–1 (*hačā aniyanā* "from an enemy"), and occasionally in the Avesta (e.g. *ərəγata hača duždaŋha* "from horrible hell", *Yt.* xix, 44; other instances in *Ys.* x, 17; *Yt.* xiv, 57; *Vd.* x, 5; xvi, 2, etc), though it is regularly construed with the ablative or its representative.[1]

(2) *para*. The reading and meaning are certain (Bab. *nibirtum*, Elam. *miuddumа*). Elsewhere in Old Persian the word is used only as a postposition with the accusative (*avaparā* "thereafter, thither" [Bab. *árki*, Elam. *hami*]. *Bh.* ii, 72; iii, 72–3), and in the Avesta it has, as a preposition, only the temporal force of "before" (e.g. *Ys.* xix, 2, 8), though as an adverb it signifies "in front" (*Yt.* viii, 1).[2] In view of the certainty of the phrase *para Sugdam* "beyond Sogdiana", it is evident that the conventional restoration *ta*]*radraya* "transmarine" in *NR. a*, 28–9, first proposed by Benfey in 1847,[3] should be changed to *pa*]*radraya*. Rawlinson's emendation to *pá*]*radaraya*[4] was, therefore, very nearly correct.

(3) *āmata yātā ā*. This group constitutes the only real problem in the inscription. The meaning is perfectly clear, as is shown by the Babylonian *adî* and the Elamitic *kuiš*, which translate Old Persian *yātā* in *Bh.* i, 25, 70; ii, 28; iii, 77; iv, 81; *NR. a*, 50. It is highly probable that one should read *āmata . . . ā* instead of *amata . . . a*. The latter gives no sense, while *ā*, though used elsewhere in Old Persian only as a postposition signifying "in", is found as a preposition meaning "up to" in Sanskrit and Avesta, where it governs, among other cases, the ablative, as in the present

[1] Meillet, pp. 172, 189–90; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 276; Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassbourg, 1904, coll. 137, 1751–2; cf. also Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, do., 1897–1916, II, ii, 894–6.

[2] Cf. Meillet, pp. 187, 200; Reichelt, p. 275; Bartholomae, col. 852; on the word in general see Brugmann, II, ii, 884–7.

[3] *Die persischen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig, 1847, p. 59.

[4] *JRAS.* 1847, pp. 294, 295, 297; 1849, pp. 189–90.

Old Persian instances (*Kūšā*, *Spardā*; cf. *apataram hačā Pārsā* "afar from Persia", *NR. a*, 18)[1]

"The etymology of *āmata* is very obscure It may be suggested, however, that it stands for **āhmătā* (cf Old Persian *amiy* "I am": Avesta *ahmi*, Sanskrit *ásmi*) < **ā-smă-tā*. The first component, on this hypothesis, is the same *ā* as is repeated at the end of the phrase under consideration. The second member, *smă* (Iranian **hmă*, Attic μέν, μήν, Lesbian, Boeotian, Phocian, Megarian, Corinthian, Laconian, Argolic, Cretan, and Elean μάν, Thessalian μά), serves both in Sanskrit and in Greek to emphasize the word preceding; and the combination *ā smā* is found thrice in the Rig Veda in verbal composition I, li, 12, *a smā rátham . . . tisthasi* "thou mountest on the chariot", X, xxix, 8, *á smā rátham . . . tístha* "mount thou on the chariot", VIII, xxiv, 6, *á smā kámam jaritúr* . *pṛṇá* "fulfil thou the bard's desire". Against the suggestion here made one may advance the objection that **hmă* = Sanskrit *smă* has not yet been found in any Iranian dialect[2] The ending *-ta* seems to be the same as that which is seen in Old Persian *yātā*, *čitā* "so long", *utā*, Avesta *uta*, Sanskrit *utá* "and", Avesta *pasčaēta* "afterward", *daibitā*, Old Persian *duvitā*, Sanskrit *dvitá* "since long ago"[3] This **āhmatā* was next apparently shortened (or, rather, restored) to its actual form *āmata* as being a *quasi*-compound with the following *yātā* (cf. *adataiy* "then to thee", *NR a*, 43, 45, *adakaiy* "then", *Bh* ii, 11, etc.: Gāθā Avesta *adā*, Young Avesta *aδa*, Sanskrit *ádhă*, *utamaiy* "and my", *Xerx Pers a*, 15, etc.: *utā*, *avadašim* "there him", *Bh*. i, 59 *avadā*)[4]

[1] Cf Meillet, p 192, Reichelt, pp 268–70, Bartholomae, coll 300–303, Brugmann, II, ii, 818–19, Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle, 1888, pp 451–3. Old Persian script has no way of distinguishing initial or single *a* from *ā*

[2] Cf Brugmann, II, iii, 1008–9, and also his *Griechische Grammatik*, 4th ed., Munich, 1913, pp 627–8, Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Strasbourg, 1893–1900, ii, 506–11.

[3] On adverbial formations in -**te* generally see Brugmann, II, ii, 731–2

[4] For this shortening (or, rather, restoration of an original short vowel) see Meillet, pp. 79, 80, 166, 174.

[Professor A. V. Williams Jackson queries, very tentatively, whether the reading may not be *amata* < **amata*^{h} (cf *hačā paruvnyata*^{h} "from long ago", *Bh* *a*, 11, 12), comparing Avesta *aiwitō* "round about", *x*^{v}*ato* "of one's self, voluntarily" (Sanskrit *abhítas*, *svatas*), Sanskrit *átas*, *ítas* "from this", etc, Greek *ἐντός*, Latin *intus*, etc [1] It would then be connected with Sanskrit *áma-* "this" and *hačā Hidauv amata yātā ā* would mean "from India, from this (point) as far as". The only objection—which is not very serious—would seem to be that *áma-* is rather late in Sanskrit, being found only once in the *Atharva Veda* (xiv, ii, 71), whence it is repeated several times [2] His explanation is much simpler than mine and is perhaps preferable [3]]

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COINAGE OF MAHMŪDĪS

In *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 330, I expressed the view that in the seventeeth century, after the Mogul mint had ceased to strike the maḥmūdī, the only source was the mint at Mulher in Baglān, which worked until 1636. I have since come across a passage in Abdul Hamid's *Badshahnama* (ii, 232, in *Bibl Ind*) which shows that the coin was also struck by the Jam of Jamnagar at his capital Nawagarh at any rate up to the year 1640. The closure of this mint was among the terms imposed by a punitive expedition, A H 1051, and, as the chronicle does not mention the matter again, it may be inferred (though not with absolute certainty) that the closure was effective.

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[1] Meillet, p. 173, Brugmann, II, ii, 115, 166–7, 670, 730–1, Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, pp 561–2.

[2] For this pronoun see Brugmann, *Die Demonstrativpronomina in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 111.

[3] Explanation of *amata* as from **a*^{h}*mata*^{h}, **asmatas* is impossible, since the correlative of this pronominal base is given by Sanskrit *átas* (cf. Sanskrit *tátas* : *tasmā́t* ; *yátas* *yasmā́t* ; etc.).

THE MOGUL UNIT OF MEASUREMENT

In the Mogul period linear and square measures are usually explained in terms of the digit or finger-breadth (angusht). The unit is very small, and since it has to be multiplied by large factors, in order to interpret distances and areas, its precise size is a matter of some importance The details given in the Ain-i Akbari (ASB. text, ii, 597) do not help us, because the digit is there defined in terms of ordinary barley-corns, and the barley-corn in terms of hairs from the mane of a Turki horse, things which do not lend themselves to precise evaluation. Of modern descriptions, the digit of 9 inches given in Steingass' and other dictionaries must be rejected, because it gives the impossible figure of 30 feet for Akbar's yard Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, i, 87) wrote that the unit "may be safely taken as three-quarters of an inch", and on this basis he gave Akbar's yard as 30·75 inches, but he recognized that the evidence drawn from land measurements pointed to 32 or 33 inches. Contemporary commercial documents, to which Prinsep apparently had not access, make it clear that the latter figure is nearer the truth The most definite statements on the subject are contained in some letters of 1647–8 (*The English Factories in India*, 1646–50, pp 122, 190), which tell us (1) that "the Agra covett by the King's command was made equal to the Lahore covett, the difference computated [*sic*] at least 2½ per cent."; (2) that, after this change, the Agra covett was "exactly $\frac{8}{9}$th of a yard or 32 inches". The Agra covett may safely be identified with Akbar's yard (the Ilahi gaz), which was there the regular unit from Akbar's time onward The reduction of 2½ per cent. can be explained from Abdul Hamid's *Badshahnama*, which was compiled from official records by the Emperor's command, and which gives all measurements in terms of a "royal yard" (zarā' -i-bādshāhī) of 40 digits (Badshahnama, in *Bibl. Ind.* I, ii, 237). Akbar's yard was 41 digits (*Ain*. text, i, 296), and the difference between these is 2½ per cent., the figure given in the English record. We may safely infer then that Shahjahan in 1647

ordered Agra to adopt the royal yard (40 digits), which had been used at Court for some years, in place of Akbar's yard (41 digits), and that the royal yard was exactly 32 inches; Akbar's yard would then be 32·8 inches as nearly as possible, and the digit would be ⅘th of an inch as against Prinsep's ¾ inch. The small difference in the primary unit becomes important in the case of the bigah, the unit of land measurement. Prinsep made this unit equal to 0·538 acre: actually it was nearly 2,988 sq. yards, or 0·617 acre, which is very near the arbitrary value of 0·625 adopted by the British Government. I have found no record of the date when the royal yard was introduced, but Jahangir had introduced a yard of his own (the Jahangiri), so probably the royal yard is to be attributed to Shahjahan.

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September, 1926.

THE USE OF TONES IN SEMA NAGA

Sir George Grierson, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, has included the Sema Naga language in the Western Naga sub-group of the Naga Group of the Tibeto-Burman Family of languages. Most of the languages contained in this family are highly tonal, and it is probable that all Naga languages are tonal.

Of the Western Naga group Angami Naga is highly tonal and has the difference in the pitch of the tones very clearly marked. Sema Naga, however, does not strike the listener as tonal, and, with its numerous gutturals, is rather monotonous to the ear. Vowels as a general rule are unaccented, and do not seem to vary from the mid-register. Words do occur, however, which except for a difference in tone and in meaning are identical. This tonal difference is not nearly so marked as in Tibetan, for instance, or in Angami, but it is distinctly perceptible as pitched above or below the mid-register when required to differentiate meaning.

An amusing example of this differentiation occurred when the first-named of the writers was appearing before a Board

to be examined in the Sema language. No one on the Board knew that language, and the examination was conducted through the medium of Assamese with Sema interpreters. The examinee was told to translate into Sema "This man has his fingers covered with bacon fat; he will have to wash them" Now "to wash the hands" = *aou mtsu*, with *mtsu* pronounced in a low tone, while *aou mtsu*, with *mtsü* in a high tone = "to lick the fingers". The writer was therefore careful to give *mtsu* the low tone, but the interpreter, very anxious to help, and naturally confident that no one would think of washing the hands when so much more satisfactory and less wasteful a manner of dealing with the problem existed, concluded that the sahib had got his tones wrong, and insisted on translating it, to his discomfiture, as "lick".

There appear to be only three tones in Sema, which we here represent by Sir George Grierson's method[1] as *¯ka*, *-ka*, and *_ka*, according as the subsequent vowel has a high, mid, or low tone, the sign for the mid tone being omitted except for the syllable to which attention is drawn.

Interrogative particles vary in tone more noticeably perhaps than other words, e.g. :—

Nono tileh wun' ¯kyo, wu moi _kya ?

"You thither will go ? or go not ?"

So too, the particle *ma*, used to ask a simple question, is also used with a distinct low tone to express affirmation in an answer :—

Panonno a¯zhi shuani ma ? Ani _ma.

"They beer drinking are ? (They) are."

The word *ke¯shi* is used to end off a statement to which there can be no contradiction, and there is another rather curious use of tone to emphasize a verb or noun, in which the word is uttered in the low tone with the vowel well drawn out and then abruptly clipped off. E.g. :—

Aweh kuthomo leleliishiake = "Leeches many crawling-were."

[1] *On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages.*

Should the speaker desire to emphasize the numbers and the activity of the leeches, he would say :—

Aiweh kuthomo lele-lu . . . °shiake.

The following is a list of common words the meaning of which varies according to the tone of one of the syllables. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive list.

a¯gha = jungle
a_gha = tragopan pheasant
a¯hu = tooth.
a_hu = front of house.
ai¯chi = a species of acacia (*acacia intsia*, used for stupifying fish).
ai_chi = a species of bamboo.
aku¯hu = red ; root.
aku_hu = bug ; gibbon.
a¯la = profit.
a_la = path.
ala¯pa = fork in the path.
ala-pa = tapeworm
ala-pu = worm.
ala_pu = conch shell.
am¯ti = spittle.
am_ti = salt.
apo¯ghü = winnowing-fan.
apo_ghü = snake.
asa¯pu = basket-tail (for carrying "panjis", i e., bamboo spikes used as caltrops).
asa_pu = bracelet.
a¯sho = above.
a-sho = bread.
ayi¯khwo = orchid.
ayi_khwo = skin.
¯chu = eat.
_chu = dig.
I¯na-khe = a man's name.
i-na_khe = morning.
mi¯ya = white.
mi-ya = peal cane.
mus¯su = spit.
mus_su = suck out (poison).
¯nu = laugh.
_nu = rub.
¯phi = count.
_phi = clear jungle.
¯su = bring
_su = be ill.
achu¯i = frog
achu-i = green pigeon.
achu_i = goat-antelope.
a¯ghao = jungle-wards.
a-ghao = bird.
a_ghao = familiar spirit.
*a¯ketsu_* = peg-top.
ake¯tsü = rotten.
ake-tsü = head.
ak¯ke = hundred.
ak-ke = steep.
ak_ke = cane.
a¯li = boar.
a-li = jhum field in second year of cultivation.

a_li = dish.	*a¯zhı* = beer.
a¯pi = cloth.	*a-zhı* = blood.
a-pı = oak.	*a_zhı* = rat.
a_pı = body.	*apu¯ku* = flower.
a¯su = ancestor.	*apu-ku* = bridge.
a-sü = millet.	*apu_ku* = leg.
a_su = tree.	*apu_ku* = hoe [1]

Now some of the above pairs are decidedly suggestive. *Asu* = "tree" and "ancestor", is obvious enough, and when it is realized that *ayıkhwo* derives its meaning of "orchid" from its primary meaning of "skin" because the principle value of orchids to Semas is in the use of the cuticle of certain species, brilliant yellow when dried, for the manufacture of ornaments, it will be admitted that it is no unfair inference from the facts to say that the use of tone in Sema is a deliberate artifice to distinguish different senses of identical words. An examination of the pairs of words in the above list will bear out this conclusion, though it did not as a matter of fact occur to us until after we had them written down, for besides the word *mtsu* = "lick the fingers" and "wash the hands", there is an obvious connexion between the different senses of the words *mussu* = "spit" and "suck out (and spit)", *miya* = "peal cane" and "white", *api* = "cloth" and "body" [2] and *aketsu* = "peg-top" and "head". It also occurs to us that there is very possibly a definite connexion in other cases as well. Thus *Inakhe* as a name may well be derived from its meaning of "morn"; *sü* may have acquired

[1] In this last instance *apu-ku* = "hoe" is given a more decidedly low register than *apu-ku* = "leg", while the two first of the four are generally not *apuku* but *akupu*, the latter being the correct form, only the Sema is incorrigible in the matter of changing about the syllables of which his agglutinative word is composed, so that one hears *pıketımı* for *kepıtımı* (= "male"), *tıkıla* for *kıtıla* (= "little"), and so on indiscriminately, and often from the same mouth. In fact it is easier for him to give the words different tones to avoid confusion, than to suppress his tendency to interchange the syllables of any word in which an identical, or nearly identical, vowel sound is repeated with different consonants.

[2] So also perhaps *apı* = "oak", since its acorn (*apı-ıı*) is in the Naga Hills almost entirely clothed in its woolly cup.

its sense of "be ill" from the idea that the illness is caused by evil spirits brought back and carried about the person from the jungle or some other haunt of theirs, a common idea in these hills, if not the prevailing one; there may again be a connexion between *aghao* as "familiar" and *aghao* as "bird", and even between *apuku* as "hoe" and *apuku* as "leg", since the shape of that particular kind of hoe is very much that of the human leg and foot as represented in a crude Naga drawing. The argument is probably clinched by the series of words used by the Sema for his varying ways of making war.[1]

A number of these words have an ordinary meaning which refers to common acts of daily village life. Their meaning in war is quite obviously derived by innuendo from the ordinary meaning, but one Sema to whom this was pointed out objected that there was a slight difference of tone. There is, but the only possible explanation of the use of the terms is the one we have given. Thus *ashepe* means going to the fields and working there by gangs in different places, according to plan; when applied to warfare it means a carefully worked out raid upon the field workers of an enemy village *Inahusü* means early rising to go to the fields, but in its war sense it means laying an ambush for hostile villagers as the latter emerge from their village in the morning to go to their fields. So *kighishi* ordinarily means thatching, but applied to warfare it means spearing an enemy through the thatch of his house, and its derivation is from *kighi* = "thatch" and *shi* = "make", "do". The conclusion, therefore, that tone has been deliberately employed to distinguish the secondary meaning is unavoidable.

This use of tone is no doubt the result of a paucity of vocabulary combined with a poverty of the inventive faculty in word coining.[2] Thus the Sema, till recently unacquainted

[1] See *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 169, 170.

[2] This has already been pointed out by way of contrast to the readiness with which the Angami Naga coins new words for new objects (Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 295).

with firearms, translates the word "gun" either by *mashehu*, a corruption of the Angami *misi* = "fire-rod", or by *akha*, which is the Sema word for a cross-bow, a weapon known to, though not very often used, by him. Thus a Sema servant, when speaking Sema, uses the word *ghusl* for a bath-tub, but when asked how he would explain the article to a Sema who has never seen one, he was able to coin a perfectly good Sema word, *azukekuchubo* = "water-lave-vessel". Yet the only Sema word made up in this way to designate some hitherto unknown object that is known to either of us is the word invented for matches—*amihebo* (= "fire-strike-stick").

This lack of inventiveness is perhaps also indicated by the fact that in composing a cryptic language for private communication in public,[1] no attempt is made to use a canting vocabulary, but secrecy is obtained by elaborately inverting the usual order of words and syllables.

It may be added here that an attempt is sometimes made, apparently, to differentiate like words not by the use of tones, but by adding an aspirate or by doubling a consonant. Thus *assuh* = "millet" is probably commoner than *asu*; *akke*, whether meaning "cane" or "hundred" is distinguished by the doubled consonant from *ake*, which is part of the verb "to be". That this is a case of doubling a consonant naturally single must be inferred from the fact that the initial *a*- in Sema is by origin an obsolete possessive pronoun of the third person, which has become incorporated with the noun [2]

There can be little doubt but that the Sema tribe, as we know it, is the result of an amalgamation between an invading race, probably with Kuki affinities, from the south-east, and a Rengma or Sangtam population among which the invaders set themselves up as chiefs. Several, characteristic of Sema, e.g., the absence of any plural in regular use, and the extreme looseness of many constructions, suggest that it is a pidgin language, rather than a natural one, and it

[1] Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p 296

[2] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 207.

occurs to us that the lack of the faculty of coining words, which is characteristic of Sema, is perhaps only the inevitable result of the language being made, so to speak, and not grown. In any case the language must have developed comparatively recently, and it is interesting to find tones used deliberately to distinguish different senses of the same word, apparently by common consent over a considerable area.

A brief account of the Sema language with a vocabulary will be found in *The Sema Nagas* (Macmillan, 1922)

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Kohima, *1926.*

THE ĀŚĪḤ-PRELUDE IN THE MAHĀKĀVYA

In his characterization of a Mahākāvya, Daṇḍin lays down in his *Kāvyâdarśa* (i, 14) that it should begin with a benediction (*āśīḥ*), or a salutation to some deity (*namaskriyā*), or a direct plunge into the narrative by an indication of the subject-matter (*vastu-nirdeśa*). While examples of *namaskriyā* or *vastu-nirdeśa* are frequent, it is difficult to find any known Mahākāvya which begins with an *āśīḥ*. Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa, in his commentary on *Kāvyâdarśa*, cites *Kīcaka-vadha* as an instance of a Mahākāvya which opens with an *āśīḥ* (*tatrâśīḥ kīcaka-vadhâdau*). In the Dacca University collection of Sanskrit manuscripts there are two copies of this unpublished Mahākāvya, which has been noticed by Rajendralala Mitra,[1] and of which a manuscript exists also in the India Office Library[2] As the point is interesting, I give below the verses referred to by Premacandra.

jitaḥ sucarita-cchedī smaro'yaṃ duḥsaho mayā |
itîva deham akarod abhinnaṃ yaḥ sahômayā ||
bibharti hāram anaghaṃ yo bhasmabhir ahiṃ sitam |
tejaś ca manmatha-śarair indriyârthair ahiṃsitam ||
yasyâhur ati-gambhīra-jalada-pratimaṃ galam |
sa vaḥ karotu niḥsaṅgam udayaṃ prati maṅgalam ||

[1] *Notices of Sansk. MSS.*, no 615.

[2] *India Office Catalogue*, pt. vii, no. 3931, 1184i (p. 1492b).

After this benediction in the name of Śiva, follows a benediction in the name of Kṛṣṇa :

yā triloka-natā mūrttir upāyena jugopa tām |
yo'vahat kaṃsa-nidhana-prayuktāṃ ṛju-gopatām ||
babhāra vapur ambhoda-prabhayā pūta-nābhi yaḥ |
papāta karmaṇā yasya prabhayā pūtanā bhiyaḥ ||
sa punātu vraje yaś ca go-rajaḥ-pāta-rūkṣitau |
śiśur ucchidya yamajau niṣpipeṣa tarū kṣitau ||[1]

Then follows, to the end of the first *sarga*, a eulogy of the poet's patron, whose name is not given, but who appears to have been a king of Kaliṅga, for whose delectation Nītivarman wrote his interesting *tour de force* in *yamaka* and *śleṣa*. The narrative does not commence till we come to *sarga* II, which, like the first, fourth and fifth, is composed entirely in *yamaka* The third *sarga*, which gives us Draupadī's long speech to Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers, illustrates *śleṣa*, with occasional lapses into *yamaka* at the beginning and at the end. Considerable skill is displayed in managing these verbal tricks, and some of them are indeed very happy, and not in the least laboured, like those of *Nalôdaya*. It has always been a favourite work with Bengal Pandits, and all the manuscripts of this poem, so far known to exist, are written in Bengali character The work must have at one time enjoyed a considerable reputation, having been cited by Rāyamukuta on *Amarakosa*, Ujjvaladatta on the *Uṇādi-sūtras*, Puruṣottama in his *Varṇadeśanā*, and Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita in his *Praudha-manoramā*. The first-named citation indicates that the work is prior to the fifteenth century, but it belongs, perhaps, to a much earlier date.

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26th July, 1926.

[1] As an edition of this work is being prepared for publication by the present writer, the variant readings of the two MSS. collated are not given here.

1. ŚŪRPĀRAKA

The Sanskrit name of the modern *Sopārā*, a town in the Thana district situated about 37 miles north of Bombay, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Bassein, is *Śūrpāraka* and the Pāli name, *Suppāraka*. Although speculation regarding its identity with the Ophir [1] of Solomon's age is wholly futile, Śūrpāraka certainly was an ancient centre and at an early date played an important part as one of the chief ports on the western coast of India It was at one time the capital of the province of *Aparānta(ka)*, the inhabitants of which are undoubtedly mentioned in the Rock-Edicts of Aśoka [2] Although that pious monarch does not, in his extant inscriptions, mention Sopārā, the presence of a fragment of the Rock-Edicts at that place assures us of its importance in the third century B.C. On the other hand, no trace of Sopārā is found in the later parts of Vedic lore, and the inference is that it rose to importance and fame some time during the later half of the first pre-Christian millennium. Its mention in the Pāli Scriptures cannot, of course, be taken as sufficient evidence that it was already well-known in the time of the Buddha.

In Gorresio's edition of the *Rāmāyana* (vol. iv, p 526) there is a *varia lectio* to iii, 43, 5, viz , *tathā sūrpārakān api*, instead of the common text *viśālāni purāni ca* As this reading is, no doubt, a *lectio difficilior*, we may be justified in restoring *tathā śūrpārakān api* into the text, and thus find a mention of the people of Sopārā in a passage which is generally considered as belonging to the old and genuine epic by Vālmīki. In the *Mahābhārata* the word *śūrpāraka* not infrequently occurs: it is found, according to Sörensen's *Index*, in ii, 1169; iii, 8185, 8337, 10221, 10227; xii, 1781; xiii,

[1] Cf. Nundolal Dey, *Geogr Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 198 (*JA*. 54, suppl).

[2] Cf. Girnār v, 5; Shāhb. v, 12; Mānsehrā v, 22; Kālsī v, 16; Dhauli v, 4. It is taken to mean simply "Western borderers" by Professors Hultzsch and Woolner, but this is too colourless a translation (cf. Dr. Barnett in *CHI*., vol. i, p. 603.)

1736. But it does not seem to figure largely in later literature

Śūrpāraka or **śūrpāra* (a form which can, of course, be abstracted from the fuller one) is a formation with a suffix *-āra-* which, though not very frequently used, does still occur in a series of undoubted cases At the same time it must be noted that several of the words, in which it is found, are of a doubtful nature and have been treated rather fancifully by various scholars

A difficult problem is presented by the word *karmāra*, " a smith, a blacksmith ", which is perhaps generally looked upon as being a derivation of *karman-*, but it is undoubtedly tempting to derive it from an original **karma-kāra-*. On the other hand one cannot understand why *śevāra-*, " a treasury," which occurs in RV viii, i, 22, should be derived from **śeva-vāra-*,[1] as it can just as easily be considered a simple derivative from *śeva-* [2] Undoubted cases are *śṛngāra-* " love " from *śṛnga-* , *śundāra-* " a small trunk ", Pāṇ v, 3, 88, from *śundā* , and *vṛndāraka-* " topmost, best, the pick of the herd " (e g *go-*, *aśva-vṛndāraka-*),[3] Pāṇ ii, 1, 62 ; vi, 4, 15f , from *vṛnda-* " a flock, herd, swarm ". In connexion with the word *śakāra-* I have dealt with some other formations in *-āra-* in this *Journal*, 1925, p 239 sq.

Thus **śūrpāra* must undoubtedly be a derivation of the well-known word *śūrpa-* " a winnow, a winnowing basket ", which occurs rather frequently in literature from the later Vedas onwards, and is also mentioned in Pāṇini, v 1, 26 ; vi, 2, 122. The etymology of this word is doubtful, as is mostly the case with derivatives in *-pa-*,[4] but its meaning is in no way doubtful ; nor can there be any doubt that we must connect **śūrpāra*, *śūrpāraka* with it.

[1] Cf Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p 142 , Oldenberg, *Rgveda-Noten*, ii, 74.

[2] Cf for the sense *śevadhi-* " a jewel, a treasury "

[3] Synonyms of *vṛndāraka* are in the scholia to Pāṇ. ii, 1, 66 (*matallikā*, *macarcikā*, *prakāṇḍam*, etc)

[4] A singularly ineffective discussion on words in *-pa-* is found in *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 27 sq , *śūrpa-* is not even mentioned there.

It is, however, not clear why the name of a town and district on the western coast should have been derived from a word meaning "winnow". I venture to think that the connexion can be established in the following way.

Passages in the *Mahābhārata* connect *Śūrpāraka* with Paraśurāma, and we are told that this town was situated on the strip of land won by that sage from the Ocean.[1] No doubt that tradition is the older one, which describes the Konkan as the *kṣatra* won by Paraśurāma, while he himself resided on the top of Mount Sahyādri. A later tradition connects him with Gokarṇa and mentions South Kanara and Malabar as the land conquered by him from the sea

As a rule these traditions, which are certainly to be found in the *Sahyādrikhanda*[2] and related literature, make Paraśurāma throw his axe over the ocean,[3] or shoot an arrow from a bow, the string of which is later eaten by white ants sent by Varuṇa, the god of the ocean[4]; this story is rather like the well-known tale in the Brāhmaṇa literature, in which the bow-string of Viṣṇu was eaten by ants with a rather disastrous result.[5]

But there is another tradition concerning the manner in which Paraśurāma won land from the ocean, a tradition which also occurs in the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*. European authors who have repeated it are Baldæus, *Afgoderye, der Oost Indische Heydenen*, ed. De Jong, p. 81, and Canter-Visscher, *Malabaarse Brieven*, p. 2 sq[6] But it occurs in an older and better source, viz., the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* by Father

[1] Cf Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* I[2], pp. 649, 678 sq.

[2] This work is, unfortunately, not available to me here.

[3] Cf. Wilson, *Catalogue of Mackenzie Coll*, i, p xcv; Taylor, *Catalogue raisonné*, iii, 166; Graul, *Reise nach Ostindien* iii, 226, etc.

[4] Cf. Sonnerat, *Voyage*, i, 165 sq.; Caland-Fokker, *Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme*, p. 76; Taylor, l.c., iii, 705; Wilson, *Works*, ix, 24; Jouveau Dubreuil, Archéologie, ii, 87, etc.

[5] Śbr xiv, i, 1 sq. Cf. Hopkin's *Indogerm. Jahrbuch*, ii, 230, *Festschrift Windisch*.

[6] Cf. Zachariæ, *Goett. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1916, p. 591.

Jacobo Fenicio, S J [1] It seems to me advisable to quote the passage from that work referring to the tradition which we are discussing (Book III, ch 10).

" Depois disto querendo *Siri Parexi Rama* edificar templos e não achando lugar cõmodo ; porque o mar chegaua ate as serras que chamão *Gate* , fez huas cerimonias na sua *Homa* onde apareceo hum *supu* com que joeirão o arros o qual aremeçando para o mar o fez recoar para traz ; e parecendo- lhe que não bastara tornou a aremeçar o *suppo* com que o mar se afastou outro pedaço ; e querendo aremeçalo a terceira vez *Varunen* deos da agoa transformado em *careâs* formigas brãcas roerão o *suppo* : edificou Siri Parexi Ramâ no lugar que o mar deixara cento e oito templos que chamão *Dêualias*, pondo dentro delles 108 pedras que são os *Pagodes* que estes Indios adorão e começão du *Goacarna* lugar perto de Mangalor , e chegão te o Cabo de *Comorim* "

" After this *Śrī Paraśurāma* wished to build temples, but found no fit place, as the ocean stretched right up to the mountains which one calls the *Ghats* He then performed his ceremonies in his sacrificial fire, and from this there issued a *supu* (winnow), with which they winnow rice, and this he shook over the ocean and made it recede a space. And as he thought that this was not sufficient, he took to shaking the *suppo*, whereupon the ocean receded yet further. And when he wished to shake it a third time, *Varuna*, the god of the waters, transformed himself into *careâs* [2] (white ants) and gnawed the *suppo* *Śrī Paraśurāma* built, on the place which the ocean had left, 108 temples which are called *devālayas*, and in them he put 108 stones which are the idols that these Indians adore And (the temples) begin at *Gokarna* near Mangalore and reach to Cape Comorin "

[1] This is the MS *Sloane* 1820 of which I have given a report in the *Bull. School of Or. Stud*, II, 731 sq. In that paper and ibid., III, 413 sq. I have proved that the renowned book of Baldæus is simply a plagiarism and lacks every ounce of original value.

[2] Tamil *karāiyan* " white ant " (cf. *Lettres édifiantes*, XII, 102, 420, *Danische Missionsberichte*, IV, 428)

According to this tradition Paraśurāma shook or threw a *śūrpa*, a winnowing-basket, over the ocean and thus made it recede from the bottom of the Ghāts, and leave a strip of land free. As Fenicio lived in Malabar, it is quite natural that he should have heard the myth in a form which made South Kanara and Malabar the land recovered by Paraśurāma, but, as has already been pointed out, an older tradition certainly points to the Konkan as being the *kṣetra* of Paraśurāma. And in this land is situated *Śūrpāraka*, a name which enshrines a reminiscence of the tradition which made him win land by shaking or throwing his *śūrpa* over the sea.[1]

If this suggestion is correct, as I venture to think it is, the story of Paraśurāma's *śūrpa* must be one of considerable age, for the name *Śūrpāraka* must certainly date from at least some centuries B.C. Of what general consequence this may possibly be for the myths connected with the dark and puzzling figure of Paraśurāma, must be left for future investigation.

2. VITASTĀ—HYDASPES

The Sanskrit name of the river which is now generally known as the Jhelum, viz. *Vitástā* (or *Vitastā*) occurs already in the *nadīstuti* (RV. x, 75) and is found in frequent passages in later literature. Nothing can, of course, be said with certainty concerning the etymology of a proper name like this. But the most obvious inference seems to be that it is a feminine form—originally used in some such connexion as *vitastā-nadī*—of a perfect participle *vitasta-*, which is formed like *vi-kasta-* : *kas-*,[2] or *vi-śasta-* "keen, impudent" : *śas-*.[3] In that case the participle *vi-tasta-* would belong to a root

[1] Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsamhitā*, xiv, 14, mentions a mountain in the western region called *Śūrpādri* (this, and not *sūryādri*, is the *lectio difficilior*). It seems probable that this means the same as Sahyādri from which Paraśurāma shook or threw his *śūrpa*.

[2] Cf. RV. i, 117, 24; Pāṇini, vii, 2, 34.

[3] Cf. Pāṇini, vii, 2, 19.

ta(m)s-, meaning "to span, to extend", just like the well-known word *vi-tasti-* "a span"[1]

Although modern maps generally give the name of the whole length of the river as *Jhelum*, this seems to be decidedly wrong For, as Sir Aurel Stein has repeatedly pointed out,[2] the only name by which the river is known to the Kaśmīrīs is *Vyath*, a regular development of the old one, and the name *Vitastā* is still familiar with the pundits of Kaśmīr The form *Vyath* is developed from *Vitastā* by means of an intermediate **Vihath(ā)*, cp the forms *Bihat, Wihat, Bihatāb* given in the *Imp Gaz*, xiv, p 160[3]

So far everything is quite easily explained But a puzzle occurs in the form of *Ὑδάσπης*, a name by which the Greeks denoted this river from the time of Alexander[4] Ptolemy—and apparently also Marinus of Tyrus, who was one of his sources—use a form *Βιδάσπης* which approximates more closely to the Indian name but still contains the enigmatic suffix in *-σπ*[5] Sir Aurel Stein[6] and other scholars have tried to explain it as due to the numerous Iranian names ending in *-ασπης* (*-aspa-* "horse"), and Dr Marquart[7] has even suggested a name for the river corresponding to an old Persian **vidah aspa*, "finding or bestowing horses" But there is, unfortunately, not the slightest basis for these suggestions, and the name used by the Greeks, *Ὑδάσπης*, is just as problematical as ever.

But it seems possible that a linguistic parallel will clarify

[1] Cf. Avestan *vītasti* (i e *vitasti-*), Pers *bidast*

[2] Cf *JASB* lxviii part 1, p 96 sq., *Bhandarkar Comm Volume*, p. 21.

[3] Cf also Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 295

[4] The identification of *Vitastā* with *Ὑδάσπης* seems to originate with A W von Schlegel, cf *Indische Bibliothek*, ii, 303 sq. (Cf Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Indica*, p 459)

[5] The name *Birastes* seems to denote an Iranian river, the Puraly, near Rambakia where Alexander founded a new Alexandria ἐν Ὠρείταις. This is perhaps the *Medus Hydaspes* of Vergil, Georg iv, 211 (cf Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, vol ix, p 39) although *this seems to me very* doubtful

[6] *JASB* lxviii, i, p 96, n 3

[7] Cf *Philologus Supplement* x (1907), p 248.

the inter-relation between *Vitastā* and *'Υδάσπης* This parallel is furnished by the different development of the word *vitasti-*, which is found in exactly the same form in Sanskrit and in cognate Iranian languages In Middle Indian *vitasti-*, through an aspiration of the middle *-t-* probably due to the influence of the *-s-* in the next *akṣara*. has developed into *vihatthi* , this development has quite clear parallels, and we need not, with Pischel,[1] occupy ourselves with forms like **vihasti* or **vistasti*, for which there does not exist the slightest evidence But in certain Iranian dialects, bordering on Indian territory, the old form *vitasti* has developed into **vitaspi* and **vidaspi*, of which traces are found in Ōrmurī *jusp* " a span " and in the Brāhūī loan-word *gidisp* " a span ".[2] Ōrmurī is, as has recently been asserted by MM Tedesco and Morgenstierne on what seem sound reasons, an Eastern Iranian dialect, the original of which may well have flourished in the borderland between India and Iran And whatever may have been the earlier history of Balūčī it is quite certain that Iranian dialects were spoken in Balūčistān from very early times [3] ; from one of those, otherwise unknown to us, the Brāhūīs may have borrowed the word *gidisp*, which gives the impression of belonging to a fairly old stage of Iranian speech

Consequently we have, in my opinion, a fairly exact parallel to this development in that presented by the name of the river *Vitastā* On the one hand, this name developed into **Vihatthā*. which through later stages was transformed into the present *Wihat*, *Bihat*, *Vyath* On the other hand, it must at an early time have been transformed into a **Vitaspā* and **Vidaspā*, which is the form adopted by the Greeks as *'Υδάσπης* and, still more correctly, as *Βιδάσπης*. There can, I venture to think, be little doubt that this is the real explanation of the Greek form of the name.

[1] *Prakritgrammatik*, § 207 , *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, vi, p 93

[2] Cf Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p 36, n 1

[3] In this I quite agree with Dr Morgenstierne, l c , p 36

I am quite prepared to find the objection raised that the development of *vitasti* into **vidaspi* is purely Iranian and does not occur on Indian soil. In that case, how could the name *Vitastā*, which is purely Indian, develop into **Vidaspā*?

To this let me answer, first of all, that the usual explanation of the name Ὑδάσπης, as given by Sir Aurel Stein, Dr Marquart and others, also presupposes the Greek form to be derived from an Iranian one. But this answer carries slight weight. It is far more important to remember that, although the main course of the Jhelum is now through a territory occupied by Lahndā, a purely Indian dialect, this cannot always have been so. In these regions Indian dialects have for many centuries been ousting dialects of Iranian origin, as well as those known as Dardic languages, the origin of which is disputed and doubtful. Personally, I am quite prepared to contend, with Sir George Grierson, that the Dardic languages do really belong to a third Aryan group, which shows linguistic developments common to both the Iranian and the Indian dialects. Scholars like Professor Turner and MM Bloch and Morgenstierne, who suggest a purely Indian origin for the Dardic dialects, have so far failed to account for certain peculiarities—e g, the preservation of *-st*—which are most decidedly un-Indian. But they have also, and this is to me just as important, failed to account for a language such as that presented in the Shāhbāzgarhī edicts, and for certain word-forms preserved in the grammar of Pāṇini, an extreme North-westerner, which cannot, so far as our knowledge goes, be explained as genuine Indian forms. These facts, which cannot be dealt with here, go a long way to prove the existence on what is now purely Indian soil of Iranian or mixed languages, which may well account for a form like Ὑδάσπης or *Βιδάσπης*.

Another question is whether it would be possible to find, inside India, or on the frontier between India and Iran, any other words presenting the curious development of *-st-*

into *-sp-*. For it is scarcely possible to explain this development as wholly natural It is quite true that we have a good many examples of a development of *-sm-* into *-sp-*,[1] and that the Taitt Prāt xv, ii, gives intermediate stages, such as *aśpman*, *grīspma* or even *aśppman*, *grīsppma*, but as *p* and *m* are cognate consonants this cannot explain the transformation of *-st-* into *-spt-* and further into *-sp-*

There is a well-known name of a people on the North-western frontier, which is generally given either as *Astacani* or *Assaceni* But *Pliny*, *vi*, 23, 10, has also a *varia lectio* *Aspagani* It is, of course, very uncertain what value is to be attached to a variant like that But as there is no reason whatsoever why an original form **Aspacani*, which would be most easily explainable as a rendering of an Iranian **aspakāna-*, should have been altered into **astakāna-*, it seems more probable that we may find here another example of the development of *-st-* into *-sp-* This does not, however, account for the existence of the third form, viz **Assakāna-*, and it is willingly admitted that this instance is a very doubtful one

Equally dubious is, of course, the name of Kābul given by Ptolemy, vi, 18, viz Ὀρτόσπανα One might guess that it represents an Iranian **artastāna-*, "the seat of Righteousness", or something like that, but this is, of course, mere conjecture

There may also exist one or two words, generally considered as being of pure Sanskrit origin, concerning which it might be suggested that they present examples of the development of *-st-* into *-sp-* One of them is the word *viṣpitá-* in RV. vii, 60, 7, viii, 72 (83), 3, which is of doubtful meaning, but probably signifies something like "danger, difficulty" It seems possible that the word may originally have meant "complication, knotty situation" and may be identical with the participle *viṣṭitá* (< *vist-*, *veṣṭ-*) which occurs in RV x, 51, 1, and like the later *veṣṭitá-*, means "wrapped

[1] Cf Johansson, *Shāhbāzgarhi*, ii, p 7 sq.

up, tied up in a bundle". Anyhow, no other explanation of the puzzling *vispitá-* seems equally clear.

The other instance to which I should like to draw attention is the very difficult word *púṣpa-*, "a flower", which occurs in the Rgveda in the derivatives *puṣpin-* and *puspavant*, and later on in Pāṇini, iv, 1, 64, 3, 43, etc. Of explanations hitherto given[1] none can be deemed satisfactory, and it might at least be permissible to regard *púspa-* as being simply a derivative—with altered accent—of the participle *puṣtá-* (< *pus-*), the meaning of which would suit very well[2]

JARL CHARPENTIER

THE CHINESE ATLAS IN THE MAGLIABECCHIAN LIBRARY

(See this *Journal* for 1919, p 393)

In the note referred to above it was said that Carletti's Atlas was certainly the 廣 輿 圖 *Kuang yu t'u* I have lately been able to examine the book itself, and think this note may be of interest The atlas is now in the National Library at Florence where it is marked II, I, 225–6, and called *Kuang-yu-thu* There are two large volumes bound in limp stamped leather At least one map and, probably, some preliminary pages of vol i and one page (219) of vol ii are missing Each page of letterpress consists of sixteen columns inclosed in a double line, measuring about 33 cm wide, and 32 cm high. There is no title, chapter, number, fish-tail, or printing of any kind in the margins. Each page (not leaf) is numbered in the

[1] Cf Uhlenbeck, *Altind etymol Woerterbuch*, p 171, Persson, *Beiträge z indogerm Wortforschung* i, 249, Scheftelowitz, *Festschrift Jacobi*, p 27, etc.

[2] In this connexion a question may be allowed What is the word *post(ă)* meaning "poppy" and "capsules of poppy and a beverage prepared from them" (cf Sir George Grierson's *Bihār Peasant Life*, § 1,028, and Watt, *Economic Products of India*, p 845 sq) Curiously enough, the word does not occur either in *Hobson-Jobson* or in Dalgado's *Glossário Luso-Asiatico*, though it is fairly frequent in older literature on India (cf. e g, Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor* (ed 1714), p 64, De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, p 105, Monserrate, *Commentarius*, ed. Hosten, pp. 558, 642, Fryer, ed Crooke, i, p. 92 (cf. p. 263), etc.

left-hand bottom corner inside the ruled lines Each double leaf seems to have been formed of three sheets of white paper pasted together, but the folded fore-edges have been cut open by the European binder The book is, as far as I could judge from memory, very much like the *Kuang yü t'u*, but it is in fact called 新增廣輿考 *Hsin tsêng kuang yü k'ao* (" The *Kuang yu k'ao* newly enlarged ") It begins with eight pages of contents followed by the description of the Map of China The map itself is missing At the end of the second volume is a final note (跋廣輿考) which occupies 36 columns It is dated the tenth month in the winter, *i-wei*, 23rd Wan-li year (November, 1595), and signed by 步丘汪作舟 Pu-ch'iu Wang Tso-chou, with seal " Pu-ch'iu". The name *Camse*, which first drew attention to the Atlas, is written by Carletti in the map of China in vol ii touching the name Chiang-hsi and quite 25 mm from Hang-chou, so that Baldelli-Boni really had no excuse for supposing that it stood for Hang-chou or Quinsai

A C M.

AMĀTYA—A MO-CHIH

The large village and principality of Shigar (Śi-dkar), on the river of the same name, which, coming down from the north, joins the Indus near Skardo, belongs to Baltistan. A genealogy of its chiefs, containing twenty-seven names, of which all but the first six appear to be Muhammadan, has been given by Cunningham (*Ladák*, p 32) and is now repeated by Professor A H Francke in his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, ii, p 192 The first six names are :—

1 Āmāchah
2 Chah-tham
3 Chama-tham
4 Yaksar Gao-tham.
5 Khomulgo-tham
6 Gobūlgo-tham

Cunningham observes that the use of the title *tham* proves a connexion with Hunza-Nagar, where the chiefs are still so designated ; whereas Professor Francke holds that the word is of Dard origin and therefore need not indicate a special connexion with Hunza-Nagar—we must, however,

remark that the Hunza-Nagar people and language are not Dard

Above (*JRAS* 1926, p. 392, and *Festgabe H Jacobi*, p. 73) attention has been drawn to the fact that the names Khomulgo and Gobūlgo (Nos 5 and 6) are in form singularly like some names recorded in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (third or fourth century A D ?) from Khotan and also that the word *tham* "chief" is probably to be traced there in the word *ṣothamgha* "chief of police" and otherwise it is further guessed that it may be Tibeto-Burman and perhaps ultimately connected with Chinese *then* (*tien*) "heaven"

In these circumstances significance attaches to the fact that the first king, who with Nos 2–6 may represent some old tradition, is named *Āmāchah* For *A-mo-chih* is a title bestowed by the Chinese, during the eighth century A D, upon kings of Kashgar and Khotan (see Sir A Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, pp 66, 176, 252, and Chavannes, ibid, p 523 and note upon a document of 768 A D, so designating a Khotan king Wei-che Che-lo = Vijaya-Ḫzaḫ-la of the Khotan chronicle (ibid, p 583) ?) That *A-mo-chih*, when written in Indian alphabets, is *Amaca*, we can see from pp 582–3 of *Ancient Khotan*, where a local Chinese Amban is named *A-ma-la* (or *ca*) *Khe-meg* and another minister is *A-ma-ca Vi-dad* Moreover, we may from the Tibetan documents found in Mazār-Tāgh (on the Khotan river) cite further occurrences of the term thus we have *'A-mcha-Śi-tsir* (*bir* ? i 0021 wooden tablet), *'Am-cha-Śir-de-tshan* (b i 0088, ditto), *'A-ma-chaḫ* (c ii 0011) These persons are probably not royal, and the title therefore seems to have taken a wider extension

It is natural to suppose that the word *amaca* is nothing more or less than the Sanskrit word *amātya* "minister", and Professor Konow has taken this step That the title should nevertheless have been exported from China need perhaps not surprise us, since *mandarin* also is said to be Sanskrit (*mantrin*) These points will perhaps be decided by Sinologists

It will, I think, be agreed that the proto-ruler of Śi-dkar also, whether legendary or mythical, derives his name from China viâ Khotan, and thus furnishes an argument additional to those previously adduced (*Asia Maior*, ii, p 270, *Festgabe H Jacobi*, p 73, *JRAS* 1926, p 392) for an early connexion between Khotan and Western Tibet

F W THOMAS

PRAVAMNAGA

In the volume of *Kharosthī Inscriptions*, edited by the Abbé Boyer, Professor Rapson and Monsieur Senart, occurs not infrequently a word *pravaṃnaga*, obviously denoting some sort of document . and in the as yet unpublished Part II, of which Professor Rapson has very kindly allowed me to see the proof-sheets, it is of still more pointed occurrence. It is natural to suppose that it represents a Sanskrit *prapannaka* and denotes a "respectful ' or ' devoted" or "humble" [missive]

In the published volume occurrences of the word are supplied by Nos 81, 86 (*bis*), 100, 159, 278, 289, 348, 369, 370, 416, 419 Of these Nos 86, 370 may be taken as non-committal But it is surely no accident that in Nos 100, 159, 278, 289, the word *gananā* occurs in the immediate vicinity, while Nos 81. 348, 416, and 419 are, in fact, bills or receipts or records of sales

100 · *sa amna tatra pravamnaǵa na sadha lihitaǵa avaśa tatra samghasena ṣadha amnasa ganana kartavo*

159 . *taha gaṃnaṃna pravamnaga cavala mahi śrunamnae kartavo*

278 . *ganana pravaṃnaǵa mahi prahadavo*

289 : *yahi ganamna pravamnaǵa scraka atra anisyati*

Typical cases are Nos. 348, 416, 419, where the phrase *eṣa pravaṃnaga* (like *eṣa lihidaǵa*, loc cit) occurs as heading, or at the beginning, of a document, in each case a record of sale In view of *prapannam* (*.abhyupagatam*) *artham*

(Yājñavalkya-smrti, ii, 40, ap B & R, s v *pad* with *pra*, No 11) the sense of "acknowledgment" seems acceptable. It is curious that the word has thus no connexion with the Persian and Indian *parwānah* ("writ," "pass," "grant"), the relation of which (=**pairipānaka* ?), if any, to *farmān* (*pramāna*) or to North-Iranian *pormōnoγ* "reflection" (*Die Stellung von Jesu in Manichaismus*, by Drs Waldschmidt and Lentz, pp 42–3) may be left to Iranists.

F W. THOMAS.

The Annual Report of the De Goeje Fund, dated November, 1926, has been received from the President of the Fund, and is as follows .—

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1 Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de Novembre, 1925, et est ainsi composé : C Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J J Salverda de Grave et C Van Vollenhoven (sécrétaire-trésorier)

2 Des sept publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E J Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamâsah de al-Buhturî (1909), florins 96 , (2) Kitâb al-Fâkhir de al-Mufaḍḍal, ed C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl 4 50 , (4) Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, par A J Wensinck (1919), fl 4 50 , (5) De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C Van Arendonk (1919), fl 6 , (6) Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl 10 ; (7) Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7 50

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MATHNAWÍ OF JALÁLU'DDÍN RÚMÍ Edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation and commentary by REYNOLD A NICHOLSON, Litt D, LL D, F B A, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic and sometime Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge Vol II, containing the translation of the first and second books Printed by the Cambridge University Press, 1926

This is the second instalment of Professor Nicholson's very important and valuable projected work, a complete text and translation with commentary of the great Mathnawí It contains the translation of the first two books, the text of which was published in the first volume in 1925 The text translated amounts to 7,813 verses, but as each verse contains twenty-two syllables the bulk of the text in the Persian volume is really considerably greater than the whole of the Aeneid of Virgil. As Professor Nicholson points out, the whole of the Mathnawí exceeds in bulk the Iliad and Odyssey combined and far exceeds the Faerie Queene, though that poem contains 6,300 more verses than the Mathnawí

Professor Nicholson sets forth very clearly the main object of his translation It is, he says, primarily intended to help students of Persian and it is therefore made as exact and faithful as possible, giving the literal sense of the words translated without professing to explain their metaphorical or mystical sense These senses have in numerous cases been indicated by words in brackets, but on the whole the interpretation of the text has been reserved for the commentary which will, it is hoped, follow the publication of the text and translation In many places the original is so terse that some expansion in translation was found to be necessary in order to bring out even the literal sense

I have compared the whole of the translation with the original Persian and I have, as a result of this comparison, nothing but admiration for the accuracy, skill, scholarship, patient and sympathetic understanding of the spirit of the author, which the carrying out of this long and very difficult piece of work reveals throughout In my opinion the points of paramount importance in a translation are accuracy and the honest facing of real difficulties in the text instead of evading them by a skilful but disingenuous paraphrase In both these respects I regard Professor Nicholson's translation as being of the highest quality He has also succeeded to a large extent in preserving both the idiomatic flavour of the original Persian and the variety of style of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, which ranges, as the translator remarks in his very interesting preface, from a plain semi-colloquial manner of expression to a noble and elevated diction resembling that employed by him in his fine mystical odes (the contents of the Diwan bearing the *nom de plume* of Shams-i-Tabríz) Many of the phrases used in translating are extremely felicitous, the rendering of the difficult term زبانِ حال by "mute eloquence" being to my mind particularly dexterous

There are very few typographical errors in this second volume I observed two in footnotes, trivia for trivial (p 158) and eligion for religion (p 311) In a few instances I venture to differ from the translation given In line 729 of Book I the phrase نام و خطاب is rendered "name and discourse", but "name and title" seems to me the meaning. In the Arabic verse occurring in line 364 of Book II أُمَّة, translated "Imam", should, I think, be rendered "people" or "community". In the Persian lines (366 and 368) immediately following the Persian plural and the Arabic broken plural of this noun have both been rendered "communities" by Professor Nicholson

In line 2752 of Book I استخوان has by an oversight been rendered "bread" instead of "a bone". I do not like the

spelling "Hindoo" (for Hindu), which occurs repeatedly (e g pp. 150, 192, 311), and I observe that رومی has been rather oddly rendered "Anatolian" in Book I, whereas "Greek" has been used later in Book II In verse 2363 of Book I امرود has been rendered by "pear", but "guava" is, I think, the real name of this fruit

I regret, on comparing the original text with the translation, to find that the very long list of corrections given in the first volume is by no means complete I have noticed the following additional errors. p 32, یان for بیان in the heading; p 44, l 702, تیع for تیغ, p 74, l 1202, امدند for آمدند, p 152, l 2462, فلب for قلب, p 156, l 2531, دیدیت for دیدید; p 158, l 2558, کیق for کیف, p 235, l 3332, فالب for قالب, p 237, l 3853, آلث for آلت, p 239, l 3894, امد for آمد; p 257, in the heading, فقریر for تقریر; p 307, l 1114, مِن for مَن, p 310, l 1177, قَلِ with no dot over the ن; p 332, in the heading and in lines 1386 and 1394 below, ذا for ذو, though the name is transliterated Dhu'l-Nûn throughout in the translation; p. 331. l 1537, رخم for زحم, p 394, l. 2668, قرین for قرین; p 445, l 3526, فقیر for فقیر In verse 3756 of Book I it is not clear why the Persian word for 18 should be spelt in two different ways. Line 2585 (page 159) is wrongly numbered 2085. In line 1807 of Book II the rendering of the Arabic words لیتنی کنت تراب should have been in italics, following the practice elsewhere adopted, as this is a well-known quotation from the Qur'án

I have mentioned these relatively unimportant mistakes rather with a view to their correction in a subsequent edition than with a desire to belittle an altogether admirable achievement I know from experience how fallible human eyesight is and how impossible it is, even with the exercise of the

greatest care, to eliminate all mistakes in dealing with large masses of Oriental printed characters

I look forward with keen interest to the completion of the text and translation of the Mathnawí, and still more so to the appearance of the commentary and the promised introductory volume, dealing with the life and times of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí and the linguistic, literary, historical and doctrinal aspects of the poem as a whole. I feel sure that all Persian scholars and all interested in mysticism will unite in hoping that the subsequent volumes may issue in rapid succession and that Professor Nicholson may have abundant strength and energy to carry out the great task planned by himself to its complete conclusion.

R. P. DEWHURST

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGION OF THE PARTHIANS By JAMSHEDJI MANECKJI UNVALA, Ph.D. (Heidelberg). Bombay, 1925

This paper-bound fasciculus of forty pages is put forward in a very pretentious and pompous manner It not only contains a solemn dedication to a Parsi gentleman residing in Calcutta, but it is preceded by a lengthy encomium written by Mr Nariman, of Bombay, describing in very exaggerated terms the qualifications and attainments of the author Mr. Nariman is not content with stating (with a glaring split infinitive) that he has not found any one yet "to easily surpass Dr Unvala in depth of philology (sic !) and width of linguistic attainments", but he goes out of his way to contrast the "brevity and solidity" of Dr. Unvala's publications with the "endless garrulity of people whose ambition is not so much erudite research as the publication of a maximum mass of printed stuff duly advertised in each successive volume". It is not difficult to divine the particular veteran Parsi scholar against whom this offensive remark is aimed. Mr Nariman declares that the writer has made excellent use of a ten years' stay in Europe, where he

apparently spent the whole period of the war in Heidelberg. He is described as having "matured his studies" under "celebrated authorities" like Sir Denison Ross, of London, though I venture to think that Sir Denison Ross would be the first to disclaim to be an authority on Avestic and early Iranian studies. After lauding the knowledge acquired by Dr. Unvala of French, German and English, Mr Nariman proceeds to make the extraordinary and ambiguous assertion "To my knowledge his acquaintance with the Scandinavian tongue (sic !) is unique ".

This introductory eulogium is followed by a long preface in which the author claims to have written ' in a purely scientific spirit " and adds " I fervently hope that the Parsis will read it in the same spirit " Four pages of bibliography are then paraded before the eyes of the reader This glaring instance of the old maxim " montes parturiunt " is followed by a " ridiculus mus " of a strongly intensified type The so-called " monography " (page 1) contains a great display of references to authorities in the text and footnotes (page 14 contains three lines of text and 48 lines of footnotes), but the whole thing is just a mass of *disjecta membra* and ill-arranged facts, the logical sequence and effect of which has not been brought out with any degree of clearness The writer ends by asserting that " from what we have tried to show in this article, it is certain that the Parthians were Zoroastrians, but that they did not follow the religion of Zoroaster in the true spirit of the Avesta and Pahlavi scriptures ", but we venture to think that few readers of this grandiose production will be convinced by it of the certainty of the first of these two conclusions

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KURDISCHE TEXTE IM KURMANJI-DIALECTE VON HUGO MAKAS · Academie des Sciences de l'Union des Republiques Sovietiques Socialistes Leningrad, 1926

This polyglot production seems to have been a very long time in passing through the press. The paper cover, which

contains announcements in French, Russian and Germ, is dated 1926, but the inner title page is inscribed Petersbr with the successive dates 1897, 1918, and 1924, while th Russian preface appears to have been written in 1914. Tl book consists of 34 passages in the Kurmanji dialect writte in Roman characters, followed by a translation and com mentary in German and critical remarks on the text A the end there is a glossary of words written in the Persiar character, but this is very fragmentary and incomplete and no attempt is made to explain any of the numerous verbal forms Some of the text, e g pages 35 and 95, is grossly indecent and a rendering is put forward in Latin The text has no literary and very little anthropological interest Many of the 34 passages are extremely short Those numberec 1 20 to 27 inclusive each consist of only four short lines of verse The first passage, which is by far the longest, consists c 171 lines of mixed prose and verse The fourth comprises 43 isolated proverbs or sayings or nursery rhymes, some o which are highly obscene After the tenth all the remaining passages are short The interest in this book is of a purely linguistic nature and since the lamented death of Mr Soane there are few, if any, English scholars likely to find much in it which will appeal to them or which they are competent to criticize

LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE RELIGION By A A MACDONELL, M A, Ph D, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford Published by the University of Calcutta, 1925

This volume contains eight lectures on the religions of the world, which were prepared in 1922 by Professor Macdonell for delivery before the University of Calcutta They are necessarily only rapid sketches, but they are written in a very clear and interesting style and from a very fair and non-controversial standpoint. The first lecture begins with some exceedingly interesting reminiscences of Professor Macdonell's

personal connexion with India, in which he was born and spent his childhood, and of his lifelong Sanskrit studies, and goes on to give a preliminary survey of the main religions of the world, which are dealt with separately in detail in the subsequent lectures, and concludes with a short discussion of primitive religion The second lecture concludes the account of primitive religion and discusses the religions of China and of Persia The third and fourth lectures constitute the most important part of the series as they deal with the religions of India, a subject on which Professor Macdonell from his long study of the Rig Veda and other Vedic literature is eminently qualified to write. The remaining four lectures treat Greek religion, Judaism, Islam and Christianity respectively and they give on the whole a very just and reasonable and sympathetic account of the main features of each creed This book is intended for the general public rather than for scholars or theological specialists, but we know of no other book which presents so clearly and fairly and in such an interesting manner an adequate account of the main differences in the history, development, creeds and ethical standards of the great religions of the world

PRAKRITA VYAKARANA A GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT DIALECTS IN GUJARATI By BECAR DAS JIVRAJ DOSI Ahmadabad, 1925 Price Rs 4

This is a cheap and well-printed book containing a fairly complete grammar of the chief Prakrit dialects, but it labours under a two-fold handicap which will limit its range of usefulness considerably It is written in the Gujarati language, but in the Devanagari character This means that its circulation will be limited entirely to a part of the Bombay Presidency, and that even in that part of India only students who have been trained in Sanskrit are likely to be able to profit by it The author has evidently no acquaintance with modern philological methods or training on the lines of Western scholarship, and there is nothing to indicate that he

has done more than re-arrange matter which was already available in existing grammars of Prakrit compiled by Indian scholars of the old-fashioned type.

Indo-Iranian Studies, being commemorative papers contributed by European, American and Indian scholars in honour of Shams-ul-'Ulamā Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1925

This substantial and handsomely-bound volume contains twenty-nine articles on Indo-Iranian subjects contributed by Parsi, American, German and English writers in honour of the attainment by a notable Parsi scholar of his sixtieth birthday It is interesting to note that in 1904 a similar volume was prepared in honour of this scholar's father, the late Shams-ul-'Ulamā Dastur Peshotanji Bahramji Sanjana A short *biographical sketch written by* Professor A V Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, is prefixed to the contributed articles and this shows what varied claims the scholar now honoured has to be appreciated by all who are interested in Iranian studies His most important work has been the editing and translating of the Pahlavi Dinkard, a monumental task which has already reached an aggregate of seventeen volumes and is expected to be completed with the addition of two more This felicitously-written introduction, which concludes with two apposite Avestic quotations, is followed by a list of books and articles of considerable length which have been published by Dastaur Darab Among the contributed articles pride of place is rightly given to a translation of a lecture on the life and doctrine of Zarathuštra delivered by the veteran Avestic scholar Professor Bartholemae, of Heidelberg Most of the other articles, including some short notes on miscellaneous Iranian topics by the present reviewer, appear to have been written specially for inclusion in this volume. Some of the most interesting have been written by American scholars of

repute, such as Professor Williams Jackson, Professor Gray, and Professor Tolman Special interest attaches to the article by the last-named on the ruins at Murghāb (the ancient Pasargadae) in view of his sudden death soon after writing it He will long be remembered owing to his useful work on the old Persian inscriptions The most valuable contributions emanating from Parsi scholars seem to be those of Ervad Dhabhar, giving the Pahlavi text of the Aogemadaecha, and Dr Unvala's first article giving part of a Sanskrit version of the Videvdāt and a glossary of selected words Altogether the volume, though it contains no startling novelty or epoch-making discovery, may be regarded as evidential of a widespread and genuine interest in Iranian subjects and as being a not inadequate tribute to a genuine scholar

THE PHONETICS OF ARABIC: A Phonetic Inquiry and Practical Manual for the pronunciation of Classical Arabic and the Egyptian Colloquial By W H T GAIRDNER, C M S Cairo and Adviser in Arabic Studies at the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo Oxford University Press, 1925

The author of this little book applies with admirable skill and clearness the latest phonetic methods to the elucidation of Arabic pronunciation and it may be recommended to all beginners in Arabic as supplying a degree of practical help in acquiring a good pronunciation in Arabic which has hitherto not been available anywhere. As is pointed out by Mr Gairdner in his introduction, the English student who attempts to speak Arabic must realize that he starts at a special disadvantage, as an entire revolution in the established habits of articulation has to be effected, extending to the minutest particulars and affecting vowels, consonants and intonation The normal English method of articulation is based on the expenditure of a minimum of energy The lips and tongue do not perform such rapid and energetic movements as they do in the speaking of Arabic or even of French Apart from our lax method of

articulation, there is in speaking English a very strong tendency to stress one syllable in a word at the expense of other syllables and this is continually responsible for the reduction of vowels to a neutral sound (ə) in unstressed syllables. Such reduction does not occur at all, as is pointed out by Mr Gairdner, in classical Arabic and it occurs but sparingly in colloquial Arabic Other special difficulties in pronouncing Arabic are the numerous and difficult throat-sounds, which do not occur in English and the fact that the Arabic vowels are all pure vowels, in pronouncing which the tongue and the lips are held absolutely steady from start to finish, whereas most of the so-called long vowels in English are essentially diphthongic

Three chapters of this book are devoted to the Arabic consonants, which are very clearly analysed and described. Some very useful photographs and diagrams are given to illustrate and elucidate the correct methods of producing all the consonants, especially those which are distinctively Semitic in nature The next two chapters apply the same procedure to the vowels The seventh chapter shows how the velarized consonants, the velars themselves. and uvular *q* and the rolled *r* modify the vowels which neighbour them, while the eighth treats the influence of consonants on each other in the direction of partial and complete assimilation and also the unvoicing of voiced consonants, chiefly at the end of a word

The remaining four chapters are devoted respectively to exercises in difficult words, an explanation of the accents and stresses which arise in continuous speech, hints on reading Arabic aloud, and lastly a selection of specimens for reading These specimens, which have been very wisely chosen, occupy a fifth of the whole book They include passages from the Arabic Gospels, the Quran and a modern newspaper, pieces of classical and colloquial verse, and a story in the Egyptian colloquial The alternative trans-literations supplied bring out the differences between classical

Arabic modern educated speech and the vulgar colloquial in a very effective and useful manner The book closes with a list of Arabic equivalents for a large number of technical phonetic terms It has been beautifully printed and I have found no typographical errors of any kind Altogether it is an excellent book and may be very strongly recommended not only to beginners but to all Arabic scholars of every stage of proficiency

ISLAM AND THE DIVINE COMEDY By MIGUEL ASIN, Professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid translated and abridged by HAROLD SUNDERLAND London. John Murray, Albemarle Street, W, 1925

The Spanish original of this book appeared in 1919 under the title "La Escatología musalmana en la Divina Comedia" The author, Professor Asin, is a Catholic priest, who has devoted nearly thirty years of his life to the investigation of the philosophic and religious thought of mediaeval Islam and its influence on the culture of Christian Europe The startling theory propounded by him in this book has already gained a great deal of acceptance, even in Italy, and it cannot be denied that he has collected a great mass of evidence, the cumulative effect of which it is impossible to ignore and difficult to gainsay, to show that Dante in his great poem is greatly indebted to Islamic models and in particular to the Spanish Moslem poet Ibn Arabi of Murcia Professor Asin sums up his researches by saying that Ibn Arabi's works and particularly the Futuhat, may have been the source from which the Florentine poet drew the general idea of his magnum opus. "There also," he writes, "Dante could have found the geometrical plans of the architecture of hell and paradise, the general features of the life of glory led by the chosen, the Beatific Vision of the Divine Light, and the ecstasy of him who beholds it Moreover, it would be difficult to find two thinkers whose poetical and religious temperaments are so alike as those of Dante and Ibn Arabi, for the

resemblance extends not only to their philosophical thought, but also to the images by which their ideas are symbolised and the literary means by which they are expressed". This passage would seem to suggest that Dante may have had direct access to the works of Ibn Arabi in the original, but Professor Asin never ventures to say this explicitly

The Moslem legends on which Professor Asin conceives the Divine Comedy to have been modelled are based on a single verse of the Qur̈an, the first verse of the 17th Sura, "Praised be He who called upon His servant (Muhammad) to travel by night from the sacred temple (of Mecca) to the far-off temple (of Jerusalem) whose precinct we have blessed, in order to show him Our wonders" On this scanty foundation elaborate legends with almost unending ramifications have been constructed, relating to an Isrā or Nocturnal Journey, during which the Prophet visited some of the infernal regions, followed by a Mi'rāj or Ascension from Jerusalem to the Throne of God.

Professor Asin's book is divided into four parts. In the first he compares the legends which have just been mentioned with the Divine Comedy In the second he contrasts the Divine Comedy with other Moslem legends relating to the after-life. In the third he discusses some Christian legends, which are supposed to have affected the genesis of Dante's poem and tries to show that the growth of many of them can best be explained by the hypothesis that they are derived from sources in Arabic literature The fourth and last part deals with the probability of Dante having been influenced directly or indirectly by Islamic models. It cannot be suggested that Dante, who knew no Greek, had a knowledge of the Arabic language, but Professor Asin shows conclusively that the poet, who exempts from hell Saladin and Avicenna and Averrhoes, had a strong liking for Arabic culture and that he may well have learnt of Arabic legends from his master Brunetto Latini, who came into direct contact with Arabic learning in Spain Whether the author has completely proved

his case is a question on which there is room for difference of opinion There are gradations of possibility, probability, great probability and absolute certainty, with not a few intermediate stages, and few readers are likely to think that the theory has been established with mathematical certainty A final judgment could not be based on the materials available in this translation, which is much abridged and does not cite the original authorities either in Arabic or Italian

My own view at present is that the cumulative effect of the evidence is such that the theory must be regarded as highly probable and as affording the only satisfactory explanation of the genesis of the Divine Comedy, which has hitherto been advanced. R P DEWHURST

THE ZOROASTRIAN DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE FROM DEATH TO THE INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT By JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol XI) 9 × 6½ , xxviii + 119 pp New York: Columbia University Press, 1926

The *Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series*, edited under the good auspices of Professor A V Williams Jackson, already contains an imposing number of contributions towards Iranian philology and religion To these previous works has now been added one by Dr Pavry dealing with the Future Life during the three first days after physical death, as described in the Avesta and in the later Zoroastrian lore The topic is an interesting one, and the author seems to have collected and sifted his evidence with due care, though it might have been set forth in a manner somewhat less like a catalogue

Zoroaster, the prophet of Iran, is one of the great figures of human history, even if we possess no strictly historical documents concerning his life If, however, we believe that at least the Gāthās contain his own words, we see him before us as a prophet of sublime vision, as a man of restless activity,

flaming in spirit. His sublime conception of the permanent dualism pervading the universe, and of the Good and the Evil Spirit as having sprung as twin brothers from unfathomable Eternity, are well-known to every student of the history of religions, and it is also well-known with what logical consistency he foretold the future of the good and the evil, who were both to reap the fruit of their actions The idea of Heaven and Hell as places of retribution may be older even than Zoroaster But as far as we know, he was the first to suggest the idea of a Judgment, a great final settlement, where the accounts of the living and the dead were to be made up once and for all

To Zoroaster, as well as to the prophet of Islam, this day of Judgment was above all the *dies ira, dies illa* It is quite true that the good were first of all to receive their reward of eternal bliss But to prophets of Zoroaster's type the fate of the evil, of those unhappy people who hardened their hearts towards the new faith, seems to be infinitely more interesting In the deepest abyss of Hell, surrounded by stenching filth and blinding darkness, will these sinners atone for their crimes, until the remote age when the war-hosts of Ahura Mazda and of Satan will meet at the final Armageddon, and after the downfall of the Evil One the jaws of Hell will be opened and purified by fire and only the good and blessed will reign in a new Heaven and a new Earth. Dr. Pavry promises to give us a separate monograph on this last Judgment, and we shall look forward to it with great interest

In the present work the author deals only with the fate of the good and the evil during the first three nights after death, until what he calls the Individual Judgment The soul of the righteous and the wicked alike spend these nights in the neighbourhood of the dead body, the former singing the praise of his Creator, the latter wailing and moaning and repeating the words of the Gāthā: "Unto what land, Ahura Mazdāh, shall I go to flee?" But at the dawn of the

fourth day the *daēnā*[1] appears to the soul of the righteous in the shape of a most lovely maiden surrounded by a balmy air, while to the wicked one his *daēnā* appears a hideous and awe-inspiring old hag, carrying with her the foulest of stenches. Both souls are then led away to the Cinvat-bridge, stretched across the lofty peaks of the Elbrus, which for the good soul provides a broad and comfortable passage to the Elysian regions, while to the wicked one it appears as the edge of a razor Headlong the wretch plunges down into the horrible, stenching depths of Hell Thus much does Dr Pavry, in the present work, tell us about the Future Life according to the doctrines of Zoroaster, and he proves a trustworthy guide through their various difficulties

Concerning certain details we feel inclined to differ from or add to the explanations of the author, but we must here limit ourselves only to a few scattered remarks Dr Pavry does not seem to have noticed (p 4, n) that not only the present writer, but also Professors Clemen[2] and Keith[3] have declared themselves against Professor Hertel's historically impossible method of deducing a late date for Zoroaster[4] The interesting parallelism between the noose for the Iranian demon of death and the *pāsa* of Yama (pp 15, 63, n) should have been more strongly marked Concerning the difficult and puzzling word *daēnā* it may be mentioned that M Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen* (1925), p 153, has tried to prove for it a Sumerian origin That there should be any Greek influence on the triad of Iranian judges of the dead (p 67, n) is an incredible suggestion of Tiele , Mithra probably from very old times had something to do with the supervision of the souls or, at least, of bad and good deeds

JARL CHARPENTIER

[1] For the sake of convenience I here retain the usual transcription of the word *dyn'*.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, xl, p 45 sq

[3] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, i, p 4 sq

[4] Professor Hertel has replied to these criticisms in a little book called *Die Methode der arischen Forschung* (1926) Owing to the peculiar mode of expression used in this work we prefer to leave it alone here , *evidence* of any sort is, of course, missing here as well as in the previous work

Les Premières Civilisations Par Gustave Fougères, Georges Contenau René Gronsset, Pierre Jouguet, Jean Lesquier (Peuples et Civilisations, Vol. I) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 437 pp, 3 maps Paris. Librairie Félix Aleau, 1926

This is the first volume of a large French history of the world, planned to comprise no less than twenty volumes and reviewing the fate of humanity from the dawn of history down to our own times The present volume, written by five well-known specialists, describes the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and various other Asiatic empires, as well as the growth of the Greek States until about 500 B.C. According to the plan, the next volume will continue with the early wars between the Greeks and the Persians.

Of the rich and various contents of the work nothing can be said here, the more so as the present writer can only lay claim to some acquaintance with a very limited part of the subject-matter Touching his own special field of research, he may be allowed to point out that the sifting of the various theories concerning the Indo-Europeans and their original habitat seems fairly sound, though, of course, no weight at all can be attached to the argument based on the name of the beech [1] On the other hand, the history of the foundation and early fates of the Achæmenian empire seems rather inadequate The rôle played by Cyrus, one of the greatest figures in history, has not been duly appreciated, and it seems astonishing that any historian should nowadays repeat, as facts, the childish fables of Herodotus concerning Cambyses' behaviour in Egypt

As is usually the case with French books, the style is pleasant and makes easy reading It is a pity that paper and print never correspond.

Jarl Charpentier.

[1] Cf *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iv, p. 151 sq.

OSTIRANISCHE NOMINALFLEXION By PAUL TEDESCO Sonderabdruck aus Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, vol. IV, pp. 94–166. Leipzig, 1925.

This excellent monograph on the nominal declension of the Middle East Iranian languages, viz Sogdian and the dialect of the Sakas, is certainly, besides the Sogdian grammar of the late lamented Robert Gauthiot, the most important contribution hitherto published towards our knowledge of these interesting but difficult idioms Dr Tedesco has already issued a good many papers on Iranian philology, the most important of which is to be found in *Le Monde Oriental,* XV, pp. 184–258; and one can only admire his intimate acquaintance with these difficult topics and the real genius with which he solves the knotty problems connected with his favourite subjects of research It is hardly rash to suggest that we expect great things from him in the somewhat neglected field of Iranian research

It is quite beyond the scope of a short review to enter into the complicated linguistic details which are to be found on every page of Dr Tedesco's most important work. Only two points which mark linguistic discoveries of primary importance may be emphasised here Dr Tedesco has shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, that in Sogdian the nominal suffix is preserved in stems consisting of one or two short syllables, while it disappears in stems with one or more long syllables This accounts for the difference between forms like *βγy* (*βaγi*) "lord" on one side and *v't* (*vāt*) "spirit" on the other, a difference which was wholly misapprehended by Gauthiot. Furthermore, Dr. Tedesco has proved that the nominative suffix *-i* found in Sogdian and "Sakisch" is the regular development of an old Iranian *-ah* which corresponds to Sanskrit *-as*, while the suffix *-ē* is developed from an old *-āh*, corresponding to Sanskrit *-ās*. These same suffixes in the Avesta have developed into *o*-sounds, which leads Dr Tedesco to ascribe its language to the West of Iran, a suggestion which is still somewhat

doubtful but may prove to be correct If this be re[illegible] it gives material for ample reflection that, wi[illegible] the Western dialects have turned a final *-as* into [illegible] wh[illegible] the Eastern ones have developed it into an *-ē* The coi[n]cidence between India and Iran is perhaps of more importan[ce] than can yet be realized

Dr Tedesco is to be warmly congratulated upon thi[s] excellent work, and we can only hope for more importan[t] discoveries from his learning and skill

JARL CHARPENTIER

ASIA MAJOR Editores BRUNO SCHINDLER et FRIEDRICH WELLER Vol ii fasc 2 pp 207–375 Lipsiae MCMXXV.

This fascicle forms the second part of the complimentary volume presented to Professor F W K Muller and, like the previous one, contains many important contributions towards the knowledge of the Far and Near East Of some of these, notably those by Professors von Le Coq Pelliot and Karlgren, the present writer is wholly unentitled to form any opinion whatsoever, but the names of the authors assure us that their papers must contain many valuable materials and suggestions

Sir Denison Ross gives a mainly genealogical contribution towards the history of Northern Persia during the tenth and eleventh centuries, which does, undoubtedly, solve many problems that have hitherto puzzled historians of the Moslem world Dr Goetz gives a very good list and a most able criticism of Mughal miniatures preserved at the Berlin Museum fur Völkerkunde But the way in which historical literature is quoted is somewhat enigmatic, and we should like to lodge a mild protest against Nūr Jahān being styled an "Empress"; the "Begum" would undoubtedly be more to the point The paper by Dr. Thomas on "The Language of Ancient Khotan" is a masterpiece of sound linguistic argument, and the contribution by Professors Sieg and

[illegible] important as being the first example of the Tocharian "dialect B" from the Berlin collections

Dr. Ligeti[1] proves that the so-called pedigree of Attila was put together by a certain Hungarian annalist and lacks any historical value Professor Leumann gives an interesting notice of the 729 marble slabs inscribed with the Pāli canon at Mandalay. The paper by Herr Voretzsch on Indian sculptures in Portugal is interesting, chiefly by reason of the contributions of Professor Hultzsch, but could, no doubt, have been made more complete The volume winds up with an article, by Herr Findeisen, on recent Russian contributions towards ethnography and folklore and a certain number of reviews

JARL CHARPENTIER

THE ARYANS A Study of Indo-European Origins By V GORDON CHILDE $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; xvii + 221 pp London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd, 1926

This volume belongs to the large series by various well-known authors, called "The History of Civilization", many works of which also form part of the French "L'Évolution de l'Humanité" The work is interesting, and the author makes quite a number of sound remarks on different topics, but his general conclusions are ineffective and wholly unacceptable to the present writer

Mr Gordon Childe opens his review of the Aryan or Indo-European problem with two chapters on the first appearance of the Aryans in history and the Aryanization of the Mediterranean. Though we should feel inclined to disagree on many a point, and though suggested dates—as e g. on p 61—are invariably far too high, these chapters seem to the present writer to be by far the best in the whole book The linguistic evidence, contained in the next chapter, is taken wholly from the well-known works of the late Professor Schrader and is therefore nearly always sound.

[1] Or *Ligeti*, the name being differently spelt in different places

But the author himself apparently lacks linguistic training, and his unacquaintance with one of the most important languages with which comparative philology has to deal is proved by numerous Sanskrit forms like *Surya*, *māryā*, *Parthāva*, etc which are found in various parts of the work There are many other inaccuracies which one scarcely expects to find in such a work, but we shall only draw attention to the curious assertion on p. 6 that the Gospels in Gothic were composed by Ulfilas "about 500 A D" With the same amount of accuracy we might maintain that Shakespeare composed the bulk of his works about 1750

Linguistic as well as historical evidence points as I have recently tried to establish,[1] towards a Central Asian origin of the Indo Europeans It seems curious that, though Mr Childe in some cases argues on the same lines as myself and brings together much evidence for a Central Asian home of the Aryans, he should still arrive at the conclusion that the "Urheimat" cannot be found in Asia He himself arrives at another conclusion viz that a Nordic home of the Aryans could very nearly be proved to a certainty That a Nordic home in the sense of Mr Childe and of various German and Scandinavian scholars is an impossibility need not be argued here It seems fairly evident that the posthumous work of the late J de Morgan, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, as well as the real contents of Professor Eduard Meyer's historical argumentation have escaped the attention of the author

JARL CHARPENTIER

Reviews of Books on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

1. ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES Vol II Edited by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Departments $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 362 pp., 3 plates. Senate House, Allahabad 1926

[1] Cf *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol iv, p. 147 sqq

The second volume of the Allahabad University Studies, like its predecessor, contains a number of contributions from scholars busy in various departments of this seat of learning Several of these papers, however, lie beyond the scope of matters being reviewed in this *Journal*, such as the three last, dealing with natural sciences, and the second, in which Mr Fielden reviews Mr Bernard Shaw as "a critic of contemporary society" On Mr Naimur-Rehman's paper on the word *salát* as used in the Koran the present writer cannot form any opinion, nor can he judge Dr Mahomed Jung's theories on the origin of the Moslem Law Marriage, though this paper seems to contain materials useful even to the non-Moslem scholar

The bulk of the volume, however, deals with matters connected with Sanskrit scholarship The paper of Mr P K Acharya on "Hindu System of Measurement" contains a number of materials from the *Mānasāra* of no slight interest and the same can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Mr. Ram Krishna Shukla's "Marriage in Grihya Times and Now" The lengthy paper of Mr Umesha Mishra on "Physical Theory of Sound and Its Origin in Indian Thought" undoubtedly goes deep into the matter, but the present writer, being far too slightly acquainted with the intimate details of the *śabda*-theories, dare not say more than that it certainly presents interest to scholars even outside the somewhat narrow circle of Sanskritists By far the most extensive contribution is that of Mr Kṣetreśachandra Chattopādhyāya, dealing with the much debated question of the date of Kālidāsa. This paper is written with considerable skill and a good knowledge of the literature concerned with the question. It is only a pity that the learned author has not been able to prove one of his main theories, viz, the indebtedness of Aśvaghosa to Kālidāsa, which, of course, cannot be proved And his main thesis, viz, that Kālidāsa should have lived within the limits of the first century B C, is wholly out of the question. I suppose that we may now take it

as being fairly well established that the Vikramâditya, whom tradition connects with the great poet, was one of the latest Gupta emperors, most probably Skandagupta.

Finally, Babu Ram Saksena, who has previously published a paper on the Awadhi dialect, discusses another topic connected with the vernaculars, viz. the verb in the *Rām-carit-mānas* of Tulsī The work is very carefully done, and we can only hope that the author will see his way to carry further his phonetical and morphological researches.

2 THE ARYANIZATION OF INDIA. By NRIPENDRA KUMAR DUTT. 9¼ × 5½; viii + 164 pp. Calcutta, 1925

This book of Professor Dutt deals with a problem which ever fascinates us; partly, perhaps, because in our inmost heart we feel convinced that it can never wholly be solved Let us say, at once, that Professor Dutt has made a good start, and that his theories seem to us, as a whole, to be quite reasonable. The present writer himself has had reason to suggest that the date of Pāṇini falls about 500 B C,[1] and the much-misused *yavanānī* argument proves nothing to the contrary Professor Dutt's calculations of the various periods of Vedic lore are certainly a little fanciful, but the main result, viz that the Aryans must have entered India about 2300–2200 B C, cannot be far from wrong, though we should like to see it reduced by some two or three centuries

Appendix I seems wholly unnecessary to European readers, but may not be so to Indians.

3. TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA. By BINODE BEHARI DUTT. 8¾ × 5½; xxxii + 379 pp. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co, 1925

The somewhat recondite topic of town-planning amongst the ancient Hindus has found an able investigator in Professor B B. Dutt. By the courtesy of its author the book was known to the present writer some time before he received it

[1] Cf. *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol ii, pp 140 sqq.

for review, and although the subject is one which must be foreign to anyone but the specialist, the work at once created a favourable impression by its thoroughness and sound judgment

Details of a highly technical nature cannot be discussed here, and one may well be inclined to believe that in the case of town-planning as in other *śāstras* the pundit sometimes got the better of the man of common sense It is difficult to believe that matters could really have been so complicated as they sometimes are here But, anyhow, Professor Dutt has made things very clear to the reader, and his book may be warmly recommended to the scholar and the student alike

4. L'Inde et le Monde. By Sylvain Lévi $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; 177 pp Paris: Champion, 1926

A work by M. Sylvain Lévi needs no introduction to either the scholarly or the literary world This delightful little book consists of five papers in French dealing with India and the World, Buddhist Humanism, Brahmin and Buddhist Civilization, and "Orient et Occident Essai sur l humanisme , to which has been added one in English, called "Eastern Humanism", being an address presented to the Dacca University in 1922.

With the greatest respect and diffidence we may at times differ from certain opinions of this great master of Oriental lore. But there can be no difference of opinion concerning his lucid way of explaining the most difficult matters, his placid and transparent literary style, and his great enthusiasm for everything connected with true ...umanism". Like the Great Master of the Law, M Sylvain ...i is far from the turmoil of an uneasy world, and he ...vers, with a *divyam cakṣuh*, the great streams of connexion ...en the Eastern and Western worlds. Perhaps the ...ttractive gem in this little *ratnamālā* is the treatise that ...the name of "Orient et Occident Essai sur ...nisme".

5. Dans l'Inde (de Ceylan au Népal) By D Sylvain-Lévi 244 pp Paris . F Rieder et Cie, 1926

In this little book Mme Sylvain-Lévi has described the triumphal tour through India which she performed during 1921–2 in company with her illustrious husband Their route lay from Colombo, the place of disembarkation, to Sāntiniketan, where they made a *prolonged* stay The description of this new home of learning, growing under the auspices of the great Rabindranath—one of the chapters bears the significant heading "La vie autour du poète"—is somewhat extensive and contains matter of considerable interest Visits to Calcutta, Dacca and Benares interrupted the stay at the "Université sous les manguiers"

From the sultry plains of Bengal M and Mme Lévi proceeded to the mountainous realm of Nepal, where the Professor was, of course, received as an old and highly esteemed friend, and where every facility was given for his important researches On the return journey visits were paid to Gwalior and Shivpurī, where M Lévi attended to the death-bed of that great saint and scholar, Vijaya Dharma Suri, to the Parsees at Bombay, and finally to Mysore At Colombo, in October, 1922, the French savant and his wife left Indian waters

Mme Sylvain-Lévi's book makes easy and sometimes delightful reading and conveys to the reader a pleasant and peaceful picture of modern India The turmoil of political life has cast no shadows on the path of pilgrimage through *Bharata-varsha* of a great scholar and his companion in life.

Āzarī or the Old Language of Āzarbāijān آذری یا زبان باستان آذربایگان. By Agha Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawi, of Tabrīz Tihrān 1304 (of the Persian Shamsī era).

In this little pamphlet of 56 pages the author has attempted to prove that the language referred to by Moslem historians

and geographers as "Āzarī", was not, as has been commonly supposed, a form of Turkish, but a dialect of Persian. He divides his treatise into three parts: Part I on the Āzarī Language, Part II on the spread of the Turkish language in Āzarbāījān, and Part III on specimens of the Āzarī language which have survived. Agha Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawī Tabrīzī is, as his name indicates, an Āzarbāījānī Persian. He is, moreover, a man of great learning, being versed not only in Arabic and Persian literature but also in the writings of Western scholars. He is at present a member of the Ministry of Justice in Tihrān.

He begins by pointing out that the Āzarī language, which according to Ibn Ḥawqal, Mas'ūdī and other early writers was spoken in the early days of Islam, cannot possibly have been Turkish, seeing that the Turks had not yet arrived in Northern Persia. The principal towns were however, full of Arabs, representing not only those who had arrived with the conquering hosts of Islam, but also immigrants who had settled there in the centuries following the rise of the Arabian Prophet. It is evident that by the fourth century of the Hijra Arab influence in Āzarbāījān had considerably declined, and with this decline the Āzarī language no doubt reasserted itself.

The learned author next discusses the famous interview of the poet-traveller Nāṣir-i-Khusraw with the poet Qaṭrān in the year A.H. 438, in which the former declares that Qatrān, though he had written a dīwān in Persian, "did not know the Persian language well". This statement has hitherto been accepted in good faith by writers on Persian literature—greatly to the detriment of Qaṭrān's fame, and it is interesting to find the statement called in question by the author of this pamphlet. In view of the excellence of Qaṭrān's Persian verse, he is inclined to believe that the text of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw's *Safar Nāma* must have been corrupted. That many poems considered worthy of the pen of Rūdakī are really by Qatrān has been recently shown in the pages

of this *Journal* (see *JRAS.* October, 1924), a publication which Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī does not appear to have included in his extensive reading of European Orientalism It is quite clear that although Qatrān may have *spoken* Āzarī more readily than High Persian, he had an absolute command of the Persian language

Our author, in support of the employment of Āzarī in the fifth century of the Hijra, tells the story of Abū 'l-'Alā Ma'arrī and his pupil Abu Zakariyā khatīb of Tabriz One day Abu Zakariyā was reading with his master in a mosque, when he saw one of his own townsmen enter to make his prayers: and as during the two years he had spent in Ma'arra this was the first man he had seen from his own town, he could not refrain from showing his delight Thereupon Abu 'l-'Alā asked what had occurred, and when this was explained Abu 'l-'Alā told him to go up and speak to the man Abu Zakariyā said, "I will finish the lesson first," but his master told him to go at once, saying he would wait for him So Abu Zakariyā went and had a long conversation with his friend in Āzarī, and when he came back to his master Abu 'l-'Alā asked what language he had been speaking. Abu Zakariyā said, "It was the language of the people of Āzarbāijān" Then Abu 'l-'Alā said: "I did not know it, and I understood nothing that you said, I can, however, remember all the words you said," and thereupon repeated the whole conversation, much to the astonishment of his pupil [1]

Part II deals with the spread of the Turkish language in Āzarbāijān, which actually began with the invasion of the Saljuks, although small handfuls of Turks had probably wandered into Persia after the overthrow of the Samanids in Transoxania The first Turks to settle in Āzarbāijān were probably those Ghuzz numbering 2,000 families who were driven out of Khurasan by Sultan Maḥmūd and fled

[1] See Sam'ānī, *Al-Ansáb*, p 110*b*, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam ul-Udabā*, i, 173. The author has not given these references

first to Isfahan, and finally to Āzarbāījān, where the Amīr Wahsūdān gave them dwellings in Tabriz and Urumiya. This was about A H. 420, before the arrival of the Saljuks, and eight years later they were joined by other Turks from Rayy But owing to their rapacious habits they were not long after compelled to leave this country In A H 446 Tughril entered Āzarbāījān and from that date onwards the road was open for the Turks.

In connexion with the invasion of the Mongols our author calls attention to the curious circumstance that although the Mongols had absolute control of the destinies of Middle Asia for over a century not a single trace of their language has remained in Persia, which he takes to prove that in the Mongol armies the Turks were in the majority

At the end of the Mongol period the inhabitants of Āzarbāījān were partly Tajiks and partly Mongols and Turks, and according to our author the Tajiks were in the majority and that therefore Āzarī was more widely spoken than Turkish From the death of Sultan Abū Sa'īd in A H 736 down to the rise of Shah Isma'īl in A H 906 Azarbāījān suffered probably more than any other part of Persia from revolts and disasters, and it is more than likely that during this period Āzarī was almost entirely supplanted by Turkish, so that Turkish was employed by Shah Isma'īl and his immediate successors in their intercourse with European envoys Nevertheless the Turks of Persia down to the end of the Mongol period employed only Persian for purposes of poetry and never Turkish—which only began to be used in verse after the invasion of Tamerlane. There is, however, one Turkish poem belonging to pre-Ṣafavi times, namely, ghazal which is attributed (our author thinks, wrongly) Shaykh Ṣafī ud-Dīn, the ancestor of the Ṣafavis The writing of Turkish poetry, however, became common in Ṣafavi times, and Shah Isma'īl himself set the example, writing a Dīwan under the *takhalluṣ* of " Khatā'ī ".

Our author states that the employment of Turkish is

rapidly decreasing and foresees that "in the course of a century or two", not only Turkish, but also Arabic, Kurdish, and all the various dialects of Persian will entirely disappear, and only *one* language will be spoken throughout the length and breadth of Persia

Part III is devoted to the rare specimens which have come down to us of Āzarī prose and verse These examples, with one exception, are derived from two works dealing with the ancestors of the Ṣafavis, namely, the *Ṣafwat us-Ṣafā* of Ibn Bazzāz and the *Silsila-i Nasab-i Ṣafaviyya*, of Shaykh Ḥusayn, of which the latter was recently printed in Berlin thanks in a great measure to the liberality of the late Professor Edward Browne The first prose quotation is taken from the *Nuzhat ul-Qulūb* (p ٨٥ of the Gibb text), of Hamdullah Mustawfī The sentence runs : انگور حلوقی بچه در سد اندرن which is translated . انگور حلوقی است در سد دریده [i e. Khulūqī grapes in a torn basket (*sabad*)], a phrase applied to a handsome man in shabby clothes.

According to our author بچه is a corruption of است = بی, در an adjective preceding the noun it qualifies = دریده, اندرون = اندرن, a post-position [without the usual preceding preposition ب]

The second example is from *Ṣafwat uṣ Ṣafā* (text, p. ٢٥) کار عابده کار عوم بری, which is explained as meaning خانه آبادان کار تمام بود اما تنبه مرشد وا مانده بود. This sentence claims to be in the dialect of Ardabīl, but our author cannot reconcile the translation with the original, which is no doubt corrupt

The third example is also from *Safwat uṣ-Ṣafā* (text, p. ١٠٧) and reads : کو حرهر راته. This is said to be the language of Tabrīz and to mean بگو که حرهت رسید. Here ر corresponds to the Persian ت, thus حرهر = thy

friend. آمد=راته· This word is compared with the Kurdish هاتن.

The fourth example is also from *Ṣafwat uṣ-Ṣafā* (text, p ۲۲۰) and reads: شروهٔ مرروان عرر خود بی [the word بی does not occur in the printed text, but is taken from an old MS]

The "*Sharwa*" of a "*Marzuban*" is in his own "*marz*". This is evidently a proverb, but our author offers no explanation of the word شروه.

Our author next cites three quatrains which are found in in the *Ṣafwat us-Ṣafā*, which he takes for specimens of Āzarī. The first (text, p. ۱۳۵) runs as follows.

هرکه بالا یوان دوست اگیری * هارا واسان بروران اوریری

من چو مالا یوان زره باوو * خوینم زانیر کورو او زا کیری

another manuscript reads.

هرکه مالا یوان بد وست اکیری * هارواسان برور او ریری

من چو مالا یوان زره نارو * خونیم زانیر کورورا ویزا کیری

The only word in this rubā'iyy explained by our author is لا یوان, which he takes from the context to mean *dīwāna* or mad, and tells us that in the Shushtarī and Bakhtiyarī dialects لیوهٔ = mad, and that in Āzarbāījān nowadays they apply the word لیوهٔ to the destitute (*dar-mānda*) and the dull-witted (*kam-hūsh*).

The second quatrain (printed text, p 191) reads:

هرکه اورامنه بنام بخوند * شو ورو بسته داری کامرو بند

کاریا میرسی جهنامه داران * خداوند بنده بی بنده خداوند

Another manuscript reads :

هرکه اورامنه بهنام بخواند * شود رو بسته داری کامرو بند

کاریا میرسی جهنامه داران * خداوند بنده بی بنده خداوند

Only the last *Miṣra'* is intelligible. *Ūrāman* is explained in the *Burhan* as "a way of reading and speaking peculiar to the Persians, and when it is in verse it is in the Pahlawi language " شب وروز = شوورو.

The third quatrain (printed text, p. ۲۲۰) reads :

دیره کین سر بسودای نه کیجی * دیره کین چش چو خونین اسره ریجی

دیره سر باستانه اج نهدارم * خوه نوا جی کوور بختی چو کیجی

The author's manuscript reads :

دیره کین سر بسودای تو کیجی * دیره کین چشم خونین ارسه ریجی

دیره کین سر باستان تو دارم * تو نوا جی که این وربجت چو کیجی

This quatrain, which is said to be in Pahlawi, is attributed to a woman named Bānū, who was a market gardener. It occurred to her one day that the Shaykh (i e Ṣafī ud-Dīn) had forgotten her, and in an inspired moment she recited these lines. Her son came to the saint's cell and offered him some vegetables. The Shaykh said . " Say to your mother : 'You desire that I should remember you ; since you sell greens and vegetables without weighing, how shall I remember you ?' "

The author suggests no meaning for دیره but omitting this word explains the first three *misra'* as follows :

...که این سر با سودای تو کیج است

...که این چشم اشك خونین میریزد

...این سر باستانهٔ تو دارم

He tells us that *asr* means a tear in Kurdish also and that in Shushtar they say *ars*. خود میگوئی = خو بواحی

He next discusses the quatrains attributed to Shaykh Ṣafī ud-Dīn which occur in the *Silsila-i Nasab-i Safaviyya*, together with the commentaries given by Shaykh Ḥusayn

The author in support of the theory that these quatrains are Āzarī points out that a number of expressions found in them are still in common usage in Āzarbāījān to-day, as for example دردهٔ زر, meaning دردمند (to-day pronounced *dardajar*). کوشن = a field , وریان = سد جوی = a dam

His deductions from a careful examination of all these examples of Āzarī may be summarized as follows .

Grammatical —The adjective precedes the noun it qualifies.

The Muẓāf ilayh precedes the Muẓāf, e g سلطان شیخ زاهد گوی چوگان سلطان شیخ زاهدم for چوگان گویم .

He points out that this reversal of the usual construction is found in many place names in Āzarbāījān, e g Sardrūd, Garmrūd, Qāfilānkūh (Tiger-hill), etc

The particle *mi* is never employed, a peculiarity noticeable in many localities to-day.

For the particle *ba* employed with the imperative and subjunctive we find *bū*, e g بوجنم = بجنم , بوپارسر = بپرسد.

For the pronoun of the first person singular we find *īm* instead of *am*, e g. آمریم = آمدم ; پشت زوریم = روی پشتم.

"r" takes the place of "d" at the end of verbs, e g شدم = شرم ; آمدم = آمریم

"r" takes the place of "t" in the second personal affixed pronoun, e.g دلر = دلت (*dilar* for *dilat*).

The verb *būdan* has the following forms باشم = برم ; است = بی , شود = بری , شوم = بوم ; باشد = بوں

Special Vocabulary

از = اج (from)

ار and آر = من (I) (cf Kurdish).

از = چه (from) (cf Kurdish ره)

برای = چو (for the sake of)

خدا = اویان (God), possibly plural of او.

دردمند = درده زر (painful, suffering).

بند جوی آب = وریان (the dam of a stream)

بایان = گوش and کشت زار (a plain or field)

آمده = راته (has come)

اشك = اسر (a tear)

خورد = هرده

گفتن = واجیدن ,واجتن (to speak)

In conclusion Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī reprints two fan qasīdas by Qatrān, namely, the one on the conque Mūghān beginning :

من آن کشیدم وآن دیدم از غم هجران

and the other on the earthquake in Tabriz (A.H 434) beginning :

بود محال ترا داشتن امید محال

These two qaṣīdas were published by Schefer in his *Chrestomathie Persane* (pp. 240–5), but in view of the many mistakes in these, the author has thought fit to print a revised edition based on a manuscript in his possession and on the so-called "Dīwān i Rūdakī" printed in Tihran A.H. 1315.[1]

[1] See my article "Rūdakī and Pseudo-Rūdakī" (*JRAS* October, 1924).

I have given a full description of this pamphlet, because I feel that it is a pity that a scholarly work of this nature should run the risk of passing unnoticed. For it is representative of that new spirit of literary and historical research which has only recently begun to manifest itself among the Persians, and which is deserving of all possible encouragement. The illuminating articles in the journal *Kāvah* (printed in Berlin), which has unfortunately come to an untimely end, and the publications of the Gibb Trustees bearing the name of Mirza Muhammad Qazwīnī, go to show what valuable results may be achieved by Persian scholars who with their incomparable knowledge of their own language will take the trouble to study the pioneer work done by Western scholars in the field of Islamic literature. We shall look forward with pleasure to further researches from the pen of the learned and enthusiastic Agha Sayyid Ahmad Kaswarī, who has devoted so much patient labour to the study of Āzarī

E DENISON ROSS

A new edition of the Satsai of Bihari

BIHĀRĪ-RATNÂKARA, ARTHĀT BIHĀRĪ-SATSAĪ, PAR RATNAKARĪ ṬĪKĀ. PRANETĀ, ŚRĪ-JAGANNĀTHA-DĀSA (RATNÂKARA), B A 32 + 296 + 46 pp Lucknow . Gangā Pustaka-mālā Kāryâlaya, 1926 Price Rs 5.

Numerous editions of the Satsaī of Bihārī, with commentaries of varying merit have issued from Indian presses, the best known of which is perhaps the *Lāla-candrikā* of Lallū-jī Lāla It is said that Bihārī did not compose his verses as forming parts of a complete book, but that, as occasion required, when in need of money, he presented a *dōhā* to his patron, Jai Singh Mīrzā, of Jaipur, receiving a gold mohar as a reward for each These verses were afterwards collected by his admirers and became strung together in various recensions, such as those of A'ẓam Shāh (third son of the Emperor Aurangzēb), that of Nawāb Anwar Khān,

that of the Hariprakāśa, and so on The conciseness of Bihārī's style, due to the scale on which he worked—each *dōhā* being a miniature picture complete in itself—has given birth to a host of commentaries[1] In none of these is any attempt made to ascertain if there was ever any original order of the verses Each commentator took one or other recension as he found it, and added to it his own explanations. It is needless to say that no attempt at fixing a critical text was ever attempted

A new series of editions of Hindī classical works has lately been projected, under the title of the *Sukavi-Mādhurī-Mālā*, to be issued by the publishing company whose name appears in the heading to this article The general editor of the series is Bābū Dulārē-lāla Bhārgava, well known in northern India as one of the editors of that excellent Hindī magazine, the *Mādhurī* In this series he proposes to offer to the public critically prepared editions of the masterpieces of Hindī literature, with careful and full commentaries It is led off by the *Bihārī-Ratnâkara*, i e an edition of Bihārī's Satsaī, with a commentary by Bābū Jagannātha-Dāsa (Ratnākara), whose name has long been familiar to students as that of an accepted authority on the language Thirty years ago he gave me valuable help when I was preparing my edition of the *Lāla-candrikā*, and the present work displays his old acuteness of interpretation enhanced by ripened scholarship.

The text, as now for the first time critically edited by him, does not follow any of the previous recensions but is founded on five old manuscripts written either during Bihārī's lifetime or in the generation succeeding him The most important of these—unfortunately not complete—was found in the private library of the Mahārāja of Jaipur. It had been compiled, under Bihārī's own care, as a reading-book for Rām Singh, a son of Jai Singh Mīrzā, and its genuineness is vouched for by a number of boyish scrawls and copies of the

[1] Śiva Siṃha, in his *Sarōja*, said that he had read eighteen and was not surfeited ! He added that the book was an *akṣara-kāmadhēnu*, "and, in good sooth, each syllable of it can yield all desires "

alphabet written by the hand of the young prince himself. The other four manuscripts are of about the same age and, be it noted, the *dōhās* in each of the five are all written in what is practically the same order—an order quite different from any of those found in the current recensions Based on these early codices, Ratnâkara has produced a text which may fairly claim to represent the verses as they came from the pen of their author To this he has added a new and original commentary. This is not on the lines laid down in such works as the *Lāla-candrikā*, in which great attention is paid to the technical side of the poetic adornments of each little picture These Ratnâkara is leaving for future treatment, and in the present work he confines himself rigidly to explaining the meaning of each verse Any one who has studied Bihārī's masterpiece will recognize this as no easy task, and will remember how often previous commentators, while writing at great length on the classification of each *alamkāra*, have been too ready to slur over real difficulties of interpretation. In this respect Ratnâkara's commentary is far superior to its predecessors. He shuns no difficulties, and his explanations, so far as I have examined them, are clear and to the point. I have tested this by looking up several *dōhās* as to the true meaning of which I have never succeeded in satisfying myself. In each case I have, for the first time, found an explanation that was both clear and convincing.

Bihārī too often repels students by the difficulty of his language, which leads to hasty criticism of his status as a poet There are kinds and kinds of art, and the delicate miniature painting of Bihārī cannot be compared with the wide landscapes of Vālmīki or of Tulasī Dāsa. Above all, he was possessed by that *curiosa felicitas* which taught him invariably to put exactly the right word in exactly the right place and, if his vocabulary is extensive, it is the reader's fault that he is not understood; for he was a court poet, and wrote for the educated people of his time. The limits

of the frame within which each of his pictures is contained necessitated the extreme condensation of style that forms a stumbling-block to many, but he is not to be condemned for that He was an Indian, and Indian tradition demanded that style for dealing with the subjects to which his peculiar artistic genius was addressed In this form he necessarily followed the examples given by his great predecessors, beginning, so far as records show, with Hāla, and continuing on through a line of writers whose poetic powers not even the detractors of Bihārī would venture to deny.

For those who wish to study the Satsaī merely as a collection of illustrations of the rules of *alaṃkāra*, the *Lāla-candrikā* and the *Haripraкāśa* are still I suppose, the best textbooks; but, for the enjoyment of its dainty imagery, and to those who value it as a well of Hindī pure and undefiled, I can strongly recommend the *Bihārī-ratnākara* as presenting a text really critically edited and accompanied by an excellent commentary The publishers and the general editor may be congratulated on beginning this series so auspiciously, and it is to be hoped that the other works to be included in it will reach the same standard of scholarship

I conclude with a well-known verse quoted by Ratnākara on his title-page:—

सतसैया के दोहरे ज्यौँ नावक के तीर ।
देखत मैँ छोटे लगैँ घाव करैँ गभीर ॥

G A G

DAŚABHŪMIKASŪTRA Door JOHANNES RAHDER 8vo; xxviii, 256 + 28 pp Leuven J B Istas, 1926

This work, Dr Rahder's thesis for his degree of D Litt. at the University of Utrecht, is a polyglot compilation, in Dutch, French, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and English, comprising, beside an opening essay, the Sanskrit text (of the titular work), a special recension of the Seventh of the Ten Bhūmis, or Stages in the worldway of a Bodhisattva or Buddha, with a translation of it into English, and an Appendix giving

the Sanskrit text of the treatise Bodhisattvabhūmi from a unique Cambridge manuscript In this late field of Mahayāna Buddhism I may not speak critically The work is itself, for all the labour and learning put into it, but a harbinger of what the author is intending to produce anon I will therefore give only an exposition of it in the way in which Dr Rahder himself has "put me wise"

Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mahayānist literature, emphasized the importance of these ten divisions in the career of a future Buddha, when, in the Prājñāpāramitāśāstra, he declared that the "Great Vehicle' *is* the tenfold bhūmi In the present thesis the ten stages are described as the world-way of the youthful student Sudhana, contained in the Gandhavyuha, which is one of the nine holy Dharmas (or scriptures) of Nepal Professor Narendra Nath Law is preparing an addition of them from Calcutta MSS Dr Rahder repeats in his thesis what he has said in the *Museon*, that the chapter in the Mahāvastu on the ten bhūmis is contained in the Avatamsakasūtra, of which the Dasabhūmika is an integral part Comparing, in his introduction, the doctrines common to three "Bhūmi" texts (pp viii–xvi), he is brought to the conclusion, that MSS, dealing with the Bodhisattva-bhūmis, existed as early as the first century A D On pp xvi–xx the close relations between the Dasabhūmaka books and the Jātaka books (especially the Cariyāpitaka) are discussed in their bearing on the meaning of the terms *bhūmi*, *caryā*, *pāramitā*, and *asankheyya* Pp. xxi–viii contain partial translations from Chinese Sūtras dealing with the bodhisattvabhūmis, viz : Tathāgataviśesana, Caryāmargabhūmi, Bodhisattvajātabhūmi, Bodhisattvapūrvakarma, Ratnakūta, Avatamsaka Further information on the Dasabhūmikasūtra proper is given by De La Vallée Poussin, E.R E. art "Bodhisattva"

The text of the gāthās the author judges to be the weak spot in his thesis ; it ought to be revised in a less Sanskritized and correspondingly more metrical form.

In pp 6–24 of the Appendix a summary is given of the Dasabhūmikasūtra, as selected and interpreted by the idealist Asanga, with useful explanations of technical terms. In the following pages Asanga correlates the bhūmis with the stages of the Hīnayāna, or with what was in his day and place taught as Hīnayāna Judging by his correlation I incline to think that the Pali Pitakas were unknown to him

C A F Rhys Davids

The Centre of Ancient Civilization By H D. Daunt. 9 × 6, vii + 280 pp, 4 plates London · John Lane, 1926

The author of this very original study of the historic sites of Mesopotamia and Palestine, in which he endeavours to trace the original civilization of these areas and of Egypt to India and Burma, appears to rely mainly on certain linguistic resemblances for the main framework of his theory. A map at the end of the volume presents us with an early Jerusalem in Manipur, Jericho at Prome and Beersheba at Bassein We are gravely informed that Orissa is the same as Ur, and that the Deccan or Dakshina is possibly derived from Merodach. By adding a syllable to Gananath the author identifies it with Jagannath, and by adding two syllables to Dakhina we rapidly arrive at Merodach There is no limit to the possibilities of this system of identification, but it can hardly appeal to scholars with any acceptable notions of the true limits of speculation

R E E

Das Kitāb al-Wuzarā wal-Kuttāb des Abu 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Ǧahšiyārī herausgegeben von Hans v Mžik Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, Erster Band. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1926.

Tales of the Viziers formed the subject of numerous works in Arabic, one of which by Hilāl the Ṣābian was published

by the late H. F. Amedroz, and deals with the great viziers of Muqtadir's reign. The work now issued by Herr v. Mžik is a century earlier, and gives details about the secretaries of state and viziers from the commencement of Islam to the reign of Ma'mun. The original extended to near the end of the third Islamic century, whence it appears that the copy reproduced is imperfect Some fragments of the missing matter are to be found in the *Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah* of Tanūkhī (i, 165, 4 a f) and the *Irshād al-Arīb* of Yaqut

The text is presented by the editor in facsimile, on the ground that this is the best way to deal with a unique MS. Doubtless the script of this particular MS offers little difficulty to the reader, and it is well supplied with points and vowels. Yet one misses the care which a European editor would bestow on a printed edition. The points and vowels are often wrongly inserted, many a word is carelessly repeated, and many passages are partly obliterated , however thoroughly Herr v Mžik may put these matters right in the volume which he promises, it would be more convenient to have the improvements inserted either in the text or on the margin

The work itself is of great value It is a continuous history of the office of vizier, and, as might be expected, devotes a large amount of space to the famous Barmecides, about whom we have a monograph by M. Bouvat, who, however, supposed this work to be lost. The author occasionally cites earlier histories, the *Akhbār al-Khulafā* of Abu'l-Faḍl, grandson of the Secretary 'Abd al-'Hamīd, a similar work by Madā'ini (al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Usāmah), and the *Akhbār al-Wuzarā* of Ibn al-Jarrāh A series of poetical biographies by the last writer is also quoted, and there are some references to the *Bayān* of Jāḥiẓ There is no reference to the work of the author's contemporary Ṭabarī, and though the *Buldān* of Balādhurī is mentioned, there is no quotation from his writings The lengthy homily of the above-mentioned 'Abd al-Ḥamīd on the duties of the *kuttāb* which is here given on the authority of Maimūn b. Hārūn agrees fairly well

with the copy of the same which Ibn Khaldūn incorporates in his Prolegomena (Cairo, 1284, i, 206) and which is reproduced by M Kurd 'Alī in his *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā* (Cairo, 1913) The Budget of the 'Abbāsids which Ibn Khaldūn also inserts in his work (p 150) as copied from Jirāb al-daulah (who lived in the reign of Muqtadir, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii, 62), giving the revenue in the time of Ma'mūn, appears to be a very corrupt transcript of the budget produced by Jahshiyārī dealing with the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd

Future historians of the early Islamic empire will find in this book an important supplement to their sources of information Not all the anecdotes which it contains are worthy of credence . but it furnishes many authentic details about the leading personages, and many a glimpse into the methods of administration The author is probably at his best in narrating the rise and fall of the Barmecide family, whose fortunes he follows long after they had ceased to count in politics ; but there is much also of thrilling interest in the story of their successors in office during the troublous times which followed the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd The book is doubtless the ultimate source of many anecdotes which appear in later works

D. S M

FOUR CENTURIES OF MODERN IRAQ By STEPHEN HELMSLEY LONGRIGG. 9 × 6, xii + 378 pp , 6 plates, 6 maps. Oxford . Clarendon Press, 1925

During the last few years more than one valuable work on Iraq has been written by British officials, but hitherto its modern history has not been dealt with. In the work under review, we have to thank Mr Longrigg for a faithful account of the fortunes of the country during the last four centuries that is welcome from many points of view. Not only have printed works been carefully consulted, but the author has made good use of his residence in the country to enlist the help of the leading families, some of whom owned archives

of considerable value. He also possesses local knowledge that is invaluable to a historian.

As might be supposed, the record is mainly one of constant intrigue and murder, but a good account is given of the dramatic defeat of Nadir Shah in 1733 by Topal Uthman, when Baghdad was within his grasp. Indeed the contest for this city when Persia was strong, supplies the main theme of Iraq foreign politics.

Of less importance than Baghdad, but perhaps of greater interest to the British, is the history of Basrah, which, like Iraq, was actually, if not nominally, independent of Constantinople for long periods. Here we note the part played by the Persians who captured Basrah in 1776 while the representatives of the East India Company took a hand in the game. To turn to another question, which is of special importance to-day, an accurate account is given of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, preached a return to the ancient simplicity and purity of Islam. Thus was founded the Wahhabi sect which, with Puritan zeal, sacked Karbala in 1801, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. Indeed, until their power was temporarily broken by the Pasha of Egypt, rather over a century ago, the Wahhabis were a standing menace to Iraq. To-day, ibn Saud, the chief of the Wahhabis, has reconquered the Hijaz, and this conquest may be rewarded by election to the Caliphate, that modern Turkey has wantonly thrown on the dust-heap.

The rise of the Mamluks or Slaves, who ruled Iraq for so long, is treated with historical accuracy, and clear insight is gained into the fundamental weakness of the Turkish Empire. As was perhaps befitting under the circumstances, the Mamluk dynasty was ended by treachery, a body of Albanians shooting their leaders at an official ceremony. By this act the way was made clear for the rule of Midhat Pasha, whose honesty is still remembered with affection in Baghdad, where he tried to govern for the benefit of the country.

To conclude, Iraq at the opening of the twentieth century was little better than Iraq of the sixteenth century, but the new order means hope for all classes, and as education drives out ignorance, Mr Longrigg's work will be of value not only to the British administrator, but also to the inhabitants of Iraq, for does not the Persian proverb run: "History is the Mirror of the Past and the Lesson of the Present"?

P. M. SYKES.

Indica, by L. D. Barnett

1 VEDIC KOṢA By HAMSARĀJA With an elaborate introduction on the history of the Brahmana literature by BHAGAVAD DATTA Volume I Comprising a concordance of all the etymologies, meanings of Vedic words, attributes of different devatas, scientific and moral passages and other useful material contained in the 15 printed Brahmanas of the Vedas $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, iv + 94 + 699 pp Lahore: Research Department, D A V College, 1926

The description given on the title-page of this work is apparently inclusive of the volumes to come, for the present volume contains, besides the Hindi introduction of Professor Bhagavaddatta, only a concordance of the more important words used in the published Brāhmanas, with their context and, in some cases, brief glosses. This concordance, however, is a most useful and meritorious performance, which will be warmly welcomed and profitably used by all whose way of study lies through the obscure jungles of Brāhmaṇa literature.

In his interesting introduction Professor Bhagavaddatta contends stoutly—though, to the Western mind, not very convincingly—that the composition of the Brāhmaṇas (which, in his view, once numbered several hundreds) began in the age of the primitive Creation and went on until their codification in the age of the Mahābhārata, while at the same time he admits and effectually demonstrates that they are not

Vēdas. He maintains that the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta are based upon them, and he directs a lively polemic against Professor Macdonell and other Western scholars who impute to them ignorance of the meaning of the Vēdas He has further some remarks on lost and unpublished Brāhmaṇas and on corrupt readings in the published texts Some of his views will win the assent of the West ; others, notably those maintaining the extreme antiquity and surpassing wisdom of the Brāhmanas, probably will not

2 THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMANA IN THE KĀṆVĪYA RECENSION. Edited for the first time by Dr W CALAND Vol I (The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No X) $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, iv + 4 + 120 + i + 66 pp , 1 plate Lahore : Bombay Sanskrit Press, 1926

Sanskritists are well acquainted with the Śatapatha in the Mādhyandina recension, first published by Weber in 1849, and since then twice printed (Calcutta, 1900, etc . and Ajmer, 1902), as well as its translation by Eggeling (SBE., vols xii, xxvi, xli, xliii, xliv), and many of them must have desired to know the Kāṇva recension of the great Brāhmana. They will therefore be deeply grateful to Professor Caland, to whom they already owe so much, for undertaking this work. The present volume contains, after a long and exceedingly valuable introduction, the Kāṇva text as far as II, ii, 4, 16, and Professor Caland designs to publish in the same series the rest of the first seven books, which differ materially from the corresponding parts of the Mādhyandina text (Bks I–V), after which is to come a list of those readings in the remaining K books, which differ from those of the M. recension. It is an admirably conceived enterprise, and we hope it will soon be completed.

The introduction treats, in five chapters, of the place of the Śatapatha in Vedic literature ; its two recensions : its system of accentuation (a useful and much-needed study) ; the MSS. of the K. recension ; the latter's grammatical peculiarities as regards accentuation, phonology, morphology,

lexicography, syntax, and other matters, a survey of the relations of K I–VII to M I–V (with the conclusion that "from the beginning there existed two independent recensions of a Vājasaneyi-Brāhmana, comprising the materials of K 1–7 and M 1–5, closely related to one another, one of which, the Kānva, has been influenced in some way by the other"), of the White Yajurveda Sūtras to the Samhitās and Brāhmanas, of K and M to the Black Y Samhitās and Brāhmanas, of the Black Y Sūtras to the Vājasanēyi-Brāhmana, of K and M to non-Yajurvedic Brāhmanas; and an examination of the relation of K VIII–XVI and M. VI–XIV to K I–VII and M I–V The summary of K's peculiarities (pp 30–84) is especially valuable, as it notably enriches the grammar and lexicon In many respects, K shows marked archaic features, which on the whole give us an impression that it is linguistically even older than M, though on the other hand some points in it indicate a later date Possibly some of the latter may be due to ancient editors; many of the enigmas of Indian literature are due to Vyāsas

The printing of the book is not as good as it deserves Owing to lack of type, a Greek word is omitted on p 45, while on p 61 a Greek phrase is printed from a facsimile plate prepared from Professor Caland's papers, with rather ludicrous results There are four pages of corrigenda, but they are not by any means exhaustive, and some of them merely repeat the misprints that they should correct

3 The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Edited by Gopī Nātha Kavirāja Nos 9 (pt i), 10 (pt i), 11, 12, 16. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$, 2 + 117, i + 142, 5 + ii + 40, 12 + v + 51, 10 + vii + 56 pp. Govt. Sanskrit Library: Benares, 1924–5

4 The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Studies. Edited by Gopī Nātha Kavirāja Vol. iv $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$, 198 pp. Govt. Sanskrit Library: Benares, 1925.

No. 9 of these interesting Texts is the first instalment

of *Bhakticandrikā*, a commentary by Nārāyaṇa-tīrtha expounding faithfully and *con amore* the well-known *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra* or aphorisms on the Vāiṣnava theory of devotion No 10 contains the first two *pādas* of Baladēva Vidyābhūsaṇa's *Siddhānta-ratna*, an exposition of the theology and philosophy of Cāitanya's Church, with a commentary In No 11 we have the *Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra*, 101 aphorisms of the curious system of Śākta mysticism or syllabo-mystification known as Śrī-vidyā, with a commentary on Nos 1–21 by Śankarâraṇya, a disciple of Vidyâranya. These Sūtras purport to be the work of Gāuḍapāda, by whom is evidently intended the famous author of the Kārikās, but the attribution seems highly improbable No 12 is the *Rasa-pradīpa*, an able essay on the nature of poetry and poetic sentiment by Prabhākara Bhatta written in A V 1640, and No 16 is a similar monograph by Ciranjīva (Rāmadēva or Vāmadēva) Bhattâcārya, on *kāvya*, *rasa*, and *alamkāra* The general editor of the series, Pt Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, has edited Nos 9 and 10, Pt Nārayana Śāstrī Khiste Nos 11 and 12, and Pt Batukanātha Śarmā No 16

In the "Studies" are comprised nine essays, of varying merit The best are Dr Gangānātha Jhā's digest of the practice of legal procedure, the editor's "History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vāiśēsika Literature" and "The Problem of Causality" in Sānkhya-Yōga, Mangala-dēva Śāstrī's analysis of the *Rgvēda-prātiśākhya*, and Padmâkara Dvivēdī's notice of the *Ganita-kāumudī*. The others are of no great scientific value, particularly the eighth

OBITUARY NOTICE

Mr. S. M. Edwardes

Mr Stephen Meredyth Edwardes, C V O , C S I , Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, died of bronchial pneumonia on 1st January, after a fortnight's illness, at his residence at Felden, near Boxmoor, in his 54th year.

A son of the Rev Stephen Edwardes, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he went to Eton as a colleger in 1885, Mr. H. Broadbent being his tutor Leaving in 1888, he went up to Christ Church, Oxford, and passed the I C S examination of 1894 It was fortunate for the Bombay Presidency that he was allotted to Western India, since it fell to him to amplify and revise the public knowledge of " The Town and Island " to a far greater extent than any contemporary What Sir James Macnabb Campbell (1846–1903) did for the Presidency as a whole by compiling no fewer than thirty-four volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Edwardes did for " The Town and Island " in a 1901 Census volume and in the three additional volumes of the *Gazetteer* he prepared between 1906 and 1910 His *Rise of Bombay*, his *Byways of Bombay*, and his *Gazetteer*, gave him an enduring place as an authority who must always be consulted on any point connected with the great city where his best years were passed In 1904 he was made a special collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act

The intimacy which Edwardes gained with current conditions of life in the Western Capital in this post, coupled with his general qualities of courage, decision, and a saving sense of humour, fully justified Lord Sydenham's choice of him at the beginning of 1910 as Commissioner of Police for the city. It fell to him to make local arrangements for good order on the occasion of the landing in Bombay and short stay there of the King and Queen on their way to the Delhi Coronation Durbar For this he was made C.V.O and was created C.S.I in 1915 He effected various reforms, and his

services are commemorated by a marble bust at the head Police Office. In April, 1916, Lord Willingdon selected him for the Municipal Commissionership of Bombay, but after two years' tenure ill-health compelled his too early retirement.

Looking out for work at home, he was selected for the secretaryship of the Indo-British Association, then being set up under the leadership of Lord Sydenham to oppose the scheme of constitutional reform adumbrated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which formed the basis of changes made by the Act of 1919 Feeling ran high at that time, and Edwardes was exposed to a good deal of ungenerous criticism for taking the post by Indian politicians who had known him in Bombay, although the long-established unmuzzling of Indian civilians after retirement had given the advocates of reform some of their most prominent leaders The attacks upon the former Commissioner of Police were the more pronounced since he had an uncanny knowledge of the frailties and lapses of men, high as well as low in the Bombay scale This knowledge, supplemented by study of Indian criminology in general, enabled him to give the public an exceptionally interesting book on *Crime in India* (1925) In 1921 he represented India at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children The Indo-British Association was distrustful of the late Mr Edwin Montagu, and remained in being during his tenure of the India Office

But Edwardes's real field was research rather than political controversy. He was a past president of and a constant contributor to the *Proceedings of the Bombay Anthropological Society*. In collaboration with his friend, the late Mr. Lovat Fraser, he wrote a folio volume on the Junagadh State (1907). In 1923 Sir Richard Temple secured his honorary services as joint editor of the monthly *Indian Antiquary*. As recently as last summer he was selected to succeed Miss Ella Sykes as secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was devoting himself to the work with characteristic zest.

For the Clarendon Press Edwardes thoroughly revised, in the light of later research, Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, which was published a century ago. He also revised the fourth edition (1924) of the late Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*. He was in collaboration with Professor Garrett, of the Government College, Lahore, in a comprehensive study of the Mogul period, and in the pauses of this work brought out in the late autumn the last of his books to appear in his lifetime, *Babur: Diarist and Despot*, a character sketch based on the amazingly modern diaries of the founder of the Mogul Empire in India Note should also be taken of his memoirs of two great industrialists of Western India—Sir Dinshaw Petit, first baronet, and Sir Ranchhodlal Chhodlal of Ahmedabad—and of the Parsee savant, Kharsedji Rustamji Cama He married in 1895 Celia, daughter of Mr Arthur Darker, of Nottingham There is a grown-up daughter and two sons, one of them not yet at school.

In their appreciation of Edwardes's many-sided character, his colleagues of the Indian Civil Service would perhaps desire to pay a special tribute to his amazing capacity for work. The *Rise of Bombay*, which first appeared as a volume in the Census Report for India of 1901, was written in such scanty leisure as was available during the formidable task of enumerating the inhabitants of the town and island of Bombay Yet this work is one of the most scholarly of his many valuable contributions to the history of India. It was during the Census that he first contracted the illness which in the end proved fatal In his later years, Edwardes waged a ceaseless struggle against the increasing burden of ill-health, continuing his literary activities with a never-failing courage and cheerfulness. The news of the end of this well-fought battle will be received by both his friends and the readers of his works with very deep regret

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1926)

The Society regrets to record the death of Professor Édouard Naville, of Geneva, a distinguished Orientalist, who had been an Honorary Member of the Society since 1895

Intimation of resignation of membership was received from Major H Wilberforce-Bell, Mr St G Lane Fox-Pitt, Dr Leo Jung, and Mr J S M Ward

On the report of the committee appointed to adjudicate upon the essays submitted for the Public Schools Gold Medal competitions in 1926, the Council has awarded the Medal to Kenneth Adam of Nottingham High School, and the second place to William Douglas Hussey, Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon Eight essays in all were received. The report of the presentation of the Medal will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*

The Council of the Society has decided to include Bloxham School in the list of those eligible to compete for the Public Schools Medal

It has been decided to increase the size of the *Journal* by one additional sheet of 16 pages per quarter, and to discontinue the publication of the Bibliographia

Gifts

The following works have been presented to the Library :—

(*a*) By Sir Bartle Frere, Bt , D S O. :—

1. *Anwar Suhaili or Lights of Canopus*. By Arthur N. Woollaston, M R A S. William Allen and Co , 1877. Author's presentation copy.

2 Mounted Panoramic View of Calcutta in 1860, folded in case

3 *Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India* By Forbes Watson Coloured plates. (Printed for India Office) 1883.

4 Bound portfolio of mounted photographs of the Fort and Ramparts of Bombay previous to demolition in 1863.

5 *Architectural Antiquities of Beejapore* Published by John Murray, 1866, for Committee of Architectural Antiquities of West India Letterpress by Meadows Taylor and J Fergusson Presentation copy

6 MS *History of the Patwardhans* (Marathi)

7 MS copy of *Inscriptions at Bijapur*

The above books were formerly in the possession of the late Rt Hon Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay (1862–7)

(*b*) By the Vajirayan National Library, Bangkok, 113 books in Siamese, dealing with various subjects

(*c*) By Sir E Gait, K C S I , C I E New and revised edition of his *History of Assam*

The Society wishes to purchase a second-hand copy of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and would be glad to hear of any copy offered at a reasonable price

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works, of which the Library is in need Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed ·—

Ceylon Notes and Queries, pts iii, iv, v, and any published after pt. vi, 1914–15–16

China Branch R A S , *Transactions*, pts v–vii, 1855–9.

El-Belâdori's Kitab futûh el-buldan, nach de Goeje's Ed. (Leyden, 1866) ins Deutsche übersetzt von O. Rescher. Lief 1 Stutgart, 1923

Griffith, *Rámáyan of Válmíki*, tr , vol. iv, 1870.

Journal Indian Archipelago, vol i, vol ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Le Strange, "Mesopotamia and Persia in fourteenth century A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi". *As Soc Monographs*, 1903

Le Muséon, vol xv, Nouvelle sér, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol x to end of the series, about 1915

Mythic Society Quarterly Journal, vol. viii, all parts.

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6; vol iii, Nos 9, 11, 12, New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, vol i, pt iv, vol ii, pt iv

Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, vol i, 1883

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No 2, vol ii, No 1; vol vi, Nos. 3, 4

Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No 5

Toyo-Gakuho, vol. xiii, No 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. ii, pts. ii–iv. vol xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der D Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

Lectures

A lecture was delivered on Tuesday, 12th October, 1926, before the Society by Sir Charles Eliot, G C M G, C.B., on "The Worship of Amida in Japanese Buddhism, with some account of the origin of the Jodo and Shinshū sects"

The lecturer commenced by describing the situation, general appearance and constructional details of a Hongwanji temple in Japan, dedicated to Amitâbha or Amida, and briefly traced the origin of the worship performed in it, with particular reference to the relation borne by Amida-worship to Buddhism proper and to the ideas underlying the former cult. The date of the sacred books forming the basis of the worship is by no means certain. The existing evidence indicates clearly that they were carried to Japan from India, and Taranatha goes so far as to assert that the worship in Japan was instituted

by someone from Orissa. Some writers have sought to discover Christian influence in the beliefs concerning Amitâbha, but if the first century A D is accepted as the most likely date for the transfer of the scriptures and ideas from India, Christian influence cannot have been very great.

After tracing the worship of Amida (Amitâbha) across Central Asia to China and thence to Japan, the lecturer explained the special characteristics of Japanese Buddhism, and then described at some length the history and activity of the two sects, Jodo and Shinshū, which, under the cloak of religion, exercised great political influence for a considerable period

At the close of the lecture, Mr Fox-Pitt and Dr. F W. Thomas addressed the audience, a few remarks being also made by Professor Leumann

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The second lecture of the session was delivered by Dr. C Otto Blagden, M A , on Tuesday, 9th November, 1926 With the assistance of a map specially prepared for the occasion, the lecturer gave a sketch of the historical relations of the six civilized Indo-Chinese nations—Burmese, Tai, Annamese, Mons, Cambojans, and Chams—and the two principal Indonesian powers (Sumatra and Java) with one another and with India, China, and the Muslim world Special reference was made to the spread of civilization and religions, from the early centuries of the Christian era down to the appearance of the Portuguese in the Far East, and the lecturer concluded his paper by describing the changes which have occurred during that period in the geographical distribution of the populations of the several Indo-Chinese nations, and in the rise and fall of their kingdoms, resulting in their existing distribution.

At the close of the paper Sir James Stewart Lockhart, K C M G , made a few remarks, expressing the appreciation of the audience and the thanks of the Society to Dr. Blagden.

On Tuesday, 14th December, Dr R. A. Nicholson read a paper on "Persian Poetry and Life in the thirteenth century", which opened with a review of the development of Persian poetry during the eleventh and twelfth centuries The century which followed marks a turning-point in the history of Persian poetics, as during this period mysticism and ethics became the dominating theme of great poetical works, such as those of Amir Khusraw, Sa'di, and Jalālu'ddin Rūmī. The lecturer, in discussing the character of Sa'di's *Būstān* and Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, compared and contrasted those two works, and then proceeded to offer a detailed exposition of the subject-matter of the works of those two poets, their style and modes of expression, their characters and their views of life.

On the conclusion of the lecture, Sir E. Denison Ross and Mr. W Coldstream both addressed the audience, which endorsed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Nicholson.

On Tuesday, 11th January, Dr. Grahame Bailey delivered a lecture on "Hindi Poets and Poetry in the Twentieth Century"

In several respects the Hindi poetry of to-day shows an advance on the past. In this connexion specially noteworthy are (1) freer and less stereotyped diction. (2) more original choice of subjects, though here one cannot help remarking the lack of stirring Epic poetry in recent times. (3) an almost complete elimination of the erotic element which marred so much of the good work of older poets, (4) the purification of poetry from the baneful influence of plays on words. In general he would say that there has been a realization that thought was more important than words, and sense than sound, that mere verbal polish was of little value, and juggling with words of none at all. A fifth point worth mentioning was that a new school of critics is making its appearance, and men are now found bold enough to criticize old masters and old methods hitherto regarded as perfect.

Next the lecturer went on to discuss the writings of

some living poets, saying it would be monotonous to confine the discussion to the works of a single author On the other hand, if all those who in these days are printing their verses were brought in he should have to pass in review a large number. Even if he confined himself to those whose writings have some merit he should still have to discuss ten or a dozen, too many for one lecture He decided, therefore, to speak of four men as typical, viz : Maithilī Śaraṇ Gupt, Śrī Dhar Pāṭhak, Ayodhyā Sĩh Upādhyāy and Nāthū Rām Śaṇkar. Time did not permit of his discussing Bhagvān Dīn, the late Satya Nārāyaṇ, Rām Charit Upādhyāy, the late Devī Prasād, Mahavīr Prasād, Ram Nareś Tripāṭhī, or Jagannāth Dās ; still less could he venture to enlarge the scope of his subject and include the famous novelists Devaji Nandan, and Dhanpat Rāe, known as Prem Chand.

At the same meeting the President communicated to the Society the news of the death of the Secretary, Mr S M. Edwardes, and spoke feelingly of the loss which his death had occasioned to the Society He stated that the Council of the Society was sending a resolution of sympathy to Mr Edwardes' family, and a similar resolution was then passed unanimously by the meeting

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Akbar and the Jesuits. An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar, by Father P. du Jarric, S.J. Tr with introduction, etc., by C H. Payne. London, 1926.
From Publishers.

Al-Adab al-jadîd wa-kalimât fî al-shi'r wal-shâ'ir Cairo, 1926.
From Publishers.

Das altindische Buch vom Welt- u. Staatsleben das Arthaçāstra des Kautilya, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt u. mit Einleitung u Anmerkungen versehen, von J. J Meyer 5 Lief. Leipzig, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Anthology of Burmese Literature. Vol i Rangoon, 1926
From Government of Burma.

The Ao Nagas, by J. P Mills, with a foreword by H Balfour, and supplementary notes and bibliography by J. H Hutton London, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Arabic Literature, an Introduction, by H. A R Gibb London, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Archaeological Department H E H. The Nizam's Dominions, 1921–4 Report

—— Series Hyderabad, No 6 The Kotagiri plates of the reign of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramamba, A D 1273 No 7. Bodhan Stone Inscription of the reign of Trailokyamalla (Somesvara I), A.D 1056 Calcutta, 1925–6. *From Director.*

Archaeological Department, Mysore, 1925, Annual Report. Bangalore, 1926 *From Director.*

—— Survey, Burma, Report for the year ending 31st March, 1926 Rangoon, 1926. *From Government of India.*

Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, by Śaktibhadra, introduction by S Kuppuswami Sastri. Mylapore, 1926. *From Publishers.*

An Asian Arcady, the Land and Peoples of Northern Siam, by R le May Cambridge, 1926. *From Publishers.*

Aśoka, by J. M Macphail, The Heritage of India. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. Calcutta, London, 1926.
From Publishers.

Aus dem Jemen, Hermann Burchardts letzte Reise durch Südarabien, bearbeitet v. E. Mittwoch. Festgabe für den vierten deutschen Orientalistentag in Hamburg. Leipzig.
From Professor E. Leumann.

B. and O District Gazetteers. Monghyr by L. S. S. O'Malley, revised ed. Palamau by L. S. S. O'Malley, revised ed. by P. C Tallents. Patna, 1926. *From High Commissioner.*

The Babylonian Akîtu Festival, by S. A. Pallis. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Meddelelser xii, 1. København, 1926. *From Author.*

Les barbares des grandes invasions aux conquêtes turques du xi[e] siècle, par L. Halphen. Peuples et civilisations. Vol. v. Paris, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Barhut Inscriptions, ed. and tr. with critical notes by Benimadhab Barua and Kumar Gangananda Sinha. Calcutta, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Bengal District Records Midnapur, Vol iv, 1770–4. Letters issued

—— Records of the Government. Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and Kasimbazar, Vols i, ii, iii, June–Sept, 1772 Calcutta, 1926
From Government of India.

Le Béharistan, Djami. tr du persan en français par H Massé. Les Joyaux de l'Orient. Paris, 1925 *From Publishers.*

The Birth-Place of Kalidasa, with notes, etc, by Lachmi Dhar Kalla, Shastri Delhi University, Publications, 1. 1926.
From Publishers.

The British Museum Quarterly, No 1, 2 London, 1926.
From Publishers.

Catalogue of the Hindustani MSS in the Library of the India Office, by J F Blumhardt London, 1926
From Publishers.

The Centre of Ancient Civilization, discoveries in ancient geography and mythologies, by H D Daunt London, 1926.
From Publishers.

Ceylon Coins and Currency, by H. W Codrington. Mem of the Colombo Museum, ed by J Pearson Ser A, No 3. Colombo, 1924 *From Colonial Secretary.*

A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages, by S H Ray Cambridge, 1926 *From Publishers.*

A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy, by R. D. Ranade Encyclopaedic History of Indian Philosophy. Vol. ii. Poona, 1926.
From Academy of Philosophy and Religion.

Corpus Inscriptionum Elamicarum 1 Die altelamischen Texte. Tafeln Unter Mitwirkung von F Bork u G Husing, bearbeitet u herausgegeben von F S. Konig Hannover.
From Publishers.

Dastūr-i-'Ushshāq, "The Book of Lovers." The Allegorical Romance of Princess Husn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart), by Muhammad Yahyā ibn Sībak known as Fattāḥī of Nīshāpur. Ed by R. S. Greenshields London, 1926. *From Editor.*

The Dînkard, Vol. xviii, Book 9, contents of the Gâthic Nasks, Pt 2, Text, tr etc by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Bombay, 1926 *From Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw.*

I discorsi di Gotamo Buddho del Majjhimanikāyo per la prima

volta tradotti dal testo Pāli da K. E. Neumann e G. de Lorenzo, 3ª ed Bari, 1921–7 *From Publishers.*

1 Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental. Bull Ec Fr Extrême-Orient T 25, 1925.

2. Tablettes, votives bouddhiques du Siam par G. Coedès Etudes Asiatiques. *From Author.*

Don Juan of Persia. A Shi'ah Catholic, 1560–1604 Tr. and ed. with introduction by G le Strange London, 1926. *From Publishers*

Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721, by C. Wessels, S.J. The Hague, 1924. *Bought.*

Early Religious Poetry of Persia, by J H Moulton. Cambridge, 1911. *Bought*

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19, ed by Sir W Foster, new and revised ed London, 1926 *From Publishers*

The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed by M. T Houtsma, A. J Wensinck and others Fasc E. Shabānkāra-Shamdīnān Fasc. F. Shamdīnān-Shihāb al-Dīn No 32, Khamr-Khōdja Leyden, London, 1926 *Subscription.*

Enzyklopadie des Judentums, Probeheft. Berlin, Jerusalem, 1926 *From Publishers.*

Essai sur L'Histoire Antique d'Abyssinie. Le Royaume d'Aksum et ses Voisins d'Arabie, et de Meroe, by A. Kammerer. Paris, 1926. *From Publishers.*

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894 A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*r* or *ṛ*
ॠ	*r̄* or *ṝ*
ऌ	*l* or *ḷ*
ॡ	*ḷ* or *ḹ*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *cha* [1]
छ	*cha* or *chha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

ध	*dha*
न	*na*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḻa* or *la*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ* } or ~
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐* } or ~
ः (*visarga*)	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	'
Udātta	´
Svarita	^
Anudātta	`

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making, कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars, thus आँ *ã*, आँ *ã*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by ˊ or

ب	*b*
ت	*t*
ث	*ṭ* or *th*
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]
ح	*h*
خ	*ḥ* or *kh*
د	*d*
ذ	*ḍ* or *dh*
ر	*r*
ز	*z*
س	*s*
ش	*ṣ* or *sh*
ص	*s*
ض	*d*
ط	*t* or *t*[1]
ظ	*z* or *z*[1]
ع	'
غ	*g̣* or *gh*
ف	*f*
ق	*q*
ك	*k*
ل	*l*
م	*m*
ن	*n*

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*

ه *h*

ة *t* or *ḥ*

ي *y*

vowels َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, وُ *ū*

Alif-i-maqṣūra may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs يْ *ay* and وْ *aw* or يْ *ai* and وْ *au* respectively

e and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *u* and *o* in Turkish —

ل of article ال to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s* for ث, *z* for ذ, and *z* for ض

waṣla '

A final silent h need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*) When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh.*

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō.

پ *p*

چ *ç*, *c*, or *ch*

ژ *ẓ* or *zh*

گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ك when pronounced as *y*, *ķ* is permitted

ڭ *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō.

ٹ or ټ — ṭ

ڈ or ډ — ḍ

ڑ or ړ — ṛ

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ~ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Pashtō letters

ځ — *ts* or *ts*

ږ — *g* or *zh* (according to dialect)

ڼ — *ṇ*

ښ — *ksh*, or *ṣh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

ځ or څ — *dz* or *dz*

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Reviews of Books on Indian subjects, by Jarl Charpentier

OBITUARY NOTICES

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1927

PART II.—APRIL

The Unknown Co-Founders of Buddhism

BY C A F RHYS DAVIDS

RESEARCH in old Eastern literary remains may yet come upon materials throwing new light on the beginning and first development of the movement which, in course of time came to be called Buddhism. The only works, as yet in our possession, in which we may discern certain archaic records of this most early stage are, as we know, the first part or Mahā-vagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka and one or two portions of the five Nikāyas As chronicles these do not give us all the light we fain would have. Those, especially of the Vinaya are a number of fragments relating to what led up to the founding of the " Order ", and to certain early stages in its progress. The narrative is always in very slight outline; much would seem either to have been forgotten, or suppressed, as not relevant to the formal registering of some Vinaya statute, and why it came to be We get the impression that we are reading about persons and places which, for the compilers, are just names, bound up, it is clear, with an ancient and venerated tradition, but not belonging to any actual memories either in their possession or even in their own preceding generations. The places named do not seem to be places known. A few persons emerge, two in high, a few others in low relief. These are, respectively,

the founder and his chief rival and adversary, then three lay-patrons—two kings and a merchant—also the first lay-convert, the founder's family, a few other converts, lastly a few associates who here and there appear as fellow-teachers

Now before the founder came up against that adversary, or those three lay-patrons there will have been certain men, probably friends or associates who will have given him their support as either disciples or colleagues, eager with him to spread a teaching they will have thought would be for the good of the many, whom they also, like him, wished to help. There would just at that time have been women also Well, there are, at the very first, five such colleagues in the story They appear to have been seekers with the founder after the new, the better They had with him made trial of the new Jain teaching of the profound significance of the Deed (*karma*), past, present, and future, and of the Jain system of austerities (*tapas*), for getting the better, by pain self-inflicted, of the pitiless results of the deed as cause They were very likely fellow-students of Jhāna with him under Ālāra Kālāma, perhaps also under Uddaka None of the six were then monks They would be Paribbājakas, wandering students, like those of mediaeval Europe, seeking light, culture, new thought, where they had heard they were most likely to come across it To these five men it was that Gotama is related to have gone back, after solitary communing, to give them the benefit of his conviction, that, for the many, salvation lay in a gospel of man willing and choosing to live his best in thought, word, and deed, a gospel which, from the lack in his language of such terms as I have used, he is said to have called the Way, the way of the worthy Everyman

Those five men consented to become confessors and teachers of the Way with him It is unreasonable to think of them as just docile listeners and repeaters, As Paribbājakas they would have absorbed, no less than Gotama, the current and debated theories of their day in the districts they visited. They will have been familiar with the state of brahman

orthodoxy, they will have come to learn something of the religious needs of the people among whom they moved with the will to bring light and counsel. I dismiss the later embroidered tradition of the Nidāna-kathā, that the five were five of the eight brahman augurs, who had foretold the future of the babe Siddhattha Gotama to his father, and had grown old waiting to become his disciples Had this been true they could not conceivably have been depicted as grudging to welcome him when he rejoined them. But I cannot picture them as other than men who, in throwing in their lot with him with loyal conviction, at least at the start, became not pupils, but comrades and fellow-teachers They will all have been of his age or older They will all have had their individual training and antecedents, tendencies, and theories As teachers each will have taught in his own way; and as teachers of the Way, they, as the first "Sakyaputtas", comrades of a man so broad in appreciation and sympathy as we can discern Gotama to have been, will have brought in their own cultural ideas to amplify their new line of doctrine

What is it that the records actually tell us of them? Only of their conversion. After this they all, with one brief exception, fade out of the picture Verses ascribed to two of them, revealing nothing of biographical interest, are in two Canonical anthologies[1] Two Suttas mention one of them, Assaji,[2] no more What sort of help did they give? Did they preach? Did they invite and answer questions? Did they heal? Did they give lessons in systematic musing or Jhāna? Did they do nothing beyond collecting alms and acting as repeating reporters? To the silence about all this there is, I have said, one brief exception, but that exception is, for me, full of significance

I will go into this directly I just wish first to stress this point. In the old Vinaya records we have, for a short space,

[1] *Theratherīgāthā* and *Apadāna*.

[2] *Majjhima*, No. 35; *Saṃyutta*, iii, 124 · a death bed conversation.

a priceless chronicle of a sort, telling of the emergence of an inspired teacher (not yet acknowledged as such), of his first utterance, recorded and ranked later by his following as of the very highest authority, and of his first "disciples" In that first utterance we see put forward in a clear high light a teaching (for Everyman) called the "Middle Way". It is followed up by an exposition of "Ill", with the Middle Way brought in again at the end, as leading to the removal of Ill Soon after we find other utterances recorded, having no reference whatever to the Way, but mentioning a variety of subjects—body, mind, and "Ātman", held in the current esoteric brahman teaching to be very God as well as very man; weariness of life in body and mind; almsgiving, morals, the next world, and the dangers of self-indulgence; the suppression of the effects of causes; emancipation; more life-weariness; more about causes and effects Then the chronicle of the emergence dies away into a series of monastic regulations We have come entirely away from the gospel of the Way and the miscellaneous scraps of preachments and theories piling up over it After that first sentence of the message of the Way, we have been getting drawn into a current of monastic sentiment, till we are swept into full monkdom Monkdom is the métier of the Vinaya, and we can put it aside. But no matter which book of the Piṭakas we take up, the result is much the same: we are in a current within the greater stream of human life, the world of the monk. Round and above a first manifesto, appealing to the nature and possibilities of Everyman, has been built up a literature composed by monks, compiled for monks, and saturated with the outlook upon the world and with sentiments about the world by men who had forsworn the world and all work in common in, and with, the world.

But this is not all, nor is it chiefly the point I wish to stress. I only bring it up in passing, because writers on Buddhism seem to me to realize too little the nature and working of that current, which has been flowing down the

ages, first in India, then in Ceylon and Burma, bearing in its Pali literature (*pace* other literatures) the flotsam and jetsam of what was once the manifold teaching of its first teachers. These men taught this and that; they made together a body of teaching or Dhamma; that Dhamma was not a simple, unitary theme, but complex, as we shall presently consider; they taught and they wrought each over a varying period of time; they ceased, either because they left the earth or left their teaching fraternity But when they were no more there, the fraternity of monks, in the world of, and with the outlook of the monk, remained the absolute owners and propagators and editors of the various factors making up the Dhamma which they had taught The trend, the emphasis, the credit of their individual teaching was practically at the mercy of this band of warders of the Dhamma What these warders, men doubtless for the most part worthy and well-meaning, had made of the teachings down many centuries, in different countries—*this* is what we have in the Piṭakas When we have firmly grasped this indisputable, but not sufficiently appreciated, fact, when further we have got rid of the pious fetish that human transmitters of sayings, in the course of a long series of such, can possibly be as unvarying as, speaking relatively, are written records, we shall recognize that, to salvage out of the flotsam and jetsam anything that any one of those first teachers actually—I will not say, said, but—taught, a good deal of reading between the lines may be necessary In other words, in exploiting such data as the records yield, we must, with caution yet with courage, bring some constructive imagination to bear

So proceeding, it may prove not impossible to get a little more light on the first stage in the Buddhist movement as a historical event We may see more clearly emerging the inspired gospel of Gotama as a simple yet most profound message to the multitude. At the same time we may be able to account for the complex aggregate of doctrine which that teaching at once began to be. It is with this complex

emergence that I am here dealing I have called it an aggregate, since, as it has been rightly said, it cannot be called a system, and I have called it complex not less rightly, because in it we have not one, but several teachers at work Early Buddhism is as we have it because of the cultural will, the cultural teaching of the few men whom Gotama inspired at the very first to become his fellow-workers They were not merely listeners, satellites, disciples, sons of fishermen; they were fellow-teachers

I venture to think that this is too much neglected; I venture to think, that in saying many things about what "Buddha" and "Buddhism" teaches, when what we really have in mind is the complex of the written word, we have lost sight, we have never had sight, of the man Gotama *as working with* those other actual, if less inspired, personalities, the men who with him set going the "Wheel of the Dhamma". In the first concept, the first word of its triple slogan: Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, Buddhism has tended to merge the other two, Dhamma and Sangha have virtually become Buddha; all the teaching was practically word of Buddha; all the teachers were virtually Buddha · what he "said", or "said he would have said"[1] And when this or that in the body of doctrine is said to be derived from Brahmanism or from Sānkhya or from Yoga, either Gotama is said to have annexed it, or in a quite impersonal because unknown way, the body of doctrine, or Buddhist "philosophy" is said to have imported it

The result of this confused point of view is that something different is ever being brought up as the "Central Concept of Buddhism". Either it is *Erlosung*—emancipation—or it is *anatta*—denial of the very man, *puruṣa, puggala* (usually referred to as self, soul, or "I")—or it is "*dhamma*", or it is "*dhammā*" (plural), or it is causation, or a form of mysticism, or of Brahmanism, or of Sānkhya, or it is karma, or *ahiṃsā*, or atheism, or just ethics. Each theorist is quite

[1] E g *M.*, i, 304; iii, 29; *S.*, iv, 379.

or fairly confident that he has got hold of the truth, and that it is what "the Buddha" taught! That the Sangha, when it started as a handful of men, might claim credit, were the truth known, for much of the teaching which Buddhists and exponents of Buddhism rank as equal to the indisputable message of the leader of those few men—the message of the Way—is very possibly a fact, but it is a submerged fact. I am not assuming for a moment that Gotama during his long mission taught one theme only, or that his fellow-teachers never taught it To this I will return Let us now go into that one significant exception in the silence enshrouding the teaching of all the founders of Buddhism save Gotama himself

What are the data in the Vinaya record? I refer of course to the Mahāvagga, but only to sections 1, 5, 6, 23, 24 Here they are :—(1) Gotama, at the end of a quest of some years after religious truth and religious welfare (*dhammam, ñāyaṃ, kusalaṃ*),[1] believes he has worked out a sound gospel of salvation for the many on a basis of modifying faith and action in the light of the working of cause and effect (2) *This gospel he rejects as having in it no* power to draw men out of their hide-bound habits and outlook (3) Urged by the messenger of another world, he decides anyway to teach (4) To find co-workers he returns to a few friends, five *at least*, and declares in a solemn manifesto a new gospel, other than the cause-gospel which he had rejected (5) The friends accept his mandate. Work is begun in the usual way at that time in India, that of teaching as alms-fed samanas (6) One of the five is named Assaji. (7) After this another friend appears, Sāriputta, a brahman, a student disgruntled with his own teacher, a noted dialectician He too, like Gotama, is seeking not just "culture" but a gospel, salvation, immortality, "*amataṃ*". He meets Assaji, who is looking unusually radiant. He asks him what has he learnt? Assaji tells him that his teacher, the young Sakyan, has taught

[1] *Digha*, ii, 151.

him a religion of explaining things causally. Sāriputta accepts this view, and brings over to it another brahman, Moggallāna They and their friends desert their teacher Sañjaya and join the new fraternity of the Way or Magga. (8) Assaji hereupon fades out of the picture, as a teacher for good and all The two he has brought in do not; they become eminent fellow-teachers; but neither of them is ever met with teaching a doctrine of theory and practice regulated by causal explanation.

It would seem as if an unprejudiced, critical reader, reading this chronicle for the first time, *must* come to the conclusion, that in process of time a twist here, a twist there has got into the telling of these fragmentary episodes. To me readers, in failing to see this, seem to be either too sceptical, or too apologetical Either the chronicle is treated as just ballad or myth [1]; or else as untouchable I am for the "middle way" of looking upon it as a set of true fragments wrongly pieced together. And I suggest the following resetting.

Gotama leaves his home to seek, in new thought, new teaching, a way of salvation wherein the decay and death of the body should no longer form the woeful drag on man's happiness that it was He sought out teachers. We find him associated, for an indefinite time during his quest, with at least five other men, men like himself of the Paribbājaka, or wandering student world, themselves in search of culture. There was the new world of the Niganṭhas, or Jains, with one of its principal seats at the busy, thriving town of Vesāli. There, in the Mahāvana, went on the well-meaning but foolish worsening of the body in ways of *tapas*. The students try it together. Gotama gives it up to beat out some better way alone There has been much and long interchange of views between the six They have learnt much of the new Zeit-Geist while together: the new views astir about orderly process in nature (*prakrti*), about orderly process in man's world way (*karma*)—this from the Niganṭhas—about system

[1] Cf. the style in which Oldenberg tells it, *Buddha*.

in musing or Dhyāna, from Ālāra and Uddaka, about the academic lay or secular training of thought in naming, numbering and deduction (Sānkhya), which had come much into vogue since Kapila taught at Taxilā, and much besides. One of the five friends in particular, Assaji, was deeply interested in the first, in what we should now call natural causation. When Gotama had left them, the five travelled to Benares, another centre of new thought.

Gotama, meanwhile, also deeply interested in his friend's talks on causation, tries to weld it into a gospel for the ending of ill Could not man, as himself the working cause, so choose, so work as to bring about this effect, avert that effect? To a very limited extent man was, as Ātman, able to say, "Let this be so; Let this not be so!" Could he not will, could he not choose? Now he had no fit words here, no word for "will", and a very cramped word for "choose" But there was "way", a word that also meant "means" The wayfarer was, as such, a working cause making for the way's End, the effect The multitude would not respond to a new message preached in terms of cause and effect (*paticca-samuppāda*), but the Way, the road, the wayfaring · here was an idea that would grip them They were at all and every stage of the great way, at every stage of growth, like those lotuses in the pond—he would show a way, he would be their caravan-leader, "he-with-the-goods," with the "good" (*sattha-vāha*)[1] So he follows the friends to the Benares wood, and proposes the message of "the way"

Now two others of the student-world at Vesāli (or elsewhere), Sāriputta and Moggallāna, had also come to Benares The former meets his friend Assaji, and asks, "What new thing have you learnt here?" Assaji, in reply, has nothing to say about the teaching of the Way, nor about any other of the first utterances recorded about Gotama; he answers in terms of causal law, and that, in it, Gotama is an expert sage. Nor is the reply given in terms likely to respond to

[1] *Sa-attha-vāha*; *D.*, ii, 39; and *Apadāna*, p. 80; *Satthavahagga*, etc.

the problem to which Sāriputta and his friend were seeking light upon—immortality (*amataṃ*) The fragment of what was once a thing remembered has here been evidently wrongly fitted in to the much patched up chronicle. Assaji is still an enthusiast about the subject of natural causation; he has made it his own, with the more practical teaching of the Way, to which he has given in his allegiance, as a matter of secondary interest Gotama, friend and leader, is at first glad to win over any of his student-comrades to form the new fraternity And he is great-minded enough to be glad to have his own teaching enriched and supplemented even by men who are more interested in, and more likely to stress, in their teaching, this and that factor in the new thought than the gospel for the many — the Way — which the band nominally represents.

Hence I finish the reset mosaic with just this: Assaji's answer shows clearly that at Benares he had met, or had found again the (unnamed) teacher of natural causation, under whom he had acquired his interest in the subject. That this teacher came to be identified with Gotama is only one of the results of, as I have said, the merging all the teaching virtue of the Sangha in the Buddha.

The conclusion I draw as probably true from this resetting is, that the prominence given to the subject of causation in some sections of the Piṭakas—a prominence which is very unequally distributed—is due directly to Assaji, and indirectly to his unknown teacher, rather than to Gotama himself. Gotama apparently welcomed the wording of the subject in the sayings taught and recorded It may even have been he who framed it properly in its abstract form: *Idaṃ sati, idaṃ hoti*, etc. "Given this, that comes to be", and so on. It is possible that the unknown teacher was drawn into the Order, only to be submerged, as was Assaji himself, in the "Buddha" and his "Dhamma". Or there are other reasons why we do not meet with Assaji discoursing on Paṭicca-samuppāda. Even in the surviving fragments Assaji

appears as a mighty poor worder, not only to Sāriputta When, in the Cūla-Saccaka-Sutta of the Majjhima, he is asked by the Jain what sort of doctrine his leader teaches, he is made to say, not any of the leading tenets, *not* the Way, *not* Causation, but a rudimentary monkish formula,[1] to the not unreasonable contempt of Saccaka He probably did not make that reply, yet it may fairly be inferred that, worthy disciple though he was, whatever he did say was neither lucid nor impressive. Nor when he is a-dying and Gotama visits him, can he speak as a *teacher* would

Then again, the way in which the encroaching outlook and interests of the monk-world took over the teaching of causation, and twisted it to serve that outlook and those interests, was probably *not the way in which either Assaji or Gotama himself taught it* I have suggested how Gotama may have wrought it up into the teaching of the Way. Assaji's interest may have been more what we should call scientific, interest in causal law as *true*, rather than as a practical organon As Gotama grew old, and became more revered *and less obeyed*—as is the rule when teachers and guardians grow old—the worders in the Order, who drew up the sayings in fixed formulas, would not be chiefly interested in causal law as a cosmic induction The general statement is rarely brought forward, the only use made of causation is the identification of life, past, present, and future, with Ill—the wail of the world-lorn, the recluse, the monk

In the case of the other factors in the body of Dhamma doctrine, factors sufficiently prominent to be confused now by this, now by that writer with Gotama's own doctrine of the Way—there is no such rift in the all-shrouding veil of oblivion as we see in that of Assaji's preoccupation with causal law. Who was it among those first fellow-workers to make conspicuous in his teaching the protest against identifying the very man (*ātman*, *puruṣa*, *puggala*) with the body or the mind—a doctrine which as we know gradually

[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 227 (sutta 35).

degenerated into a denial of the real existence of an "I" or "thou" persisting when body "broke up"? Who was it who so early in the movement had analyzed body and mind into five aggregates? Who was it who so early brought in the ways of the computing (Sānkhya, Sankhā) theory so much come into vogue, with its discipline of mental clarity in name, number, categories, mental analysis, and its guarding the nature of the very man with its "not I, not mine, not the 'man' in me"? Which of the pupils of Āḷāra, among Gotama's fellow-students—was it Gotama himself?—made the practice of rapt musing important? Who reduced it from a mode of converse with other worlds to a mode of mental exercise only? Who drew up the formulas of it?

Such are some of the now insoluble problems of the coming to be of the heterogeneous aggregate called Hīnayāna Buddhism, which has been transmitted, welded together, *edited with additions and subtractions* by long "*apostolic* successions" of Sanghas of monks The one slender clue of Assaji, and the queer misfit of his reply to Sāriputta remains to suggest to us how the composite Dhamma came into being And we may apply that clue thus: It is not fit to see in that Dhamma the work solely of one man, no matter if he did teach many years and learn much the while, and then to say this or that is its "central idea", ignoring his own formal and solemn statement of what that central idea really was Again, it is not fit to see, in "Buddhism", or "Buddhist philosophy" a homogeneous whole borrowed from this or that "system" presumed to be older. It is more fit to see in its complex of teaching, *first*, an inspired message for the welfare of the many, appealing simply and directly to the very nature of every man and woman in the "way-faring" of life here and through the worlds, *secondly*, contributions from the current much-stirring new thought and will, i e culture of the country and time, brought in, collectively or individually, by the little band of ardent men who, with their comrade, Gotama—*satthavāha* and *maggakkhā*-

yin [1]—started their teaching as the Sakyaputtas—Kondañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Assaji, Sāriputta, Moggallāna; *lastly*, the influence of the monk-world of guardians and transmitters on the recorded sayings. Had Gotama alone, or Gotama together with his first colleagues planned a doctrine or "system", we should have a homogeneous Dhamma, instead of one which every critic gauges differently. Again, had Gotama and his friends been real, utter "monk-men", born anchorites, to whom the inner world of the monk is the only world that counts, we should have found a simpler homogeneous Dhamma But there was not only that type of monk; there was the man concerned to teach new knowledge as such, and there was the brother-man seeking world-betterment These were not monks by nature, but men of the world, "mondial" men But they could only be respected as teachers if they taught as *religieux* I incline strongly to believe, that it was men of this sort who, with Gotama, were the co-founders of the body of Dhamma which, gradually transformed in wording and emphasis into a gospel of monkish ideals, came to be known as Buddhism

So far, in reconstructing, I claim to have been working by way of a not too far-fetched hypothesis, not by what might be less honourably called a mere guess There was the fragmentary record, connected, but so ill-pieced together, that it did not make a coherent story, let alone a page of world-history. When a seeker after immortality finds satisfaction in a scientific induction about uniformity in the happening of things, and this hypothesis is given as the teaching of a man, who has just come forward with a totally different gospel for the many, of man as able to choose his own path to salvation—it is fairly clear, that we are up against, not so much a myth or an invention, as portions of a half-lost record, badly put together.

[1] *M.*, iii, 6; *Maggakkhāyī 'ham, brahmaṇa!*

But I am now going one step further. Our footholds will not be even only 2 inches wide. It is almost levitation . . I am asking. Who was that unknown teacher of causal law, whom the radiant Assaji had just met again, and under whom he had acquired his interest in causality?

I guess, that it may have been Kappina, the Kappina who came into the Order, and was afterwards called Mahā-Kappina, one of the few leading Theras often referred to by name only in the Vinaya

Why Kappina? Here are the data

In the Saṃyutta (II, 193 f) Gotama, on seeing him approaching, points him out to those with him, not as a well-known disciple, but as if he were a stranger: "Do you see that man coming along, white-skinned,[1] thin, with a hooked nose? . He is highly gifted, of abnormal (talents) No easy matter is it to win what once he had not won . ." The remaining sentences are editorial patchwork, stereotyped In the Sutta put next this, Gotama draws attention to two fellow-students of Kappina, who are similarly commended, but whose names are not given So we are left ignorant as to whether one was Assaji But I judge we have here a very old fragment, of a very early meeting between a notable teacher of what we once called Natural Philosophy and the young man Gotama from the North country, who was just beginning to be talked about That Kappina is here referred to as if he were already in the Order can well be just a way of the monastic editor. That the names of the two distinguished students are forgotten is evidence that the Suttas are very old.

Next, we have in the *Theragāthā* verses ascribed to Kappina (547–66). They are strangely out of place there. They are neither Hindu, nor Jain, nor Buddhist, nor monastic; they are frankly pagan. But if we look at them as the verses of a man absorbed in the study of the external world and of this earth-life only, they become a very voice speaking from

[1] *Odātaka*. I am not happy about the word Perhaps *vādaka*, theorist.

a nearly forgotten past There is nothing in them save one verse that Thales might not have written! I cannot ask for space to quote them all, but give only the first:

Can ye but see that which is coming ere it come,
And mark such business as will benefit or harm,
Nor foes, nor friends, howe'er they seek, will find a rift.

How could a Causationist better commend the practical benefit of the prevision and prediction of specific causes? Note too the gloomy pagan outlook.

Jātā jātā marantīdha: evaṃdhammā hi pānino! (553)

and:

Here is a fact that's not of yesterday;
'Tis not abnormal nor anomalous:
"Where ye are being born, ye also die":
What have we there save what is natural? (552).

The rest is silence, for the one other line in another part of the Theragāthā, where Kassapa is eulogizing Sāriputta:

A smile stole o'er the face of Kappina! (1086)

tells us in itself nothing Almost he seems to be smiling now at this feeble raking in the mouldering dust of the past, this little hook-nosed pagan, who in his verses shows as little acquaintance with the Message of the Way leading past this earth-life as they show little sympathy with the use the monks made of the causal law. We cannot even feel any confidence that the verses bearing his name were composed by him!

Finally, both the chief Commentators agree in this: that as a raja or squire of a border estate, Kappina, tied by his duties to his remote home, was athirst for knowledge So much so that arrivals at his capital who might tell him some new thing were at once notified. The rest of the story, his breaking away to find the Buddha, is too thoroughly denominational to be enlightening. The breath of the stirring spirit of the time will have touched him as it touched Gotama. But I incline to think that the one made knowledge his end, as the other certainly made his end the helping of man.

That we do not find Kappina, let alone Assaji, ever associated, in the Pitakas, with any Suttas introducing the subject of causation may suffice, for some, to rule out the suggestions here put forward Assaji may have been, we saw a poor exponent , again, he may not long have survived the beginning of the movement But Kappina is actually commended as an " exhorter of the monks ".[1] This would be an objection of some weight if, in the commendatory list referred to, any one else had been commended as teacher of that subject. But no one is It is possible that the subject came in time to be looked upon as even more the Dhamma of Gotama than the Way itself But that Etad-agga list of the Anguttara, in its odd omissions and its odd reduplications, is a very poor guide to the early history of the teaching The Commentary merely explains that Kappina, when he actually entered the Order, kept entirely to himself meditating on his changed views, till Gotama advised him to come and do his share in teaching, whereupon he cheerfully obeyed. Alas ! that what he did teach has been so forgotten !

[1] *Ang*, i, 24. " Of the Sisters " is a careless slip in my *Psalms of the Brethren*, possibly due to an error in my only transcript of the Comy., a MS no longer in my hands

The Text of the Buddha-carita, Cantos I-VIII

By E H JOHNSTON

SINCE the first printed edition of the *Buddha-carita* appeared over thirty years ago, so much labour has been devoted to clearing the text of corruptions that only the exploitation of fresh material would justify an addition to the accumulations on the subject It so happened that a little time ago in accordance with the enlightened policy pursued by the Nepal Darbar the old MS whose existence was revealed by MM H P Śāstri in *JASB*, 1909, p 47, was sent to Oxford to be rotographed Some passages were so rubbed as not to be legible in the rotograph, and I accordingly took the opportunity to make a complete collation of the MS itself before it was returned to Nepal Finding difficulties in some of the readings, I then made a word-to-word comparison of the Tibetan translation; but while still at work on an article embodying my conclusions, I came across the first part of Dr. Fr. Weller's edition of the Tibetan text with a German translation covering cantos i–viii (*Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa.* Eduard Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1926) As this overlapped my article to some extent, I have redrafted the latter and limited it for the present to the first eight cantos. That the two did not coincide more was due to the different aims we had in view Dr Weller has concentrated on producing a correct Tibetan text and an accurate translation of it, dealing only incidentally with the text and meaning of the original with which alone I have been occupied. The MS has been of great help to me, in making clear both what kinds of corruption in the text are probable and what the latter's real state was before Hodgson's pandit, Amṛtānanda, touched it; I have thus been able also to give much attention to palæographical considerations, which were not open to Dr. Weller, and, while fully acknowledging the great assistance derived from his work, I have felt at liberty to disagree with

him not infrequently In the following notes I refer to the Tibetan translation only when it confirms or explains a reading in the MS , or when I can add a variant from it which Dr Weller has omitted or believe I can improve on a suggestion of his

The MS , which I refer to throughout as *A*, is evidently the original which was copied with additions and alterations by Amṛtānanda, from whose copy of it derive the three MSS. used by Cowell (the whereabouts of this copy are unknown *to me*) Complete proof of this is afforded by the state of leaf 37, which is torn at one end so as exactly to coincide with the gaps in ix, 26–37 , mistakes and corruptions in *A* are habitually reproduced in Cowell's MSS , and some of the new corruptions in the latter can be accounted for by the peculiarities of *A* The MS consists of 55 leaves with six or seven lines of writing on each side, ending abruptly in the second line of 55*b* with xiv, 32 of Cowell's text. It has no colophon , but the last two *pādas* are repeated below in a later hand Leaves 1, 3, 7, and 8 are missing, the first two when Amṛtānanda copied it ; the other two have been lost since. Leaf 2 will be found in the rotograph out of place at the end The handwriting is of a transitional early Bengali type, belonging it would seem from a comparison with Cambridge Addl. MSS No. 1699, dated 1198–9 A D , and No 1364, dated 1446 A D , to about the second half of the thirteenth century Though all in a similar hand, some leaves are much rubbed and contain numerous marginal glosses of little value in a Nepali handwriting, and others are so clean with hardly a trace of glosses as to give the impression of having been cleaned and re-inked. The MS is far from correct ; but, as the mistakes are of the kind usual in this class of MSS., I need not detail them, except to observe that *va* and *dha* are indistinguishable as the second member of a compound letter, and that mistakes in the Tibetan as well as in Cowell's text are due to this confusion

The Tibetan translation, which I call *T*, being now

accessible, needs little comment I worked on the India Office copy, comparing some passages with the Peking edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and thus arrived at practically the same text as Dr Weller's *T* is to all intents and purposes an interlinear translation and even reproduces obvious mistakes in the text it had (e g *dharmānavagrahasya,* vii, 46*b*, *śaśākārnava°*. xii, 110*d*), sometimes it fails to understand the Sanskrit (e g iv 79*a*, where *T* apparently divided *vinā śāntam*, and vii, 5) On the other hand, it has considerable knowledge of rare words and meanings In order to determine what text *T* had before it, where it differs from *A*, the Sanskrit equivalent of every word in *T* must first be registered, and the variant can then usually be accurately determined from this index, provided that due attention is paid to palæography, sense, and metre, and that nothing in the Tibetan text is left unaccounted for To rely merely on a translation of the Tibetan will give the correct result often enough, no doubt, but in some of the more difficult passages is bound to lead to serious error

A and *T* are in complete agreement about the extent of the text The missing leaf 1 of *A* would with the opening invocation contain about 7½ verses. Leaf 2*a* begins with half a verse corresponding to *T's* 8*c* and *d* and goes on to Cowell's i, 25 which is i, 9 in *T*. Both omit Cowell's i, 26–28 and leaf 2 ends with the tenth syllable of Cowell's i, 43 *c* (i, 24 in *T*). Leaf 3 would have contained 16 verses about, leaf 4 begins with seven syllables, corresponding to *T*'s i, 40*d*, and goes on to Cowell's i, 46 (i, 41 in *T*) Leaves 7 and 8 cover ii, 1–35, in which *T* agrees with Cowell's text Thence to xiv, 32 *A* and *T* agree, except that *T* omits Cowell's viii, 54 and xii, 56, and adds an extra verse between Cowell's xii, 88 and 89 Amṛtānanda's additions are therefore Cowell's i, 1–24, 26–28, 43*d*–45, and xiv, 33 to end, the remainder, subject to the additions to Cowell's text found in *A* in cantos ix and xii, and to certain verses being spurious, represents the extant portion in Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa's poem.

In the following notes I have usually refrained from critical comments on the variants and from including variants so inferior as to be of no interest, but have once or twice added conjectures of my own. I give, however, a few corroborative references, mainly from the Chinese translation (Wohlgemuth cantos i–ii, and Beal for the rest), from the *Saundarananda*, which I call *S*, from Āryaśūra's *Jātaka-mālā*, which is full of reminiscences of the *Buddha-carita*, and from Beal's *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, which contains a number of passages taken direct from the *Buddha-carita*, especially from canto ix. To save space I have not quoted Cowell's text, but refer to the verse and *pāda* and, where necessary, to the number of the syllable in question. I put into square brackets letters or syllables, missing in *A*, which I have supplied from *T*. Where a variant has already been anticipated by conjecture, I have added the name of the author of the conjecture. I have also changed the numbering of the verses in cantos i and viii, and quote Cowell's numbers in brackets

Canto I

2 (not in Cowell). The first *pāda* should be translated "He who was like Indra had a wife, etc", possibly *tasyendra-kalpasya babhūva patnī*.

3 (not in Cowell). I would keep *kṛi* in the second *pāda* and translate "enjoyed a sovereign power (*śrī*) like that of Vaiśravaṇa".

5 (not in Cowell) *T* makes the phrase translated by Weller, "die in Reinheit sundenfreie," refer to the forest, not to Māyā. The Sanskrit literal equivalent is *aranye viśuddhākaluṣe matim cakāra*, curiously reminiscent of the name of the forest of chastity in Act IV of the Vikramorvaśī.

6 (not in Cowell). In the second line *sna-tshogs-śin-rta* does not refer to various chariots, but conveys a comparison of the trees in the Lumbinī garden to those of the garden of Citraratha.

8 (not in Cowell) Read with *A*, *T* :—

[tasmin vane śrīmati rājapatnī
prasūtikālam samavekṣa]mānā |
śayyām vitānopahitām prapede
nārīsahasrair abhinandyamānā ||

10 (29) *c* *bhujāmsaguhyāt*, *T* apparently

11 (30) *b* *cyutah khād A*, *T*. *c* *kalpeṣv anekesu ca*, *T*

12 (31) *a*7–8 *ca yo*, *T* A fairly recent gash leaves only *yā* visible in *A* of these letters, and it may therefore have read the same as *T*

14 (33) *ab* Very difficult to restore *T* has in *a* " unwavering (*anākula*), void (*pra*, *prati*, *ud*, plus *hīna* ?) of the fault (*doṣa*) of crookedness " The word for " crooked " is apparently *nyubja*, because *A* originally had *anākulānyubja*°, the *u* of *nyu* was cut out and *padma* added in a later hand as a marginal gloss to *abja* " Void " is possibly *ujjhita*, as *T* does translate in such a way In *b*, *T* apparently had *vyāyatavikramāni* ; a literal rendering of the previous word which has accordingly to end in °*vān* would be *saudhīryavān*, which is perhaps the meaning to be given here to *niṣpeṣavān*. No room can be found for *doṣa*, the only equivalent for *skyon* in *T*. With much hesitation I suggest for consideration .—

anākulo nyubjasamujjhitāni
niṣpeṣavān vyāyatavikramāṇi |

15 (34) *b*. *antyā bhavotpattir*, *A*, *T*. *b* 3 and 4 are much rubbed in *A*, but legible.

16 (35) *c* *śarīra[samsparśasu]kh[ā]ntarāya*, *A*, *T* Syllables 4–7 are illegible in *A* owing to a tear in the MS , and *kha* is so squeezed in as to be easily misread as *tya* For *antara* cf. *Raghu-vaṁśa*, xvi, 82, and Mallinātha thereon.

18 (37) *a* Syllables 1–8 are missing in *A* from the same tear as in 16, except for an illegible trace of the first letter. *T* makes the missing word agree with *divaukasah*, which puts Weller's translation out of court ; the alternative in the notes equivalent to *manuṣyadṛśyāś ca* is possible. But

I should prefer to take *mi* as negative here, implying something like *avyaktabhāvāś ca* or *nigūdha°* (cf *mi mnon*, viii, 54)

21 (40) *a* *yasya prasūtau*, *A*, *T*

24 (43) *b* *vanam āprapūrai*, *A*, *vanam āpupūre*, *T*, apparently (Bohtlingk) *cd* *pādapebhyah puṣpāny akāle vinipātitāni*, *T*. The last word is uncertain, the exact equivalent being *nisrastāni* or *nivrddhāni*

40 (not in Cowell) *d* [*nidarśanāny* ?] *atra ca no nibodha*, *A*, *T*

41 (46) *c* *sutau saumya*, *A*, *T*.

42 (47) *b* *pūrve*, *A*, *T* (Speyer)

43 (48) *a* *vālmīkir ādau ca*, *A*, *T* *c* *dadarśa*, *T* *d* *cakāra*, *T*

44 (49) *b* *tad gādhinah sūnur*, *A*, *T* (Luders).

50 (55) *a* A reads like Cowell and *T* had apparently *brahmavidam brahmavidām* *Jātaka-mālā*, i, 5 suggests as possible, if strained in construction, the reading *brahmavad brahmavidām jvalantam*

51 (56) *b* *°āgataharsavegah*, *A*, *T* *c* *vanasamjñayaiva*, *A*, *vanasamjñayeva*, *T* The latter is better The meaning is that for all the effect the beauties of the harem had on his feelings, he might have been in a penance grove and was only affected by the birth of the prince Cf the Chinese (Wohlgemuth, p 25), and *S*, iii, 17

56 (61) *b* Weller's translation misses the point *T* read *dharmena sūkṣmena*, which in view of *S*, ii, 37, is probably correct The last word of the *pāda* is *avāpya* according to *A*, and *prāpya* (metrically impossible) or *udāpya* according to *T* It was presumably the difficulty of *sūksmāni* that made Amrtānanda alter *avāpya* to *apāsya* and so complete the ruin of the verse

61 (66) *c.* *pakṣmāntavicañcitāśrur*, *A* *T* is uncertain. According to *A* the root *cañc* appears in viii, 19 *harṣātiśayena cañcitā*, where, however, *T* reads *vañcitā*, and possibly in ii, 31, for which *A* is missing and *T* uncertain, one should read *bhrūcañcitair*.

62 (67) *b* *snehāt tanūjasya, A*, with *putrasya* in the margin in a later hand

63 (68) *a* *alpāntaram yasya vapuḥ surebhyo, A, T* (Lüders)

74 (79) *d* Though *tāḍa* may have the sense of "voice" here given to it by *T*, the primary meaning is surely "key" (cf *Avadāna śataka*, vol ii, p 56, note 1)

79 (84) *a* The Chinese (Wohlgemuth, p. 35) apparently read *ārṣeṇa mārgeṇa*, which is worth consideration

81 (86) *b* *°śravaṇe ca, A, T*. Is not this verse, which is not in the Chinese, spurious?

82 (87) *b*. *viṣayagatāni, T*, and probably *A* (Kielhorn). *d* *priyatanayaḥ tanayasya, A* (Buhler), *T* uncertain

83 (88) *a* *caiva, A*, and probably *T* (Bohtlingk) *d* *paramabhavāya sutasya, A, T*, much rubbed in *A*.

Canto II

1 *A* has the first three syllables at the end of leaf 6 and begins again on leaf 9 with 36*a*

2*c* *T* read *tadā hitaikāmsanidhīn avāpa*, which is nonsense, but confirms Kielhorn's *tadā hi naikān sa nidhīn avāpa*. *nsa, msa, nma*, and *tma* are continually confused in these MSS.

3*b* *na maṇḍale* (Bohtlingk) *śakyam ihopanetum, T*.

4*b* *vibhūṣitair, T* apparently.

10*a* *pṛthag vratibhyo vibhave 'pi garhye, T*. *c*10–11. *cāryaḥ, T*

15*a* *cāpy aribhiś ca naṣṭam, T*. *d* *T* apparently read *parasyāśokasya yathāvad eva* (or *yathaiva rājñaḥ*), which is not metrical Query, *parasya Rāmasya* (Formichi)? Weller translates differently.

17*a* *rājakulasya lakṣmīḥ, T*. Here and in 9*d* and 22*c* *T* shows clearly a text so different to that of Cowell that I conjecture that the missing leaves of *A* had like the preceding leaves some passages so rubbed as not to be legible Leaf 8 must have been badly torn too, v. 24*b*, 25*d*, and 27*a*.

22*cd*. *rathāṁś ca goputrakasamprayuktān putrīś ca, T* apparently or else in nominative

23d dhṛtyā ca śauryena, T, accepting Weller's conjecture of *dpah* for the first *dpal*

24a 10–11, *samyak* *b* A comparison of Cowell's text with *T* shows a tear in *A*, cutting out six syllables entirely and two partially both here and in *27a* *T*'s reading was probably *samprāpya kāle pratipattikarma*, taking *pratipatti* as = *samskāra*, for an exactly similar expression cf *Jātaka-mālā*, p 225, l 24.

25d Presumably missing in *A* *vanāni yāyād iti Śākyarājah, T*

26d vāmābhidhānām śriyam, T

27a vidyotamāno vapuṣā parena, T See note on 24 above

28c. nṛpo vyādiśati, T. *d* I do not follow Weller's note 8, p. 17

31a I would, to complete the line, read *rnam par rnam ḥgyur rnams kyis* in *T*, equivalent to *vividhaiś ca bhāvair*

39c The equivalent to *T* is preferably *śivām* . . . *°śuddhim*.

42d anayāya dṛstah, A, T

43d rajāmsy ahārṣīn, A.

48a putrasya me putragato, A, T *mameva, T*, which must be right Translate " surely the affection a father feels for a son will be felt by my son (for his son) just as I feel it (for my son) "

49, b. yaśasānkitānām, T. Cf. *S.* vii, 38, *yaśoguṇānko*.

Canto III

1d gītair, T

5b kṛpanāmś ca dikṣu, T, dikṣuh, A.

8c. aklībavidvacchucirāśmidhāram, A, T (Gawroński).

10b nilotpalārdhair iva, A, T *T* may have had *kīryamānam*, for which cf *Raghu-vamśa*, xi, 5, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, xliv, 74. *d. abhinandyamānah, T*

14d. kautūhalenānibhṛtāh, A (Luders)

15c vitrāsayantyo, A, T.

17c *T* does not correspond as it stands to the Sanskrit,

but reads *vigūhamāna* or possibly *vinigūha°* Read *kriyā-pragalbhā vinigūhamāna* and cf *Jātaka-mālā*, p 116, l 16.

19*b* *parasparāyāsita°*, *A*, *T* The latter misunderstands the meaning of *āyāsita* here

20*a*. *yuvatīkarālaih*, *A*, *T* For *karāla* in sense of "full", cf Mayūra, *Sūrya-śataka*, 35, and *Daśa-kumāra-carita* (Wilson's ed), ch i, p 50, l 1, and ch vii, p 178, l. 1, and note *karālita* ib, ch vii, p 171, l 1, and in Schmidt's *Nachträge*, s.v.

21*b* *°kundalānām*, *A*, *T*

22*a* *tam tāh kumāram*, *T*, *tebhyah*, *A*, which is nonsense, but palæographically very close to *T*

25*d* *mene 'punarbhāvam*, *T* Weller apparently does not agree with this

26*c* *prayāntam*, *T*, possibly

30*a*. *rūpasya hantrī*, *A*, *T*.

31*b* *parisṛṣtam*, *A*, *°suptam*, *T*, which combined confirm Bohtlingk's *parisṛptam*.

32*a* Weller, p 25, note 3 I do not agree that *T*'s reading is equivalent to *cakitah*

33*d* *caivecchati caiva*, *A*, *caivekṣati caiva*, *T*. Query *caivarcchati* ?

35*d*. *samvigna idam*, *T*

41*d* *param samāśritya*, *T*, *param samāsṛtya*, *A*.

46*b* 1–3 *svasthaś ca*, *T*. *d* The correct reading in the fourth line of *T* is *bzhad gad byed*, which necessitates a correction also in Weller's note 2, p. 27 The equivalent of *T* is *rogair muktāh*, presumably for *rogabhayair vimuktāḥ*

48*b* 10–11. *veśma*, *A* *d* Surely *yons su gros* = Speyer's *paryeṣaṇam* (v *gros i* in S C. Das), not *paryāgam*, as Weller makes it, p. 27, note 3.

50*c* *api nāma sakto*, *T* (Cowell's note), *api nāma śakto*, *A*

52*b* *tam* or *tadrāgadoṣān*, *T*. Query *sa rāga°* or *saṁrāga°* ? *Samvega* is certainly corrupt.

53*c*. *vyatyasya*, *A*, *T* (Bohtlingk).

55*d*. *A* has *yo bhuṣitaś cāpy*, *T* omits *yo* and has some compound of *bhūṣita* followed by *cāpy*.

56*d* *arthavadīśvarāya*, *A*, *T* The P W. gives *arthavat* in the sense of "man" from the *Śabda-kalpa-druma*. Does it not occur in *Jātaka-mālā*, xii, 21, where I would divide *tavārthavatsu caritaviśrutam śrutam* ?

57*c* *samvardhya*, *A*, *T* (Bohtlingk) *d* *priyah* [*priyaih*] *tyajyata*, *T* Weller's emendation of *T* is unnecessary

58*c* *kim kevalo 'syaiva*, *A* (Speyer), *kim eṣa cāsyaiva*, *T*. *d* *athavedrśo*, *T* apparently (Cappeller)

59*b* *idam anta°*, *A* (Bohtlingk)

61*a* *niyatā*, *A* *d* *T* has not got *tathaiva* (Weller, p 28, note 5), but literally *svāsthye tathā* and omits *hy*

62*b* *vihārabhumir na*, *A*, *T* *A* is much rubbed here

63*c* I think *T* had *viśeṣayuktāt tu* (Bohtlingk)

64*c* *vimānavat*, *A*, *T*

65*b* *atinīyate*, *T*; *A* not legible *c* *varāpsarovṛtam*, *T* (Bohtlingk), *°vrttam*, *A* This verse is not in the Chinese, and its genuineness is open to suspicion on internal grounds.

CANTO IV

2*c* In the last line *T* reads, not *phyin las*, but *phrin las* for *hphrin las* = *samudācāra* (S C Das) The following words *yan dag spyod pa* are added to make the Sanskrit equivalent clear

5*d* *gūdhāmśuś candramā iva*, *A*, *T* *T*'s reading is *gsaṅ*, not *gsar*.

6*b* *nigrhītam*, *A*, *T*. *T*, wrongly translated by Weller, takes *jajṛmbhire* in the sense of *gātravināma*, given in the *Dhātu-pātha*, i, 416 It is used in the same sense in v, 59, xiii, 30, and *S* vii, 3 For another word explicable by reference to the *Dhātu-pātha* see note on v, 81, and the form *sasarjatuḥ* in i, 41 (46) is best explained as from the root *sarj*, i, 243.

7*c* *na jahṛṣuḥ*, *T*.

11*c* Weller, p 31, note 1. *T*'s *śes pa* (*jñā*) for *kalitān* has an exact parallel in *Mālatī-mādhava* (Bhandarkar), Act viii, p 298, l. 3, *kalayasi* ? *kalito 'ham* paraphrased in Jagaddhara's commentary *jijñāsase* ? *jñāto 'ham*.

13*b* *viyuktānām*, *A*, *pra°*, *T*

15*a* *yadapi*, *T* *d* *itah* (or *tatah*) *kāryo* *T*

16*c* *padā vyāso*, *T* (Luders), *padā bhyāso*, *A*.

17*b* *vāramukhyayā*, *A*, *T* (Speyer) *T* takes *Janghā* as a proper name (Speyer) I would suggest taking *bhikṣu* as a desiderative form from *bhaj* "have carnal intercourse with"; it is otherwise impossible to translate the verse satisfactorily without radical emendation, and Aśvaghoṣa would hardly apply *bhiksu* in a technical sense to any but a Buddhist

18*a* *dīrghatamasam*, *T*, the usual form of the name

20*c*. *daśa varṣāny aha[r] mene*, *A*, *T*.

25*a*. *hāvair*, *A*, *T* (Luders)

26*c* *jahuh*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn)

29*ab* *madenānāyatā*, *T* apparently, which omits *nāma* and *tatra* and introduces *tāh* and *savilāsāh*, so that it is hard to say what text it read Weller's amendment to *ma g'yens* in the second line does not seem to me an improvement *d* *samghatair*, *A*, *sahitair* or *samhitair*, *T* Query *samhatair* ?

32*d* *hāsasamślesalipsayā*, *T*, *hastasamśliṣyalipsayā*, *A* Query *hastasamślesalipsayā* ?

38*c* *T* read *°vṛtya*, but does not determine the preposition preceding it *d* *dhīralīlayā*, *A*, *T*

39*ab* *kācid dhāsāghūrnita°*, *A*, *T*

51*c* For the difficult *'nutkah* *T* has *mnon sum du*, equal to *pratyakṣatah* or *sākṣāt* Query *'nūktah* used actively ? *d* *pratiśrutkeva*, *A*, *T* (Bohtlingk)

52*b* *vasantenāhṛto*, *A*, *T*

55*a* *tattve 'navasthānam*, *A* (Formichi) *c* *samam vignena*, *A*, *T*.

56*a*. *kim imā*, *T* (Speyer), *kim vimā*, *A* *cd*. Weller proposes *yato rūpena sammattā jarā yan nāśayiṣyati* *T* seems to indicate a substantive, not a participle, in *c*, and the reading may be *sammattaṁ*, which is closer to *A* Aśvaghoṣa is fond of such substantives.

58*c* *nirudvignāḥ*, *A*

59a jarām vyādhim ca mṛtyum ca, A, T. c tiṣṭhen, A, T (Cowell's conjecture) *d śayed vā, T* (*ñal* never used in *T* for *svap*) Cf *Lalita-vistara* (ed Lefmann), ch. xxiii, p 369, *l* 1

71a T's reading was perhaps *dākṣinyasattvena*, not *°bhāvena*, as Weller suggests *T* translates *a* and *b* as one sentence undoubtedly

73*c tatsadṛśīm, A* (Bohtlingk)

74*c Mārutyām* seems to mean daughter of Marutta Āvīkṣita, not of the Maruts, by a confusion of the legends dealt with in Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp 157–8

80*c evam, A, eva, T. d na tu seje na manmatham, A, T.*

87*cd A* has the same text as Cowell here, which is pointless and a later interpolation The correct sense is given by the Chinese (Beal, 304) and *T*, which had *doṣavatsv api kāmeṣu* in *c*, in *d* there are various possible equivalents between which I cannot decide

90*c A* and *T* both omit *na* and are a syllable short; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 307) Query *'traiva* or *'sty atra ?*

92*a yadapy, A, T c* Read *bden min* (= *anṛtaṁ*) for *de min* in *T*

94*b T's śaktasya doṣadarśinah* is not metrically possible.

96*b jarāmaranabhāginam, A, T*

97*c. bhaye 'titīvre, T.*

Canto V

1*c na jagāma dhṛtim, T.*

4*a. vikrṣtatarām, A, T* (Formichi) *b mahīgunāc ca, A, T. c. salilormivikīrna°, T*

5*b krimikītajantu°, A.*

6*b pavanākṣiptarajo°, T.*

8*b. nivartya, T. c. abhita[ś] cala, A, T* (Bohtlingk)

9*a. ca yatra khocavatyām, A, ca tatra śaucavatyāṁ, T. c vicinvan, A.*

10d. Weller, p 40, note 2 *T* read *anāsravaprakampam*

11b. *°sukham manahsamādhim, A, T*

12b. *avaśo, T* (Luders), *avaso, A*

15d. *na vidıdvesa, T, na vividveṣa, A*

17*c* *narapuṃgava, T* apparently (Cowell's query), not *nṛja°* (Weller, p 41, note 1), *nava°, A*

18*c* *T* omits *A*'s *sujano* (altered later to *ajano*) *nyajane ca* shows the correct reading to be *svajane 'nyajane ca tulya-buddhir*, cf the Chinese (Beal, 345) and the *Gāthā* quoted on p 121 of *The Romantic Legend.*

22*a* *jitendriyāśvaḥ, A, T* *c* *parivārajanam tv abhīccha-mānas, T*, literally or, reading *mthon* for *hdod*, *aveksamānas*

24*b* *patır īdrksa ihāyatākṣa, T, patır īdṛk tvām ıhāyatākṣa, A*

31*d* *viśeṣato viveke, A, T* (Speyer)

35*d* *sampattim imām hared, A, T*

36*d* If Luders' *°manoratho 'kramaś ca* is accepted, *krama* must be used in the sense common in the *Jātaka-mālā* (e g. p 85, l 21, xvii, 9, xix, 1, and xxxii, 42) of "the ordinary course of things", so that *akrama* means "contrary to the natural order of things", "impossible".

37*b* *nāsmi vāryah, A, T* (Luders).

38*b* *varam svayam, A* (Kielhorn), *varam tv ayam, T*

40*b* Weller, p 43, note 4. *T* probably read *śāntapūrvam*

43*b* *ivābhidīpyamānah, T*

45*a* *tata uttamam uttamānganās tam, A, T*

46*b* *taih tair na, T.*

49. In the second line the Peking edition for *sbul* has *sbur*, evidently for *lbur* (= *phena*)

51*c* I would read *stug* for *sdug* in *T*, indicating *avaśā ghanā nidrayā* for *avaśā ghananidrayā*

52*b* *T* omits *cāpa*, the missing syllables being represented by *de bzhin* (= *tathā, evam*), presumably *śayitavam pravi-bhugna°*.

53*a.* *A*8 in *A* is uncertain, possibly *va* intended to be altered to *pa*. *T* read *°gandalekham*, taking *lekha* in sense of "edge", "side". As *ganda* can also mean "stalk" (cf

Avadāna-śataka, vol ii, p 133, n. 4), this would give a suitable double meaning Cf *S* iv, 23 (where P.L.M reads *tatkundalādasta°*) *c ivārdhavakranādam*, *A*, *T* *d*. *cakampe*, *T*, not *cacāla*

55*c* *calatsuvarnasūtrā*, *A*, *T* (Bohtlingk) *d* *vadanenākulakarnayoktrakena*, *A*, *T* Cf *S* iv, 17 (where read *nūpurayoktrakābhyāṁ*) and vi, 3

58*d* *gajabhagnā p[r]atiyāt[an]ānganeva*, *A*, *T*.

59*c* *T* takes *ulbanam* with *śayānā* and translates "lying so as to display their bodies" The sense of "excessive" of gestures or clothes may well come to mean "immodest"; cf *Kādambarī* (Peterson), p 66, l 17, *anulbanaveṣena* *d* *vikṛtāh kṣipta°*, *A*, *T*

62*a*. *sattvakulānvarūpam*, *A*, two syllables short, *°kulānvayarūpam*, *T*, one syllable short Read *°kulānvayānurūpam* For *anvaya* in sense of "docility", "training", cf v, 72, below and *Kādambarī*, p 7, l 14, and p 103, l 18

63*a* *samavekṣya ta[thā] ta[thā]*, *A*, *T* *b* Weller, p. 46, note 17. *T* translates *ceṣṭā* regularly by *spyod pa* *c* *valgubhāṣā*, *A*, *T*

69*a* 1–3 *hṛdaye*, *T* *c* *T* omits *iva* *d* *°mukhaḥ sameta iṣṭah*, *T*

70*d* *yātum ato* (or *ito*) *mamādya kālah*, *T*

72*c* *javānvayopapannam*, *T*, *javānvalo°*, *A*

77*b* *karmani*, *A*, *T* (Bohtlingk).

78*b*. *niryānam ito A*, *T* (Luders)

81*b* *kamalān iva pravidhyah*, *A*, *kamalāni viprakṛtya*, *T*, apparently. *d* *T* takes *cakita* as from the root *cak* (*tṛptau*), known only from *Dhātu-pātha*, i, 93 and 820, and read *cakitagatair* or less probably *cakitagatā*

86*b*. *suduṣkaram*, *T*.

87*a* *T* and a marginal gloss in *A* take *harituraga* to refer to the sun. *T* gives point to it by taking *aruna* in *c* as referring to the charioteer of the sun *c* *arunaparuṣatāram*, *A* (Bohtlingk), *arunaparuṣatāra antarīkṣe*, *T* apparently. *d*. *sa ca subahūni*, *A*, *T*.

Canto VI

1*a* *muhūrtābhyudite*, *A* (Bohtlingk)

8*cd* The equivalent of *T* is uncertain It read *bhāvo 'yam* (correct Weller, p 50, note 6 accordingly) and omitted *mayi* and *dṛśyate*, and had in their place a relative and *te* or *tava* Possibly *yasmāt te mayi bhāvo 'yam phalebhyo 'pi parānmukhaḥ.*

10*b* Weller, p 51, note 4 *bskyed* is used to translate the root *vṛdh* and apparently in ix, 10 even the root *arh*, it either stands for *sevyate* here or should be corrected to *bsñen.* *c* *āśayāc chliṣyati*, *A* and probably *T*, who translates "is attached by thoughts of desire".

13*a* *mukuṭād dīpakarmāṇam*, *A*, *T*

15*a* *janmamaraṇa°*, *T*; cf xii, 17*b*, where *A* reads *janma*, hardly distinguishable from *janā.*

44*b* *na tyajeyam aham svayam*, *T*

48*ab* *T* uncertain here I would suggest that *phyir na* = *paramparam*, which is perhaps better sense than *parasparam*, and that in the second line the order of the words in *T* should be altered to *rnam par bslus nas hbral ba ste*

51*a* *A* agrees with Cowell *T* read apparently *asmatkṛtāpekṣe* or, reading *bcas* for *byas*, *asmāsu sāpekṣe*

52*c*. *nirārambho*, *A*, *T*.

54*b* *cakramadhyena*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn)

56*b* 3–5 *kumāro*, *A*, *sa dhīro*, *T*.

59*c* *kāñcanahamsacihnam*, *A*, *T* (Leumann)

62*b* *T* has a finite verb for *nihatya*, *nihanyām* is easier palæographically than *nihanmi.*

65*b* *kāṣāyasamviddhṛti°*, *A*, *kāṣāyasamvṛd (?) dhṛti°*, *T*. *d* *ivoḍurājaḥ*, *A*, *T*.

Canto VII

1*b*. *vanacchandatapo*, *T*, perhaps rather than *°tapā.* *d*. *siddha iva*, *A* (Luders).

3*b*. Utpala on *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, xv, 1, gives *cakradhara* (=discus-

carrier) as an alternative name for *caraka* ascetics; what does *yuga* mean?

7a *kaccid, A, T* (Formichi) *b* *cyuto vā, T*

9d *sārdhombu°, A,* the second letter being written over another which is not legible, *sāmbho'mbu°* or *sāmbvambu°, T* Cf *sajalajalada . svarah, Avadāna-śataka,* vol i, p 272, l. 9

13d *tapoviśeṣāṃs tapasah, A, T* (Gawroński)

15d *vanamārutena, T*

16d *svadantopahṛta°, T*.

18c *sukham hy upaiti, T, sukham upeti, A* originally, altered to apparently *sukham ksa* (or *ksu*) *peti*

21a *priyāṃś ca, T,* not *priyam ca* *b* *svargaheto[r] niyamam, A, T* (Kielhorn) *d. mahattaram bandhanam, A, T* (Kielhorn)

23cd *mṛtyur atraiva, T*

28d *parānmukhārthāh, A, T*

33d *dharmādhvakarmāntam, T*

34c Weller, p 61, note 1 *Paricchidya* more probable

35d *apayāntam, A, T* (Luders).

36c *anurudhyamānas, A, T* indeterminate

45d *parā me, T* (Bohtlingk). *A* has *me* written over *tmā* or vice versa

51d *kundaikahasto, T* and probably *A,* the first three letters being so rubbed as to be only partially visible. The *Mahā-vyutpatti* gives *kuṇḍa* as meaning "paralyzed in the arm", but *T* (cf also the *Romantic Legend,* p 161) translates it "pot".

56a *spastoccaghonam, T, paṣtośćaghonam, A.* For *spaṣṭa* in sense of "straight" cf *S* i, 42

57c. *prāpsyasi, A* (Gawroński), omitted in *T*

Canto VIII

1c. *śokanigrahe, A, T* (Bohtlingk) *d* *T* reads *khog* (= *cikṣiye,* Bohtlingk's conjecture), not *khob*

3a. *hayo 'py* (or *hayas tv*) *anojasvi cacāra* (or *anojā vicacāra*), *T.* *b* For *tatāma bhāvena T* has *hthon pa med las,* as *ḥthon*

pa usually equals *niḥ* and the root *sṛ*, the exact equivalent here would be *niḥsārābhāvena*, which I cannot make fit the metre Palæographical considerations suggest *svabhartrabhāvena* as possible.

7*d* *apasnātam*, *T*, *ayasnātam*, *A*, corrected in a later hand to *aya*°. *Apasnāta* means the ablutions after a funeral ceremony and is appropriate

9*c* *purarāṣṭranandano*, *A*, *T*

11*c* *T* takes *vijahruḥ* in sense of "shed" and omits *na* Query *ca* ? *A* should probably be read *patad dhi jahruḥ* *d*. *phalottham*, *T*, *A* uncertain

15*d*. *yathāśayāḥ*, *T*

16*b*. *turaṃgamānugaḥ*, *T*, *turaṃgamānusaḥ* (or °*saḥ* or °*ngaḥ*), *A* *cd* *nṛpakṣayam* [*yu*]*dhāpinīte*, *A*, *T*

17*c* *T*'s *bsal* seems to stand here for *gsal* as in ix, 41, and to be equal to *dīptena*, a technical term in the science of augury for "ill-omened", "announcing bad luck", which is used of the cry of animals *sta* and *pta* are frequently and *da* and *pa* occasionally confused

21*c*. *kṛṣnā vivarṇā majayā*, *A*, which is unmetrical, *striyo na rejur mṛjayā*, *T*

22*b*. *ārjavakandharair*, *T*.

23*a* *nirīkṣya tā*, *T* (Cowell's conjecture)

26*c* Read in the corresponding line of *T* with the Peking edition *bskus* for *bskud*, the exact equivalent is *prāñjitastanān*.

29*a* *uroprahāra*°, *T* *b* *tathāpi*, *T* (Formichi)

31*d*. *vigādha*°, *A* (Cowell's subsequent conjecture).

34*d* Weller, p 68, note 3. *ramasva cittyām*, *T* apparently One would expect *sñin*, not *sems*, for *hṛd*

35*a* Weller, p. 68, note 6 The exact equivalent is *narendrasya*, a possible reading. *c*. *A* may and *T* does read *suhṛddhruvena*, where *dhruva* must = *pāpa*, a sense not hitherto found in literature.

37 In the fourth line of *T* amend *gtsar* to *rtsegs* (= *pankti*) ? The contracted form of *gs* at the end of a word might be corrupted to *r*.

38*b* Weller, p 68, note 11, *de* must stand for *eṣa*.

40*b* *parıpūrayann*, *T*

47*a* *yato 'pramatto*, *T* (Luders), *yad apramatto*. *A* (Bohtlıngk)

50*a* *bahudevatādbhutam*, *T*

52*b* *samuddhṛtāh*, *T* apparently *e praveritās*, *A*

53*c* *ghanadundubhi* surely means "thunder"; cf *payoda-tūrya* in *Jātaka-mālā*, xv, 13

T omits Cowell's 54 As ıt ıs certaınly spurious, I omıt it and renumber the remaining verses

54 (55) *c* Weller, p 70, note 6 *T* probably read *vaninām* for *kathinām*.

55 (56) *d* Weller, p 70, note 10 *bhramiṣyati T*, not *gamiṣyati*.

58 (59) *a* *pralāpam A* and probably *T*

61 (62) *d* *A* and *T* omit *sa*, *T* probably read *tathā nu*

63 (64) *b* *priyerṣyākalaham*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn)

67 (68) *a* Weller, p. 72, note 2 *T* took *varcas* here as equal to *vapus* It ıs gıven in the *Medini-kośa* and the *Anekārtha-saṃgraha* as equal to *rūpa* (though in the sense of "colour" accordıng to the P.W) Cf. *brahmavaccasın* in the P.T.S.'s Palı dictionary. *d* 11–12, *vata*, *T*, *vataḥ*, *A*.

72 (73) *d*. Weller, p 72, note 9 The readıng ıs *zın pa*, meaning "terminated," "fınıshed" (S C Das)

74 (75) *d* *praveritah*, *A*.

79 (80) *c* *tam*, *T*, *ta*, *A*.

81 (82) *c* 1–2. Much rubbed and ıllegıble in *A*, *sama°*, *T*.

82 (83) *d* *aśāyuḥ*, *A*, *T*.

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The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan

By R L. TURNER

1. Generally speaking, two conditions rule the development of Indo-Aryan consonants, when considered by themselves in contact only with vowels If initial, they are maintained, if intervocalic, they are voiced, opened, and in many cases altogether disappear

2. Professor Meillet (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxxi, p 120) sees the beginning of this process in the Rigvedic change of intervocalic *-d-* and *-ḍh-* to *-ḷ-* and *-ḷh-*, and of *-dh-* and *-bh-* in certain words and terminations to *-h-*. He considers *gṛhūtáh* or *ihá* to be dialectical forms of *gṛbhūtáḥ* and **idha* (of Pkt *idha*).

The terminations -mahe, -mahi

3 But whereas when these sounds occur in the body of the word, we sometimes have the two forms, one with the occlusive and one without, e g *grabh-*, *sadha-* (in composition only), Pkt *idha* beside *grah-*, *sahá*, *ihá*, on the other hand when a *-dh-* occurs in the terminations of the 1st plur mid. *-mahe -mahai -mahi*, there is no trace in Indo-Aryan of any sound other than *-h-*; and but for comparison with other Indo-European languages (e g Avestic *-maiδi*, Greek *-μεθα*) we should not be able to postulate a form with *-*medh-* as the original of the Skt *-mahe*, etc I suggest that the change of *-dh-* to *-h-* was carried out earlier and more universally in terminations than in the body of the word That is to say, inclusion in a termination was a condition modifying the development of intervocalic consonants.

-dhi, -hi

4. It is true that the history of the 2nd sing imperat act. ending *-hi* is not quite so unequivocal Nevertheless, an earlier *-dhi* (cf. Av. *-δi*, Gk. *-θι*) when preceded by a vowel normally

becomes *-hi*. in the Root class (Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 454), Reduplicating class (ib § 460); *Nu* class (ib § 472); *Nā* class (ib § 478).

5 But there are a few exceptions to this rule, namely *śṛṇudhí* (five times in each case with a metrically long final against *śṛṇuhí* three times and *śṛṇuhí* four times), *yuyodhi*, and *śiśādhi* Professor Wackernagel (*Altindische Grammatik*, p 252) has drawn attention to the fact that these last two have the strong stem, and he contrasts *śiśādhi* with *śiśīhí*

6 Apart from the special circumstances attaching to these forms, as pointed out, which may be only coincidence, the position of *-hi* < *-dhi* is not quite parallel with that of *-mahe* < **-madhai*, since the former is liable to the action of analogy There are a large number of forms in which *-dhi*, being preceded by another consonant, is regularly maintained, namely some of the Reduplicating class, e g *pipṛgdhi*, some new formations in the Root class, e g *addhi*, the whole Nasal-infix class, e g *chindhi*

7 It will be seen later that in dissyllables (§ 23) the consonant of the termination, sharing presumably in the main stress of the word, is not so liable to special treatment. It is therefore not without significance that the imperatives of root aorist stems, being dissyllabic words, show more forms with *-dhi* than the present stems: *kṛdhí*, *gadhi* (once), *bodhí* 'be', *vṛdhi*, *śrudhi*, *spṛdhí* opposed to *gahi*, (seventy-nine times) *mdhi*, *sāhi*, *pāhi* (AV) (cf Macdonnel, op. cit. § 505).

8 Where *-dh-* represents an earlier consonant-group, it appears to be maintained unchanged Thus *edhi* < **ĕzdhi*, *śādhi* < **śāzdhi*, *śaśādhi* < **śaśāzdhi*, *bodhí* < **boddhi*, *yódhi* < **yoddhi*. It would appear then that the weakening of *-dh-* in terminations had begun before the complete loss of **z* in the group *-*zdh-* unless the same explanation be admitted for these forms, which all have the strong stem, as suggested by Professor Wackernagel for the presents *yuyodhi* and *śiśādhi* (see § 5).

9 In the two exceptions, *dehi* and *dhehi* < **dĕzdhi* **dĕddhi*

and **dhĕzdhi* **dhĕddhi*, the initial dental may have had a dissimilatory action on the later intervocalic *-dh-*. A similar early loss of occlusion occurred in Pali *dahati* < *dádhāti*

10 Gauthiot showed that "in the ancient Indo-European languages the phonetic elements following the initial consonant of the last syllable of words are subject to quite special alterations and weakenings" (*La Fin de Mot*, p 223)

Indo-Aryan, as is well known, continued the principle From the time of Aśoka onwards the documents of Middle Indian testify to the complete disappearance of final consonants and the progressive shortening of final vowels, of which in the majority of the modern languages there is now no trace, except where their identity has been partially preserved by contraction with a preceding vowel Even in this case Professor Bloch (*La Langue marathe*, p 75) has shown that the resulting sound may be different from that of a contraction in the middle of the word

11 But the change in the language of the Rigveda of **-madhai* and *-dhi* to *-mahe* and *-hi* suggests that not only the vowel following the initial consonant of the last syllable might be specially affected, but also that consonant itself This view is borne out by a number of similar phenomena throughout the history of Indo-Aryan, from which, indeed, it will be seen that all the phonetic elements of the termination are subject to a peculiar development.

-ebhih, -ebhyah

12 In Pali (Geiger, *Pali*, p 54) and in the Inscriptions of Aśoka (Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, chap. vi–xi) intervocalic *-bh-* (like *-dh-*) is generally maintained: in the terminations *-ebhih* and *-ebhyah* (i e *-ebhiyah*) it invariably has become *-h-*. Both appear as *-ehi*

-adhve, -adhvam

13. Even more striking is the divergent treatment of the group *-dhv-* in Pali. In the body of the word it became *-ddh-*, e.g. *addhā* < *ádhvā* (Geiger, op cit, p. 65). In the termination

of the 2nd plur mid it became *-vh-*. e g 2nd plur pres. ind mid *-avhe* < *-adhve*, and 2nd plur pres imperat mid. *-avho* (cf Skt *-adhvam*)

-ena, -āni, -ānām

14 The peculiar development of intervocalic *-n-* in the terminations of the inst sing *-ena*, neut plur *-āni*, and gen. plur. *-ānām* has been remarked upon by Professor Bloch (op cit, p 81). Intervocalic *-n-* in the body of the word is everywhere preserved under the forms *n* or *ṇ* or perhaps *ṛ*. But in these terminations in all Indo-Aryan languages except Romani, Kashmiri, and Sinhalese it had already lost its proper articulation and become first an *anusvāra* and later a simple nasalization of the vowel · thus Ap *-eṃ*, *-ahaṃ*, Pkt *-āṃiṃ* or *-āiṃ* or *āi*. In noting this development in Gujarati I had already ascribed it to the fact that the consonant formed part of the termination (*JRAS*, 1915, p. 27).

-asmin

15 A similar divergence in the history of the groups *-ṣm-* and *-sm-* is displayed by the Inscriptions of Aśoka, and by the grammarians of Prakrit In Aśokan *-ṣm-* and *-sm-* in the body of the word appear (according to dialect) as *sm*, *sp*, (*p*)*ph*, *m*; but as part of the termination of the locative singular, *-asmin*, they appear only as *-s-* (with the exception of the Shahbazgarhi Inscription which has one instance of *-sp-* besides the more usual *-s-*)

Inscription.	*In body of word.*	*In termination*	*Reference to Hultzsch, op cit.*
Girnar	No example	*-mh-*	pp. 62, 64, 65
Kalsi	(*p*)*ph*	*-s-*	76, 78.
Shahbazgarhi	No example.	*-s-* 5 times, *-sp-* once	110
Dhauli and Jaugada	(*p*)*ph*	*-s-*, *-sm-* once.	103.
Pillar Edicts	(*p*)*ph*	*-s-*	106, 117, 119.
Rupnath	*p* (= *ṗph* ?)	*-s-*	125–6.
Mysore	No example	*-s-*	130.

16. In Prakrit for *-ṣm-* and *-sm-* in the body of the word we have (in origin, presumably, according to dialect) *-pph-*, *-mh-*, *-mbh-*, *-ss-*. The termination *-asmin* becomes *-assiṃ*

(*-aśśim*), *-amsi*, *-ammi*, *-ahim* In the body of the word the modern languages show that the development *-ss-* belonged to the North-West (Bloch, op cit, p 159), but in the termination *-śś-* is found in Māgadhī, and *-ss-* in Śaurasenī

17 It is not possible to say whether the Aśokan termination *-asi* represents a single *-s-* or a double *-ss-*. That an original *-ss-* in terminations became *-s-*, while double *-ss-* was still maintained in the body of the word, will be shown below (§ 21). The Prakrit change of *-ss-* to *-h-* in a termination also implies the intermediate step of *-s-*

18 When the whole word was formed by a consonant immediately followed by the termination (as in *tásmāt*, *tásmin*, etc), the development was variable Sometimes it was that of the body of the word (presumably when the word was stressed); sometimes that of a termination. Thus in the Kalsi Inscription we find (*ta*)*phā* < *tásmāt* in the phrase (xii, 35) *ye taphā apavudhe* 'who were killed by him' (where it is a pronoun), but *taśi* in xii, 32, where it is an adjective. It will be shown below that *tásya* could have the development (affecting even its initial consonant) of an auxiliary unaccented word.

19 Sinhalese adds striking evidence to that of the Aśokan Inscriptions and the Prakrits Professor Geiger (*Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p 60) derives the locative ending *-ē* and *-ehi*, which in the oldest inscriptions appears as *-ahi* and *-ihi*, from Pali *-amhi* with abnormal loss of the nasal In view, however, of the regularity of the appearance of *-asi* for *-asmin* in Aśokan, it would seem better to derive the Old Sinhalese form from *-asi*, not *-amhi* Nevertheless, in one word, in which the termination also forms the body of the word, Sinhalese preserves the normal, not the terminational, development of *-sm-*, namely in *yam*, in which Professor Geiger (op. cit., p. 68) sees the descendant of Skt. *yásmin*.

20 To judge from the Aśokan Inscriptions the locative termination *-asmin* was supplanting *-e*. In only two recensions,

namely those of Girnar and Shahbazgarhi, is *-e* found, and then as an alternative only to *-asi* The peculiar development of terminational *-sm-* makes it possible to derive modern locative forms like Marathi *-ĩ* or Gujarati *-e* (like that of Sinhalese) from *-asmin* through *-asi* > *-ahi*, rather than from *-e* or *-ake*.

-asya

21 For the declension of the modern noun the old genitive is the most important of the oblique cases It will be instructive to follow the history of the termination *-asya*. This appears in Pali as *-assa*, in Aśokan as *-asa* (which can represent either *-asa* or *-assa*), in Prakrit Śaurasenī and Mahārāstrī *-assa*, Māgadhī *-aśśa* and *-āha*, Apabhramśa *-assu*, *-asu*, *-aho*, and *-aha* (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, p 248) The most instructive evidence, however, from our point of view is given by the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions of the Stein Expedition (edited by Rapson, Boyer, and Senart)

22 In these inscriptions there are two forms of *s* : the one ordinary *s* (which may, of course, be read either as *s* or as *ss*) ; the other a form with a line underneath (transliterated as *s̱*). An examination of the words in which these two forms of *s* appear show that *s* represents Middle Indian initial *s-* or else intervocalic *-ss-*, but that Middle Indian intervocalic single *-s-* is usually represented by *s̱* Thus we have *divas̱a* (*divasah*), *mas̱a* (*mā́sah*), *ghas̱a* (*ghāsáh*), *vas̱a* (*vāsáh*), *tras̱a* (*trāsah*), a large number of 2nd sing. pres forms in *-as̱i* and *-es̱i* (*-asi* and *-ayasi*) I have counted twenty-six names ending in *-s̱ena* of the type *Balas̱ena* (*Balasenah*) occurring seventy-eight times with *s̱*, and only eight times with *s*. The writings with *s* are easily explicable as influenced by Sanskrit orthography As to the sound-value of *s̱*, in view of the fact that in some dialects of Shina (Kohistani and Guresi) *-s-* becomes *-z-* (e g *bázõnu̥* < *vásantah*, *sázārŭ* < *svásārah*), I venture to suggest that it may have represented *z*. This view is perhaps confirmed by the alternative spelling with *jh* : e.g. *dajha* beside *das̱a* (*dāsáḥ*).

23 To the rule that Middle Indian initial *s*- is represented by *s* there are important exceptions The peculiar phonetic treatment of *s*- in *s̱a*- (*sá*), *s̱adha* (*sārdhám*), and *s̱arva* (*sárvah*) I discuss elsewhere But there is another and more important exception to the rule that Middle Indian -*ss*- is represented by -*s*- For the genitive singular termination is always -*as̱a*, not -*asa* The interpretation of this must be that -*assa* had become -*asa*, of which the single -*s*- then had the same evolution as an original single -*s*-. This is confirmed by the fate of the same termination in European Romani In this language Skt *a* before a double consonant or a consonant group is represented by *a*: e g *vast* (*hástah*), *sap* (*sarpáḥ*), etc Before a single consonant it becomes *e*: e g *jeno* (*jánah*), *deš* (*dáśa*), etc. Nevertheless, the oblique termination is -*es*, which must be derived from Middle Indian -*asa*, not -*assa*. The parallelism between the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and Romani in this respect is still more strikingly illustrated. Just as in Aśokan *tasi* (*tásmin*) we have the terminational development of -*sm*- (presumably because the word was unstressed) so in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions the form of the genitive singular of this pronoun is always *tas̱a* (just like the genitive of nouns or dissyllabic pronominal stems, e g. *edas̱a*) The essentially enclitic or unstressed nature of this word is shown by Romani, which besides having the vowel *e* develops the initial *t*- as though it were intervocalic, i e. as *les* The existence of an unaccented form with single -*s*- is further confirmed by other modern languages which normally lengthen a short vowel before an earlier consonant group, but have in this word kept the vowel short, e g. Nepali *tas* or *tyas* beside nominative *so* or *tyo*

24 But if *tásya* has the unaccented treatment in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and in Romani, the relative in the one and the interrogative in the other have the development of fully accented words: Khar. Inscrr *yasya* opposed to *tas̱a*, Eur. Rom *kas* (*kásya*) opposed to *les*

25. It is clear, then, that -*ss*- in a termination had a different

development from *-ss-* in the body of the word, and became *-s-* at a comparatively early period Therefore there seems no valid reason against assuming that a single *-s-* in a terminative may have evolved differently from a single *-s-* in the body of the word, and that Māgadhī *-āha* and Apabhraṁśa *-aho* derive from earlier *-assa* The long *ā* of Māgadhī probably represents the tendency of *-aha* to contract In modern Nepali orthography the spellings *aha*, *ahā*, *āha*, *āhā* are used indiscriminately, all being pronounced *ā(h)* This, too, raises the possibility that modern oblique cases in *-ā* of masculine and neuter nouns, as in Nepali or even in Marathi, are derived not from the dative *-āya*, but the genitive *-asya*, a supposition previously rejected by Professor Bloch (op cit, p 182) on phonological grounds For it has been demonstrated that the survival of *-ss-* as *s* in a monosyllabic stem like Nepali *kas* or Hindi *kis* does not necessarily imply that it will similarly survive in a termination proper

26. The derivation of the Marathi oblique case in *-ā* from the dative *-āya*, ingenious as it is and supported by the brilliant comparison with the declension of the personal pronouns and of the feminine noun, nevertheless encounters two serious difficulties The first is the rarity of *-āya* forms in Middle Indian documents, the second the improbability that a phonetically rather indeterminate ending, namely *-āya* or *-āa* (too easily confused with *-ā* of the ablative singular or nominative plural) should replace a phonetically well-defined ending, namely *-asya* or *-assa* The case of the feminine in this respect is clearly different: for here it is the dative, *-āyai* or *āye* or *-āe*, that gives a greater contrast than the genitive, *-āyāh* or *-āyā* or *-āya* or *-āa*, when compared with cases like the ablative *-āyāh*, locative *-āyām*, nominative sing *-ā* or nominative plur. *-āh*

-iṣya-

27 I turn now to two other suffixes or terminations containing a sibilant. The Sanskrit future in *-iṣyati* appears in

li with *-issati*, in Aśokan *-iśati* (Shahbazgarhi), *-isati* (elseby here), *-isiti* (once at Mysore), without any indication as to tr e length of the sibilant. In Prakrit the future is characterized I y the suffixes *-issa*, *-issi*, *-iha-*, *-ihi-* (Pischel, op cit., im 362 ff) The *h*-forms are apparently most common in re hārāṣṭrī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, and particularly Ardhamāgadhī al oth forms are represented in the modern languages: *-issa-*, *-a g.* in Gujarati (*karīś* I shall do, *karśe* he will do); *-issi-*, sa g in Lahnda (*marsī* he will die); *-ihi-*, e g in Bhojpuri th *ihī* he will drink), *-iha-* e g in Lakhimpuri (*dekhihaū* h shall see) No satisfactory explanation of the forms in *-h-* has yet been given I suggest that in those dialects in which they occur, *-h-* represents the special treatment of *-ss-* > *-s-* in a terminational element

-asi

28 In most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages the present indicative active of Sanskrit still survives (in meaning as either a present, future, subjunctive, conditional or gnomic tense) But though the terminations are presumably (and in some cases quite clearly) descended from the Sanskrit, the phonetic changes undergone are not always regular In some there is certainly to be seen the special phonetic treatment of the termination

The 2nd sing *-asi* (often written *-aṣi* in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions) clearly survives in the Marathi *-as* and *-īs* (*-asi* and *-ayasi*). Beyond Marathi, forms in *-s* are found in Romani, Awadhi, Bengali, and Nepali (the last only with two monosyllables: *hos* < *bhávasi*, *chas* < *acchasi*). Other languages (with the exception of Oriya with *-u*, perhaps originally a form of the imperative, cf. Pkt. 2nd sing. imperat. *-asu*) have forms which appear to go back to earlier *-ai*. This in the Gilgiti dialect of Shina (though not in the Kohistani or Guresi in which *-s-* normally becomes *-z-*), Sindhi, Lahnda, and Panjabi might be derived from *-ahi*, the normal representative in those languages of earlier *-asi*. But normal phonology, as

Professor Bloch points out (op cit, p 234), would not explain the forms of Gujarati (*-e*), Rajasthani (*-e*), Hindi (*-e*), etc., in which languages *-s-* in the body of the word is preserved But given the special development of terminational *-s-* to *-h-*, the forms of these languages are derivable from Sanskrit *-asi* And it is just these languages which are most akin to the Apabhraṁśa type in which is found the gen sing. *-aha* < *-asa* < *-assa*.

-āmah, -āmasi

29 For the 1st plural the Sanskrit *-āmo* explains sufficiently the forms of the circle of languages consisting of Oriya (*-ū*), Marathi (*-ũ*), Gujarati (future *-īś-ū*), Sindhi (*-ũ*), Shina (*-ōn* · perhaps from **-ōm* with *-n* from the 3rd plur to distinguish it further from the 1st sing in *-m*), Western Pahari (generally *-aū* or *-ũ*), Garhwali (*-aū*), Kumaoni (*-ũ*), Nepali (*-aū*), Assamese (*-ō*)

30 In Kashmiri (*-aw*), which normally maintains intervocalic *-m-*, the special change to *-w-* has been effected in the termination

31. But cutting across this circle is a line of languages having forms which cannot be derived directly from *-āmo*. Generally speaking, they show either an *s*, or its derivative, and a vowel or diphthong with an *i*-timbre These are European Romani (*-as*), Pashai (*-ēs*), Khowar (*-isi*), Lahnda (*-āhā̃*), Rajasthani (*-ā̃*), Panjabi (*-e*), Braj (*-aĩ*), Hindi (*-ẽ*), Awadhi (*-ī*), Bhojpuri (*-ī̃*), Bengali (*-i*)

In his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (p 71), Dr. G Morgenstierne follows the suggestion made by Sir George Grierson (*Piśāca Languages*, p 59) that *-āmasi* is the original of the Khowar ending *-isi*, as for the Kafiri forms (e g Bashgali *-miśi*) This derivation, both for Pashai and for Khowar, necessitates the assumption of a special phonetic development in the termination, since both these languages normally preserve intervocalic *-m-* But given this special development not only for *-m-*, but also for *-s-*

in the termination (as in the case of *-asa* and *-ası*), the form *-āmasi* might explain all the forms of the Central isogloss.

-athana

32 It is possible that the intermediate stage in the above was the early loss of *-a-*, so that *-āmasi* became **-āmsi*. A similar phenomenon may explain the form of the 2nd plur. in Shina Most of the languages have forms in *-ā* or *-o*, going back to Prakrit *-aha* or *-aho*, Sanskrit *-atha* or **-athah*. But three Dardic dialects show forms with *-t* (or *-d* in some Pashai dialects): Pashai *-ata* or *-at*, Kalasha *-et*, Shina *-ĕt*, Kohistani and Guresi *-āth* Dr Morgenstierne (op cit, p 92) would derive this from the old imperative 2nd plur *-ta*, on the ground that its morphological importance may have saved the *-t-* from disappearance On the contrary, we see in all the other cases just considered that the sounds of terminations compared with those of the body of the word were more weakly rather than more strongly pronounced I suggest, therefore, that this form is derived from *-athana* or *-atana*, which occur in the Rigveda beside *-atha* and *-ata* in the proportions respectively of 6 to 1 and 5 to 1 (Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 314) The middle *-a-* was early lost by special treatment of the termination, leaving **-athna* or **-atna*, which would normally become **-attha* or **-atta*.

33 The same form perhaps provides European Romani with its ending *-en* (hitherto supposed to be taken from the 3rd plur cf Sampson, *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, p. 188). In Romani *-th-* probably, though not certainly, became *-lh-*, *-l-* (Turner, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc*, New Ser, vol. iii, 4) In Romani then we do not have premature loss of *-a-*, but peculiar treatment of *-th-* and a subsequent special shortening of the syllables *-aha-* to *-e-*, not *-a-*.

-anti

34. In Shina, and other Dardic languages, the group *-nt-* (like *-nd-*) regularly becomes *n*: e g. *dọn*, plur. *dōnyẹ*, tooth,

from Skt *dántah* There is therefore no special treatment of the consonants in the ending of the 3rd plur : Shina *-n* (e g *khān* < *khádanti*), Pashai *-in*, Kalasha *-n*, Khowar *-ini*

35 But in Kashmiri, Sindhi, Lahnda, Panjabi, Garhwali, Kumaoni, and Nepali *-nt-* becomes *nd* (e g Kash *dand*, Si *ḍandu*, Lah. *dand*, Panj *dand* from *dántah*) Nevertheless all these languages in the 3rd plur have *-n* only: Kash *-an*, Si *-ani*, Lah *-ēn*, Panj *-an*, Nep. *-an* That is to say, they show a special treatment of the group *-nt-* in the termination The Kafiri dialect, Ashkun, normally preserves *-nt-* unchanged, but has the 3rd plur. pres in *-n* (Morgenstierne, op cit , p 45)

36 In another dialect area the disintegration was still greater Already in Apabhramśa we have *-ahĩ*, in which the group *-nt-* is only represented by a nasalization, while the presence of *-h-* is doubtless due to the influence of the 2nd persons This form accounts for the Central group consisting of Gujarati, Rajasthani, West and East Hindi, and Bhojpuri, all with *-ahĩ*, *-aĩ*, or *-ẽ*

37 Most languages, like Romani with *-en*, retain the short vowel, even though in the body of the word an original similar short vowel would have been lengthened

38 We have seen that the consonants, as well as the vowels, of terminations are liable to a development different from that of the same sounds in the body of the word The special changes in every case, resulting either in the loss of a syllable, the shortening, voicing, assimilation or complete disappearance of a consonant, are those to be expected where the pronunciation is lax and the muscular effort not intense. In other words, the termination behaves as though it were unaccented or not prominent What was the result of this on the language ? Professor Meillet has pointed out how in the special weak pronunciation of absolute finals of Indo-European, demonstrated by Gauthiot, the seeds of the destruction of the inflectional system were already sown This process was hastened, in Indo-Aryan at least, by the

phonetic weakness of the whole termination, whether it consisted of one or two or even three syllables Doubtless the working was from both sides. As other means of expressing grammatical relationship came into being, the terminations would become still more lightly stressed ; and it is significant that those languages, such as Hindi, which have preserved least of the old inflectional system, either of noun or verb, have suffered the most violent special phonetic changes in the terminational element.

Buddhist Miscellanea

By N. D MIRONOV

I Avalokiteśvara [1]—Kuan-Yin [2]

THE Sanskrit name of this Bodhi-sattva, so prominent in the Mahāyāna church of Buddhism, has been a puzzle to several generations of scholars

Though it seems rather simple (= past pass part of *lok-ava*, "to look [down]"—*īśvara*, "lord"), there are at least five or six translations, viz "The lord of what we see (i e the present world)," "The lord whom we see," "The lord revealed [contemplated]," "The master who is [was] seen," etc

That is the list given by L de la Vallée Poussin. The last translation ("The master who is (was) seen") has been suggested by Professor A Grunwedel,[3] and most plausibly explained by iconographic motives Avalokiteśvara is usually

[1] The present writer, possessing no knowledge of Chinese, is much indebted to his Japanese pupil, Mr Y Ishizaki, who kindly supplied him with necessary data and wrote the Chinese characters herein

[2] In order to avoid tedious repetitions a list of books and papers quoted is here given .—

Beal, S., A *Catena* of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese. London, 1871.

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Grünwedel, A., Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie Trad. par J Goldschmidt Leipzig, 1900.

Kern, H, The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, etc, transl. by H K (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxi) Oxford, 1909.

Nanjio, B., A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka Oxford, 1883.

Poussin, L. de la Vallée, "Avalokiteśvara," Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, vol ii, pp. 256 seqq.

SP, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjio (Bibl. Buddh., x) St. Petersburg, 1912.

[3] p. 130.

represented with a small figure of his spiritual father Amitābha on his head

Professor Grunwedel adds a significant remark: "If the form of the Sanskrit name be correct"

The real origin of the appellation—according to the same scholar—was no longer intelligible to subsequent generations.

Old Sanskrit texts are hardly of great use. The first Sūtra mentioning this name, the Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka, contains a whole chapter (xxiv) devoted to the praise of Avalokiteśvara; but the initial sentences, which ought to explain the meaning of the name, utterly fail in doing it (as we shall see in the sequel)

The *Kāranda-vyūha* (v 1) says that the Bodhi-sattva is so called because he regards with compassion beings suffering the evils of existence [1]

The principal difficulty in the study of Buddhism is, of course, the absence of continuous Indian tradition, such as we possess (in various degrees) for all other forms of Indian religious and philosophical thought We are compelled therefore to have recourse to the literature and practice of other Buddhist countries, such as Tibet and China

The Tibetan version of the Bodhi-sattva's name is *Spyan-ras-gzigs*, i e "The Lord who looks [or sees] with [bright] eyes" [2]

The Mongol form is *Nidubär-udzākci*, a translation of the Tibetan; another one, *Ariabalo*, is but a transliteration of Skt. *Āryâvalokiteśvara*

Chinese has many forms, which may be reduced to two principal ones The first is *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai* (觀 自 在), a translation of *Avalokiteśvara*, "The onlooking sovereign." [3]

[1] Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, loc cit.

[2] So Grünwedel, ibid, the words in square brackets are taken from Eliot, ii, p 14

[3] Eitel, p. 18, s.v. *Avalokiteśvara*. The transliteration of Chinese characters is taken from Eliot, and verified in Professor Giles' *Dictionary*. Eliot translates the word "Seeing and self-existent". He remarks that *tzu-tsai* serves to translate Skt. *īśvara*, so *Ta-tzŭ-tsai* = *Maheśvara* (*Śiva*).

The second form, by far the more usual one, is *Kuan-shih-yin* (觀 世 音), "One who contemplates the sounds of the world," or "Hearer of the prayers of the world"; it is "shortened" to *Kuan-yin*[1] (觀 音) (Japanese *Kwan-non*), i e. "Contemplating sounds" ("Hearing prayers").[2]

There is a third form, akin to the preceding one, *Kuang-shih-yin* (光 世 音), "Illuminating the sounds of the world"[3]

The second form (*Kuan-yin*), not to speak of the third, has been unanimously declared by scholars (both Sinologists and Indianists) to be a wrong translation of Skt *Avalokiteśvara*, where the word *svara* ("sound") had been substituted for *īśvara* ("lord"),[4] i e supposing a Skt form *Avalokitasvara.*

The present writer has to study the Skt fragments of the *Saddharma-pundarika* MSS brought by Count K Otani's expedition (Mr Z Tachibana) from E Turkestan In one of the three sets of fragments which for palæographical reasons may be assigned to the end of the fifth century A D he happened to find three fragments[5] of the twenty-fourth chapter, devoted to the praise of *Avalokiteśvara*

The name of the Bodhi-sattva is spelt *Avalokitasvara*

As the name occurs *five times* on an incomplete leaf, the possibility of a clerical error is hardly admissible The circumstance is especially important, as the Petrovsky MS of *SP.* from Kashgar has the usual form *Avalokiteśvara.*

Thus a hereto missing link between the Indian and Chinese traditions seems to have been found It cannot be doubted that *Avalokitasvara* was the original form, later supplanted by *Avalokiteśvara*

This can be proved by internal and external evidence Internal evidence is supplied by a careful perusal of the

[1] Beal, *Catena*, p. 383 Eliot, ii, p. 14.

[2] Eitel, ibid

[3] Eitel, ibid.

[4] So Eitel, loc. cit.

[5] Marked respectively P. 7b6, P 7b6*a*, P. 18*a*. They are in many respects similar to (though younger than) the Stein MSS of *SP.* described by M. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 1067–77.

beginning of ch xxiv (*Samanta-mukha-parivarta*) of *SP.* compared with Beal's translation of the Chinese version thereof [1] External evidence is to be sought for in the succession of different forms of the name in Chinese Buddhist texts :—

Beal's Translation	*Skt Text* (BBEd, p 438, ll 1–7)
At this time the Bôdhisatwa Akchayamati immediately rose from his seat and having bared his shoulder and bent his right knee, with closed hands he stood before Buddha and spoke as follows "World-honoured one! Whence and for what reason is the name of Kwan-shai-yin derived?"	*atha khalv Akṣayamatir bodhisattvo mahāsattva utthāy=âsanād ekâṃsam uttar-âsangaṃ kṛtvā dakṣinaṃ jānu-mandalaṃ pṛthivyām pratiṣṭhāpya yena Bhagavāṃs ten=âñjalim pranāmya Bhagavantam etad avocat | kena kāranena Bhagavann Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo mahāsattvo 'valokiteśvara ity ucyate |*
Buddha replied to Akchayamati Bôdhisatwa thus "Illustrious youth! Though there were untold millions of creatures in the universe all suffering from miseries incident to their several conditions, they need only hear this name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, *and with one heart invoke it, and Kwan-shai-yin, immediately perceiving the sounds of the voice so pronounced,* shall deliver them all"	*Evam ukte Bhagavān Akṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvam mahāsattvam etad avocat | iha kula-putra yāvanti sattva-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasrāni yāni duhkhāni pratyanubhavanti tāni saced Avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya nāmadheyaṃ śrnuyus te sarve tasmād duḥkha-skandhāt parimucyeran |*

I add the English translation of the above Skt passage [2] "Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Aksayamati rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, stretched

[1] Beal, *Catena*, pp 389 seqq., based apparently on the version of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, A D. 601 (cf. Nanjio, No. 13 f.)

[2] Kern, p 406. I have changed the transliteration of Indian words, following that adopted by this *Journal*

his joined hands towards the Lord, and said : For what reason, O Lord, is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara called Avalokiteśvara ? So he asked, and the Lord answered to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Aksayamati : All the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles, will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, be released from that mass of troubles "

The italicized words of Beal's translation are wanting in the Skt text (BBEd edition as well as in Kern's version), a circumstance noticed by the late Sinologist [1]

The Buddha's words (in the Skt text) obviously do not explain the meaning of the Bodhisattva's name (*Avalokiteśvara*), whereas the Chinese text is far more to the point If the Indian text contained anything like *śṛnuyur vadeyuś ca* and the form *Avalokitasvara*, the meaning of the name and the context would be clear : *Avalokitasvara* may mean " One aware of (imploring) voices ", or " taking notice of voices " [2]

The obvious inappropriateness of the explanation of the name *Avalokiteśvara* in this passage was early felt. When the *Avalokitasvara* was abandoned and supplanted by *Avalokiteśvara*, the text of the prototype of the Vulgata was remodelled, viz the words " voice ", " invoke ", preserved in Chinese, were eliminated (the same proceeding being adopted in the sequel, too) At last some scribe had recourse to an interpolation · a Chinese edition of ch xxiv (in Skt) contains the following passage between the words *śṛnuyus* and *te sarve* [3]

tān sarvāṃs tasmād duhkha-skandhād Avalokiteśvaraḥ parimocayed īśvara - vidhānen = *avalokṛ(tena)* | *tat kasya hetoh* | *nānā-deśeṣu nānā-sthāneṣu nānā-jā[ti ?]su api naraka - tiryagyoni - preta - Yamalokeṣv andaja - jarāyuja -*

[1] Beal, *Catena*, p 390, n. 1 : " This explanation is wanting in the French version " (i.e. in that by E. Burnouf).

[2] Cf Böhtlingk, *Skt. Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, s.v. *lok-ava* , also " to look graciously ".

[3] *SP.*, p 438, n. 6.

saṃsvedaj - aupapādukānı sama - kāla - smṛta eva kula - putr = âryasrād daṣty (?) = *aıśvaryena vıdhānena īdṛśo 'sya prabhāvo 'smāt kāraṇād Avalokiteśvarasy=âvalokiteśvaratvam* |

(The grammar of thıs passage ıs too bad to admıt a literal translatıon The general meanıng seems to be: "Avalokıteśvara wıll deliver them all from that mass of paın, taking notıce (*avalokitena* ?) of the applıcatıon (*vidhāna*) [of the word] *īśvara* For what reason ? There are beings ın various countries, various places, varıous states (*jātiṣu* ?), [vız] in the hells, anımal creatıon, the world of departed spırits, and ın that of Yama, born from egg, matrice, moısture or born miraculously, remembered [by them] at the same time, O noble youth, owing to his sovereign power, to the applıcation (?), such ıs hıs power For that reason Avalokiteśvara ıs [called] Avalokıteśvara.")

The subsequent four examples of the benıgn power of Avalokiteśvara are told in almost the same words ın both versions (Beal's Chinese origınal and Nepalese), I mean the cases of a man fallen ınto fire, of the crew of a shıp harassed by an untimely gale, of the man condemned to capıtal punıshment, and of the merchant leadıng a caravan All of them have but to invoke the Bodhısattva ın order to get out of their pain and trouble But the next three instances referring to men under the ımpulse of passıon, hatred, and delusion are worded differently.

Beal, Catena, p 3 p. 391, l. 13	*SP* (p 441, ll. 8–11)
If there be any creature under the influence of lustful passion, by *constant* reverence *and invocation* (of Kwan-yin) Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa will send and procure deliverance for such a being and banish his lust; and so, if any one be subject to	*ye kula - putra rāga - caritāḥ sattvās te 'valokıteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya namaskāraṃ kṛtvā vigata-rāgā bhavanti* | *ye dveṣa - caritāḥ sattvās te 'valokıteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya namaskāraṃ kṛtvā vıgata-dveṣā bhavanti* |

the dominion of anger, Kwan-shai-yin in answer to such an one's *invocation and* reverence will cause the dominion of this passion to be destroyed, and so also in the case of those under the influence of delusion (or unbelief), Kwan-shai-yin will in answer to the same religious exercises, cause all such delusion to disappear

Thus, Akchayamati, Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa is able to exercise his eminent spiritual power for the advantage of all creatures. *They therefore ought to invoke his name with their whole heart and constantly.*

ye moha-caritāḥ sattvās te 'valokiteśvarasya bodhisat tvasya mahāsattvasya namaskāraṃ kṛtvā vigata-mohā bhavanti | *evam maharddhikah kula-putr= āvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahā-sattvaḥ* ||

Kern's translation: "In case creatures act under the impulse of impure passion, young man of good family, they will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, be freed from passion. Those who act under the impulse of hatred . . (of infatuation) . . ."

Thus all hints at "invocation" have disappeared from the Skt text.

Let us now turn to the Chinese forms of the name. The present writer prefers to adduce them in chronological order of authors, or translators (not corresponding to that adopted by Eitel)

The Sanskrit works translated are the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*, ch. xxiv, and the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, ch. xxxiv,[1] the oldest text mentioning the Bodhisattva in question.

Saṅghavarman [2] (A D. 252), the translator of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, uses the form *Kuan-shih-yin*, as if trying to render the two meanings of *lok* (*loka*), the verb and the substantive

[1] Ed. M. Müller, Oxford, 1883 (*Anecd. Oxon.*, Aryan Ser., v, 1, pt. ii), p. 56.

[2] Nanjio, No. 27 and p. 386, App. II, No. 14.

("world"); the Skt equivalent would be *Avalokitalokasvara*[1] The meaning is "One who contemplates [looks on] the sounds of the world", i e "Hearer of the prayers of the world"

Lokarakṣa (A D. 147–86) seems to have used transliterated Skt names of both the Bodhisattvas mentioned in this passage, i e Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta The latter is named *Mo-ho-na* (摩 訶 那) = *Mahāna* = *Mahāsthāna* (the Bodhisattva is sometimes called Mahāsthānaprāpta cf. Grundwedel, p 129) Thus the first two and the last syllables must have been used in this abbreviation Avalokiteśvara appears as *K'o-lou-kêng* (廅 樓 亘, Japanese pronunciation *Ka-rō-kō*), perhaps = Skt *Kārunika* (?) Then it would remind us of the name Mahākarunācandri[n] in the list of Bodhisattvas of the *Lalita-vistara* (ed Lefmann, p 2), usually identified with Avalokiteśvara Compassion (Skt *karunā*) is considered as the chief characteristic of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; cf the Chinese epithet *Ta-tz'ŭ-ta-pei* (大 慈 大 悲), which Eitel (p 126) tentatively renders *Adhimātra-kārunika* (the present writer would suggest *Mahākārunika*, used as an epithet of the Buddha both in Skt and Pāli).

As the signs 亘 (*hsuan*) and 亙 (*kêng*) are commonly interchangeable and the latter is used in the transcription of *śva* in *lokeśvara* (cf. St Julien, *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits, etc*, Paris, 1861, p 185), *K'o-lou-kêng* might be a distorted *lokeśvara* (?) [cf *infra*, p 251]. At any rate, the name corresponding to *Avalokitasvara*, etc, not being used by Lokarakṣa, one might presume that this name was introduced *later* than the end of the second century A D It is interesting to note that, though the cult of Aval is by some scholars (S d'Oldenburg) assigned even to the Gandhāra

[1] Saṅghavarman's translation is but the third of those now extant. The two older ones by Lokarakṣa (cf. Nanjio, No 25) and by Chih-Ch'ien (ibid., No. 26) being made from a different original, the comparison with the Skt. text is rather difficult.

period of Buddhist art (*c.* first century B.C.–first century A.D.), the name does not appear either in the *Mahā-vastu* or in the *Lalita-vistara* (*v supra*) Thus the *terminus a quo* would be the middle (or beginning) of the third century A D The author of the oldest extant translation of the *Sad-dharma-pundarīka*, Dharmarakṣa [1] (A D 266–313), uses a slightly different form—*Kuang-shih-yin*, i e "illuminating the sounds of the world." It seems that Dharmarakṣa construed *avalokita* as a past pass part of the causative (*avalokayati*)

The form *Kuan-shih-yin*, first attested in Sanghavarman's version of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, is the only one used by Kumārajīva [2] in his translation of *SP* (A.D. 402–15), as well as by the traveller Fa-Hsien [3] (A D 399–414), and by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, who remodelled Kumārajīva's translation of *SP* in A D 601.[4]

Kuan-shih-yin along with the "shortened" form *Kuan-yin* is still in use [5]

The form corresponding to Skt *Avalokiteśvara*, *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai*, appears first in the works of the celebrated Hsuan-Tsang [6] (born about A.D. 600, d 664), as stated by Beal [7] and maintained by Eliot.[8]

Beal mentions a note in the Chinese text to the effect that the "old forms of translation, viz *Kuang-shi-yin*, *Kuan-shi-tzŭ-tsai* (觀 世 自 在, 'Beholding the world god'), are all erroneous". The editor adds "It is singular, if the expression (*Kuan-shi-yin*) is erroneous, that Hsuan-Chuang, or rather Hwui-lih uses it constantly in his biography" [9]

[1] Nanjio, p 391, App II, No 23.

[2] Ibid, p 406, App II, No 59.

[3] *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, transl. by J Legge, Oxford, 1886, pp 46, 112–13.

[4] Jñānagupta, a native of Gandhāra, born about A.D. 523, died A.D. 600. (Nanjio, pp 431, 434, App. II, Nos. 125, 129.) Dharmagupta, a native of India, worked A.D. 590–616, died A.D. 619. (Nanjio, p. 434, App II, No. 131.)

[5] Edkins, p. 262.

[6] Nanjio, p. 435, App. II, No 133.

[7] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, i, p. 60, n. 210.

[8] Eliot, ii, p 14.

[9] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, i, p. 127, n. 26.

The explanation may be guessed from the above remark: an old form of the name of a popular deity (for such was Avalokiteśvara in the eyes of the great mass of unsophisticated people) cannot be eradicated even by the most authoritative reformer.

And we know Hsuan-Tsang acted as a reformer of Chinese Buddhism, various discrepancies among different Chinese versions of Buddhist texts made him undertake his long and perilous journey to the cradle of the Buddha's faith (A D 629–45)[1] He brought home a vast quantity of Indian books[2] and devoted the rest of his life to the task of translation[3] His activity marks a new period in the history of Chinese Buddhist literature[4] Hsuan-Tsang's translations are now recognized to be nearer to Skt originals and in general far superior to older ones

No wonder that the younger translators of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, Bodhiruci[5] (A D. 693–713) and Fa-Hsien[6] (法 賢 = Dharmabhadra ?, A.D. 973–1001), adopt the form *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai*[7]

A comparison of the newly discovered remains of Buddhist literature of East Turkestan with Nepalese versions of the same texts (e g of *SP*) shows that there were considerable differences between the two lines of Buddhist tradition, partly due to the difference of age, the bulk of Central Asian MSS. belongs to the fifth–seventh centuries A D, while there are

[1] Beal, *Life*, p 10 "He then resolved to travel to the Western world, in order to ask about doubtful passages" Cf. also the introduction to the *Si-yu-ki*, p. 15.

[2] "Altogether 657 distinct volumes, carried upon twenty horses," ibid., p. 214.

[3] "Translated seventy-four distinct works," ibid, p. 217, Nanjio, p. 435, App. II, No. 133, gives the number as 75

[4] Edkins, p. 120, Eliot, iii, pp. 292 seqq.

[5] Nanjio, p. 442, App II, No. 150.

[6] Nanjio, p. 450, App II, No 159.

[7] Eitel mentions a curious compromise form *Kuan-yin* (觀 尹), meaning "Onlooking lord [ruler]", i.e. phonetically almost identical with the old one (*Kuan-yin*, 觀 音, only the tone being different) and equal to the new one (*Kuan-tzŭ-tsai*) in meaning.

no Nepalese MSS. older than the ninth century, and one of the eleventh–twelfth centuries is of respectable antiquity.

We know that a great many of the old translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese were natives of Central Asia, who were evidently familiar with the sacred books in the form which was usual in their country (or rather countries) Indian monks who had come to China through East Turkestan were also, to a certain point, under the same influence Later, when the Chinese came into direct contact with India (after Fa-Hsien, i e. beginning of the fifth century A D), the state of things may have become different (The present writer does not pretend to deny intercourse and interaction, more or less continuous, between Central Asia and India) It seems that the older Chinese versions of Buddhist books are nearer to Central Asian texts than to those of Nepal Thus, while the old translators (first–sixth centuries) represent the older tradition of East Turkestan, Hsuan-Tsang appears as the propagator of the Indian tradition of his own days (seventh century).

Let us sum up the facts and try to explain them

(1) An old Central Asian Sanskrit MS gives the name of the Bodhisattva as *Avalokitasvara*,

(2) which corresponds to the popular ("shortened") Chinese form *Kuan-yin* (觀音)

(3) The older Chinese authors and translators (Saṅghavarman, Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Fa-Hsien, Jñānagupta), natives of Central Asia, China, and India, down to A D. 600, use forms containing the element *yin* = Skt. *svara* ("sound"), chiefly *Kuan-shih-yin* (= *Avalokitalokasvara*)

(4) Besides, different forms like *Kuan-shih-tzŭ-tsai* (觀世自在) (= *Avalokita-lokeśvara*), *Kuan-shih-yin-tzŭ-tsai* (觀世音自在) (= *Avalokita-lokasvareśvara*), are in use. It seems that this state of things might be explained by the blending of the two names of the Bodhisattva, viz *Avalokitasvara* and *Lokeśvara* (the latter form being chiefly

used in Kamboja and Java)[1] The last-mentioned Chinese form contains the elements of the two words, but in a somewhat different order

(5) In the seventh century the shortened form of *Avalokitasvara-lokeśvara* = *Avalokiteśvara* supplants the older ones It finds its way to Central Asia (the Petrovsky MS of the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*), and remains the only one used in India (Nepalese MSS) and Tibet[2]

(6) Hsuan-Tsang finds it in India and brings it home as the sole correct one in its Chinese garb *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai* , it is adopted in literature, but the older forms are still in popular use in China and Japan

Thus the equation *Avalokiteśvara* = *Kuan-yin* (i.e the younger Sanskrit form = the older Chinese form) is untenable, but the other equation between the two older forms, both Chinese and Sanskrit, holds good *Kuan-yin* = *Avalokita-svara*

II CENTRAL ASIAN RECENSIONS OF THE SAD-DHARMA-PUNDARIKA[3]

The late Professor H Kern devoted a highly instructive "Additional Note" to the preface of the *editio princeps* of *SP* to the description of the Petrovsky MS, discovered in Kashgar Some remarks of this distinguished scholar suggest,

[1] Eliot, iii, p. 123, n 3. Buddhism, according to Tibetan tradition, was introduced into Java in the fourth century A.D. Perhaps, Lokarakṣa's *K'o-lou-kêng* had something to do with that form (*Lokeśvara*): cf *supra*, p 248.

[2] Where Buddhism was introduced in the seventh century A D

[3] The following abbreviations are used.—

BB.	*Bibliotheca Buddhica.*
BBEd	*Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*, ed. by Professor H. Kern and Professor B. Nanjio (BB., x, St. Petersburg, 1908–12.
Bühler	"Indische Palæographie," etc. (*Encycl Ind.-Ar. Research*, i, ii), Strassburg, 1896

in the present writer's opinion, the plan of the subsequent study of *SP.* :—

(1) "The Kashgar text stands wholly apart from the texts in the Nepalese MSS and from the Chinese versions" (p vi)

(2) "In *formal respect* the Kashgar version is more original *than the Nepalese texts*" (p ix)

(3) "It is a quite different question whether *the Kashgar version is materially a more faithful copy of the original* composition of *SP* than the other texts we know of. An attempt at solving this question will *only* be possible *after* a comparison of the existing Chinese translations with the texts of the Nepalese MSS and with the Kashgar text or may be texts . . ." (p ix–x).

(4) " . the fragments, even if we knew their date, do not afford a clue to determining the time when the text embodied in them was framed" (p x)

The purpose of the present paper is to characterize the Central Asian recensions of *SP*, and to compare their texts with one another and with others already known, such as the

Hoernle, Report . . "A Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Centr Asia," etc, by A F R Hoernle, pt ii, *JASB*, vol lxx, pt i, 1901, Calcutta, 1902.

Hoernle, Three Coll. . "Three further collections of ancient MSS. from C Asia," *JASB*, vol lxvi, pt i, 1897, pp 213 seqq

Hoernle, The Weber MSS *JASB*, vol lxii, pt i, 1893, pp 1–40, 4 pls

Kern, *Lotus* . . *The Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law*, transl by H Kern (Sacr Books of the East, vol. xxi), Oxford, 1909

MR. . . . *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in E Turkestan*, ed. R. Hoernle, i, Oxford, 1916.

Nanjio, *Cat.* . . B. Nanjio. *A Catalogue of Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883.

Nanjio, Pref . . . Preface to BBEd

SP. . . . *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*

Winternitz . . . M. Winternitz, *Geschichte d. indischen Literatur*, vols. ii and iii, Leipzig, 1920

Indian (Nepalese)[1] and Chinese[2] Such a comparison may give use a clue to the history of the text of this early Mahāyāna work

Let us begin at the more familiar material, viz the Nepalese MSS and the Chinese versions

The "Preliminary Notice" of the editors of BBEd. mentions six Nepalese MSS of *SP* of various dates Two of them are very old palm-leaf MSS of the University Library, Cambridge; one (Ca of BBEd), Add MS 1683, is dated Newar-era 159 = A D 1039, it is, as Professor Kern remarks in the Introduction to his translation, "one of the most ancient Skt MSS. existing in Europe" It has formed the base of his translation. The other one (Cb of BBEd) is Add MS 1684, dated Newar-era 185 = A D 1065[3] The present writer would like to mention that many various readings of the latter MS are strikingly near to (or even identical with) those of the Petrovsky MS. The division into chapters is quite peculiar BBEd. represents the Nepalese recension (though with a certain admixture of Central Asian readings of O)

[1] The Nepalese MSS are now the only Indian ones known to us, save the three quotations of *SP* in Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (ed. C Bendall, *BB*, i, St. Petersburg, 1897–1902) Two of them are from ch xiii. vv 2–13, pp 47, ll 13–49, l 4, and vv. 24, 26–9, 32–5 (and a small prose passage); pp 352, ll 7–354, l 4 The remaining one is from ch ii (vv. 81–97, pp. 92, l. 9–94, l 13). The material is too scanty to permit any conclusions The text seems in general to be rather very similar to the Nepalese MSS. Only xiii, vv 2, 5, show some archaisms (*rājaputrebhi*, *varjeyā*) which stand nearer to the Central Asian texts The late C Bendall (*JRAS*, 1901, p. 1067, n 2) promised to publish some fragments of a *SP*. MS. of the fourth or fifth century We are in the dark whether an Indian or Central Asian MS was meant

[2] The author, possessing no knowledge of Chinese, is indebted for the necessary data which cannot be found in well-known books (like Nanjio's, Beal's, etc.) to his Japanese pupil, Mr Y. Ishizaki

[3] Cf. C Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Skt MSS in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1883), pp. 172–3 The comparison of the colophons printed both in BBEd. (pp. 488–90) and this catalogue shows that the above Nos are correct, while the designations of the Preliminary Notice of BBEd. are wrong (Ca. = Add. 1682, Cb = 1683). Professor H. Kern had used the last-named MSS. (Add. 1682, 1683) for his translation (in Bendall's *Catalogue* wrongly "edition")

As to the Chinese versions, we are indebted for our knowledge thereof to Professor B. Nanjio, who gives most valuable information both in his Preface to BBEd and in the *Catalogue* [1] Summing up this information, we learn that there were eight or nine translations, of which three complete ones are extant: (1) by Dharmarakṣa (A D 286), (2) by Kumārajīva (A D 400 or 402), (3) by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (A D 601)

Three translations (dated respectively A.D 255, 270, 335) had been lost by A D 730, when a catalogue of the *Tripiṭaka* was compiled; two incomplete versions—one the very oldest, of A D 223,[2] the other of A D. 335—underwent the same fate (i e were lost before A D 730) Two incomplete versions are still extant. of ch xi and xii, by an unknown translator, made A D 265–316,[3] and one of the verses (*gāthās*), of ch. xxiv (the *Samanta-mukha-parivarta*), made by Jñānagupta (*v. supra*), A D. 577–89, the prose being by Kumārajīva.[4] This version is practically merged into that of Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta

Practically we have to do only with the three now extant versions, those of Dharmarakṣa (Nanjio, *Cat*, No 138), of Kumārajīva (ibid, No 134), and of Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta (ibid, No 139) It is interesting to note that the first two translators were of Central Asian descent, and spent the greater part of their lives "in the West" Dharmarakṣa (acted A D 266–313) was a descendant of Yueh-chi (though his teacher was an Indian monk), born in the present Kan-su province, and lived for a considerable

[1] Coll 44–6

[2] The date attributed to this lost translation seems to have been ignored by many scholars, e.g Winternitz, ii, pp. 236–7, mentions that made between A.D. 265–316 (i e. by Dharmarakṣa) as the oldest one It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the importance of this date (A.D. 223) for determining that of the Indian original

[3] Nanjio, *Catalogue*, No. 136.

[4] Ibid, No. 137. It has been translated into English by Beal, *Catena*, etc., pp. 389–96.

time in the "Western region", he is said to have known thirty-six different languages and dialects [1]

Kumārajīva, one of the most famous Buddhist men of letters of the Middle Age, was a native of Kucha,[2] and came to China as a captive A D 383, he translated several works into Chinese 402–12. Very interesting details concerning both these versions are to be found in the next, made by two Indian monks, Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, which is said [3] to agree for the most part with the Skt text (i e. the Nepalese recension) This version contains a very valuable preface by some person who must have taken part in the translation, the preface has been translated by Professor B. Nanjio,[4] and reprinted by H Kern in his English translation [5]

Here we find the most interesting data about (1) the relation of the last version to the older ones, (2) the Skt texts corresponding to them, (3) the various points of difference between them

(1) In A D 601 the unknown author of the preface compared the versions of Dharmaraksa and Kumārajīva with one another and with the two Skt texts, then, together with Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, he elaborated a new (Chinese) text, representing that of Kumārajīva with certain alterations

(2) He found in the repository of the Canon two different texts [or copies of the text of *SP*], "one written on palm-leaves, and the other in the letters of Kucha (*Ch'iu-tzŭ*, 龜 茲[6]), Kumārajīva's maternal country" The former (i e the palm-leaf) MS closely agreed with Dharmarakṣa's version, the latter with Kumārajīva's One might infer that the text closely related to Dharmarakṣa's translation

[1] Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col 391, App. II, No 23

[2] Ibid, col 406, App. II, No 59. B Nanjio considers him to have been a native of Karashahr, but cf. S. Lévi, *JA*, 1913, pp. 211–380 Cf *infra*, n 11.

[3] Nanjio, Pref, p. ii.

[4] *Catalogue*, col 45.

[5] *Lotus*, Intro., p. xxiii.

[6] So Giles, *Chin.-Engl Dict.*, No. 6421, "Kuchah," Nanjio, "Kharacar" (= Karashahr).

was a MS *written in India*, as palm-trees do not grow in Central Asia,[1] while "the letters of Kucha", probably, designate the *Slanting Gupta Script*, so much in use in the Northern part of East Turkestan[2]

(3) Both versions omit the *gāthās* of the *Samanta-mukha-parivarta* (ch. xxiv, Nep); but that of Kumārajīva goes farther and omits (*a*) [the second] half of ch v, (*b*) the beginning of ch viii, (c) ditto, ch x, (*d*) the *gāthās* of ch xii (which form only the end of ch. xi in Nep as well as in Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta's version)

Speaking of the order of the last chapters, the preface mentions that both Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva placed the *Dhāraṇī-parivarta* (xxi, Nep) next to the *Samanta-mukha-parivarta* (xxiv, Nep). "Besides these there are minor differences between the text and translation." This remark probably refers to the "Kucha letters" text and Kumārajīva's translation.

The next remark is rather puzzling: "The omission of the *gāthās* in Kumārajīva's version of chs xii and xxv [i e xxiv Nep.] had since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow" We know that the *gāthās* of ch xxv (= xxiv, Nep) had been already translated by no other than Jñānagupta before A D. 589. Why does the author of the preface not name this venerable collaborator of his ?

Then he continues: "In the first year of Zan-sheu period [= A.D. 601], I together with Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta have examined the palm-leaf text . . . and found that the beginning of chs. viii and x are also wanting in the text (though Dharmarakṣa's version contains them)."

The preceding discussion seems but to demonstrate the

[1] Hoernle, *Three Coll*, p 258. Cf. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddh. Dramen*, p. 1 The Chinese text of the preface been compared with Nanjio's translation by Mr. Ishizaki.

[2] Hoernle, *MR.*, Gener. Intro, p. xxxi. All MSS. in Tokharian (A, B) show only this type.

thesis of the author of the preface, viz. that Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva made their translations from two different texts,[1] but it hardly implies that the Skt. texts mentioned ought to be considered as their respective originals.

Though each translation closely agreed with one of the two texts, the points of disagreement between them have been enumerated The texts in question might have been older or younger than the Chinese versions, so perhaps the palm-leaf text was slightly older than Dharmarakṣa and the "Kucha letters" text considerably younger than Kumārajīva, representing, however, two different families (or recensions) of texts

The preface, notwithstanding its importance, leaves many points in the dark, probably because its purpose was to demonstrate the necessity of a new translation of *SP* in accordance with the Skt text accepted in India at that period (the very end of the sixth century)

Central Asian MSS may be divided into seven sets, falling into two groups. (*a*) MSS in the *Upright Gupta Script,* and (*b*) MSS. in the *Calligraphic Upright Gupta Script*

(*a*) *MSS. in the Upright Gupta Script*

(1) LP—To Professor L de la Vallée Poussin belongs the honour of first publishing[2] a detailed description of a MS of *SP* of the Sir Aurel Stein Collection (F xii, 7) It consists of thirty-two complete paper-leaves, numbered on the obverse 5–37, and of two fragments of ff 38 and 39, belonging probably to the second volume (*pothī*) of *SP* It contains chs. xi, xii, xiii, and xiv.[3]

(2) T—Dr. F W Thomas has published in *MR* a fragment

[1] A view shared by modern scholars, so Johnston, *Buddhist China* (London, 1913), p 272, n 2, remarks that Chinese versions of *SP*. were apparently made from at least two different Skt. texts.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 1067–77 (with a plate). It had been first determined by Professor L. D Barnett (cf ibid, p. 759)

[3] This description is taken from L de la Vallée Poussin's paper just quoted. As ch xiv ends on f. 37, the fragments of ff 38–9 must contain the beginning of ch. xv.

of one leaf of a *SP*. MS. containing the end of ch. xv and the beginning of ch. xvi.[1]

(3) Ot.—Collection of MSS. belonging to Count K. Otani brought from East Turkestan by Mr. Z. Tachibana (who visited it in 1909–13); contains fifty-six fragments of *SP*. MSS. (arranged into thirty-four larger fragments, or Nos.) written in the Upright Gupta Script. The present writer, being in charge of that collection, believes them to be remains of three MSS. designated by him A, B, C, written in three different forms or types of the Upright Gupta Script.

MS. A is written on white-brownish Daphne-paper. As no complete leaf has been found, we can only guess its dimensions. The MS. was originally about 400 mm. long and 140 mm. broad (i.e. 17½ by 5½ in.), the margins measuring about 10 mm. There is a string-hole, a circle 24 mm. in diameter, torn in the middle, on the left side of each leaf. There were eleven lines to the page; an *akṣara* is 5–10 mm. (4 *akṣaras* occupying about 30 mm.).

This MS. (A) is represented by twenty-five smaller fragments, arranged into twelve larger ones (Nos. 1, 1 *bis*–2). The *fragments are chiefly contained in* Packet 7, *from* Tu-yu-kon, near Turfan. The fragments belong to chs. ii, iii, ix, x, xiii, xiv, xvi, xviii, xxi, xxv.[2]

MS. B (twenty-eight fragments, Nos. 12–28) is written on white-brownish paper, somewhat softer than that of A. Dimensions, 320 by 127 mm. (16 by 5 in.), the margins, 10 mm. each; the string-hole circle, 30–2 mm. in diameter. The leaves were numbered on the obverse; one bears the number "200". There were ten lines to the page. One *aksara* is about 5–7 mm. (four *akṣaras*, 26–28–30 mm.). The fragments belong to chs. iii, iv, vii–xi, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi–xxiv.

MS. C, written on very thin paper, in characters that are very similar to those of MS. B, is represented by three

[1] *MR.*, Miscellaneous fragments, published by F. W. T., pp. 132–8 and pl. xx, No. 2.

[2] Chs. according *to* Nep. (*BBEd*).

fragments (Nos 29–31, chs x, xvi) The present writer does not venture even a tentative statement as to its dimensions. The *akṣaras* are smaller, four *akṣaras* occupying but 20 mm.

(b) *MSS in the Calligraphic Upright Gupta Script*

Are far more widely known than those of the preceding class.

(1) O —The most important is the Petrovsky MS. (from Kashgar), used by H Kern for BBEd

Unfortunately Kern's "Additional Note" gives too few data about this MS (or rather the class of MSS), which is said to contain about two-fifths of the whole text [1] Two pages are reproduced in BBEd.

(2) L —Professor H Luders has published, in a masterly way, *two fragments of a SP* MS. *written in the same script* in *MR* [2]

The first fragment (Hoernle MS, No 148, from Khotan) consists of four leaves, measuring about 567 by 180 mm. (22¼ by 7⅛ in), numbered on the obverse 253, 254, 259, 260, seven lines to the page The fragment corresponds to ch xi (end) and xii (middle)

The second fragment (Hoernle MS, No 142, *SB*. 12) is but about one-third of a leaf, which had six lines to the page It contains a part of ch xxii (beginning)

(3) H —Hoernle published [3] several fragments of *SP*. (found at Khadalik by Sir Aurel Stein during his second expedition), probably written in the same script [4] The editor distinguishes two sets, containing two fragments (of con-

[1] BBEd., p. v, H Kern's remark (ibid., p. x) about the likeness between the script of O and that of a Kuchean fragment of *Dharmapada*, published by the present writer, written in the Slanting Gupta Script, is puzzling

[2] Miscell fragments, i, *SP*., pp. 139–62, and pl xviii, No. 1. Another fragment of *SP*., ibid., pp. 162–6 and pl. xviii, No 2. Cf. Hoernle, *JRAS*., 1906, p. 695.

[3] An early text of *SP*., *JRAS*, 1916, pp 269–77.

[4] Unfortunately the late founder of Central Asian palæography did not specify the script. Some data make the present writer suppose that the second set is written in the Call Upright, though he is not so certain as to the first set.

secutive leaves) each. Set 1 corresponds to the beginning of ch. x (= BBEd., pp. 224–6), set 2 to the middle of ch. xix (= BBEd., pp. 380–7).

(4) Ot. D.—Count Otani Collection, Set D, *consists of* seven fragments in the same script (place of find unknown). Six of them (No. 32) must have belonged to one MS. (perhaps 360 by 116 mm. or 120 mm.). Unfortunately the fragments are too small to admit any precision of conjecture. Still, as these fragments (chs. xix–xx) correspond to those pages of BBEd. (380–7), where O. has a gap, they may have belonged to the Petrovsky MS.

The seventh fragment (ch. xxiii, No. 33) is a part of another MS., which had eight lines to the page.

Let us, after this short classification, try to examine the *exterior* peculiarities of these sets of MSS., viz., their *scripts*, along with possible conclusions as to their age, and the *language*.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the fact of the Upright Gupta Script being more archaic and ancient than the Calligraphic Upright, since the former stands nearer to the Bower and Weber MSS., which are referred by such authorities as Buhler and Hoernle to the fifth century A.D.[1]

The script of LP. is considered by the editor to be very like that of the *Vajra-cchedikā* MS. (*MR.*, pl. xxi, No. 1), which is assigned by Mr. Pargiter to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.[2] The present writer is inclined to find the script of LP. more similar to that of the *Ratna-dhvaja-sūtra* MS. (ibid., pl. xx, No. 6). The writing is like that of Ot. B., C. The script of T. is closely allied to that of Ot. A, though younger than the latter; it must also be related to the script of the "Astrological Text" (ibid., pl. xx, No. 2). Thus:—

a is closed (cf. Weber, i, pl. iv);

ā is ditto;

[1] Bühler, 22, p. 48, Hoernle, *The Weber MSS.*, p. 8.

[2] MR., p. 178.

e initial has a curve at the right side, like the Weber MS, pl i, 1;

dh is triangular (▽), as in the Bower MS, iii, and the Bilsad inscription,[1]

m (of Central Asian type) is like Weber, i;

y is always tridentate with the left prong turned to the left (like Bower, iv);[2] the same may be said of *k* (similar to Macartney, i, 7)

The ductus of this script has a great general resemblance *to that of Weber, iii*[3]

If we compare the script of Ot A with that of T, the similarity is obvious, though *n, dh, m* of the former are more archaic A still greater difference becomes evident on comparison with LP, where initial *a* and *i*, *dh* (similar to Buhler, pl iv, col. xi, l 25, sixth century), *m* (like ibid, iv, col. xvi, l 31, *c* A D 600), are decidedly younger

The same script (LP) seems to be older than that of the sets Ot B and C, since *k, bh* (as in Toramāna, Bühler, pl iv, col viii, l 30), *j* (as in the Bower MS), *n*, medial *i* and *e* are more archaic in LP

The script of Ot A stands nearer to Indian varieties of Gupta than to Central Asian ones; as it is younger than the Bower MS.,[4] the present writer would assign it to *the middle of the fifth century* A D[5]

T and LP are probably almost contemporary specimens of two different types of the script, and perhaps originated in two different localities (T in the south, LP in the north ?),[6]

[1] Bühler, pl. iv, col. iv, l. 25, A.D. 414

[2] Hoernle, *Report*.

[3] Hoernle, *The Weber MSS*, p. 21, and pl. i.

[4] In general, of the sixteen characters given in Hoernle's *Report* (Table II) only three show an affinity to Macartney, i, 7 (seventh century), the rest are like the Weber and Bower MSS.

[5] For more details see the edition of the Count Otani fragments of *SP.*, now ready for print.

[6] The ductus of LP. and Ot. B, C. shows, by its roundness, a certain affinity to the Slanting Gupta Script, while T. and Ot. A. have more of the

say *of the very end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century* A D. Last come the sets Ot B and C., that may be assigned to *the sixth century* A.D.[1]

MSS in the Calligraphic Gupta Script are considerably younger, this script is assigned by Hoernle [2] to the seventh century A D, though some of its characters (e g the tridentate *y*) have affinities with older scripts

It is curious that O was written for (or at the expense of) some pious person [3] This stiff and formal script may have been used as a kind of state script for especially revered texts, like the Square Pāli [4]

The next peculiarity of these Central Asian MSS which we have to consider is the *language*

We will begin with the Calligraphic Upright Gupta Set The present writer has but to mention the views of two distinguished scholars, Professors Kern and Luders The former has devoted the greater part of his "Additional Note" to the peculiarities of the language of the Petrovsky MS He says [5] ". . the most striking difference is the language of the prose [6] parts of the text In that language, in general much resembling that of the *Mahā-vastu*, but without the corruptness of the latter, the number of Prākritisms and wrongly Sanskritized expressions is incomparably greater than in the Nepalese MSS." Then he adduces a comparative

stiffness of the Cursive Gupta restricted to the Southern area (cf. Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, p 448)

[1] Such an attempt at dating MSS is, of course, very problematic: MSS. ought to be compared with MSS. only, inscriptions being more conservative, so as to make a correction of at least fifty years possible (cf. Hoernle, *Three Coll.*, p 215) At any rate, the dates given above are rather too low, as all the discussed MSS. seem to be older than the Horiuzi MS. (A.D. 500–50).

[2] *Report*, p 15.

[3] The colophon of ch. iii (the plate in BBEd.) reads. *deyadharmo (')yaṃ dānapati-Suvprabhasya.*

[4] *MR.*, Hoernle, Gener. Intro., p. xiv.

[5] Preface, p vi.

[6] Cf. *infra.*

list of terms in O. and Nep, occupying not less than three pages (vi–ix) The learned editor proceeds: "The characteristics such as described warrant in my opinion the conclusion that in *formal* respect the Kashgar version is more original than the Nepalese texts and that the more regular Skt of the latter is the outcome of subsequent innovations due to continued revision" [1]

Professor Luders' remarks are of the same tenor: "In my opinion there can be no doubt that, as regards single forms, at any rate, the fragment has preserved the older readings," and "From these facts we may safely conclude that the text of *SP* to which both the Central Asian and the Nepalese MSS go back was written in a language that had far more Prākritisms than either of the two versions I am even inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prākrit dialect, which was afterwards gradually put into Skt But I admit that the materials which are at present at our disposal are not sufficient to prove this; in fact, I do not see how it could be proved definitely except by discovering that Pkt. version itself" [2]

Having found from the facts that there are two families or sets of MSS written in different scripts and probably at an interval of some centuries (*v supra*), we may ask whether the language of the two sets is the same, or shows any considerable difference? The best test would be a comparison of a large piece of the text as represented in several sets of Central Asian MSS; but this proceeding, so easy when one has to compare a Central Asian MS. with the Nepalese texts, is almost impossible in our case, owing to the very fragmentary state of Central Asian texts at the present writer's disposal. That will become possible when all the Central Asian MSS. have been critically edited For the present we have

[1] Ibid., p. ix.
[2] *MR.*, pp. 161–2.

to deal with a few glimpses of the larger MSS. (like O and LP)[1]

While studying the Count Otani fragments, the present writer gathered a considerable amount of lexicographical and grammatical material concerning all Central Asian MSS. of *SP.*, so far as they were accessible to him. The result of this investigation may be summed up in a few words · the language of different sets is not the same.

Whereas different MSS in the Upright Gupta Script show but a few discrepancies, chiefly phonetic or lexicographical,[2] their morphology is quite distinct from that of the Calligraphic Upright Gupta set (let us—for the sake of brevity—designate the first set "UG", and the second "CU"), the difference

[1] I give a scheme of comparison between LP. and O. (chs xi–xii), so far as we can ascertain the various readings from the footnotes of BBEd. (pp 250, l 15–255, l. 1, 271, l 7–274, l 10) —

	LP	O.
f. 8a1	°*heto na janeta* (so to read)	*hetor na* (xi, v 1)
a7	*prakāśe ima*	*prakāśed ima* (v. 7)
b3	*śruṇet*	*śruṇe* (v. 11).
b8	°*koṭibhi*	°*bhiḥ* (v. 15; Kern: "an erroneous sanskritization of Pkt. Abl pl in bhi or hi").
,,	*cintenatha yūyaṃ kulaputrāho* (the metre !)	*cintetha kulaputrāho* (v. 16).
9a3	*yatho imaṃ*	*yaś c=emaṃ* (v. 19).
b4	*ya imaṃ sūtra*	*ya idaṃ sūtra* (v. 31).
f 13b3	*subheravi kāli ksayāt ti paścime*	*kṣayānti subhairavakāli paścime* (xii, v. 1).
b4	*ākrośatāṭanā bhikṣmā daṇḍa-mudgaranāmni ca*	*bhikṣma daṇḍāni mudgarāṇi ca* (v. 3).
b8	*tīrthikā vadime*	*tīrthike* (v. 8).
f. 14a2	*bhāṣanti*	*bhāṣyanti* (v. 9).
a5	*kalpasaṃkṣobhi*	°*kṣobha* (v. 13; Kern supposes °*kṣobhi*).
a6	*bandhitvā* (so BBEd.)	*bandhantā* (v. 14).
b4	*daśa diśā*	*daśo diśa* (v. 21).

[2] E.g. LP. (like O.) has *stūpa*, while Ot. A, B., C. always read *sthūpa*, i.e. a Sanskritized Pkt. (and Pāli) *thūpa*. Concerning the forms of *puṇḍarīka* cf. *infra*.

between the verses and the prose parts not to be mentioned [1] The fact is important, since it is known that the lexical elements of a language are more liable to all kinds of modification than its structure, viz the grammar properly speaking Such was the process of gradual Sanskritization of Pkt inscriptions in India [2] We must forgo an extensive comparative sketch of the texts in question, especially as to their phonology, a few salient points will suffice

(1) *-a* = Skt *-as* (*-ah*, *-o*) is common in UG., but *-u* (usual in Apabhramśa) [3] occurs in a few instances in CU. only (often met with in Nep).

(2) Vocalic sandhi being rather rare in UG, elision and hiatus are common, while the opposite is observed in CU.

(3) UG. usually transfers consonantic (especially root-) stems into the vocalic declension, while CU sometimes preserves the consonantic forms (e g UG. *parisā* = CU. *pariṣad*, Nep *parṣad*, UG. *āttamanā* [nom plur] = CU. *āttamanasah*, Nep *āttamanaskāh*) ;

(4) UG. does not use the dual either in declension or in conjugation, whereas CU. preserves the dual in both ;

(5) UG. uses the (so-called) aorist as the only preterite form, having no traces of the perfect (except *āha*) [4] ; CU. uses the perfect (simple and even periphrastic), sometimes

[1] The verses have also been readjusted so as to fit the norms of Skt. grammar, though not to the same extent as the prose This is obvious from n 39. Let us give another example which shows that this question has not only a linguistical interest, since the change of the language (Sanskritization) has involved several alterations of the text influencing our interpretation of the Sūtra. So x, v 3, reads in Nep (BBEd, p. 228, l 8) : *presito lokanāthena . . sūtraṃ yo vācayed idam . . .*, which Kern translates (*Lotus*, p 217) . " He has been sent by the Lord of the world, etc ," and remarks (ibid., n. 2) : " From such a passage as this one might be tempted to believe that it had been the intention of the author of this verse to represent Buddha as eternal " Ot. B reads : *presito lokanāthebhi*, i.e. the original instr. pl. has been by a purist changed *metri causa* into instr. sg

[2] O. Franke, *Pali und Sanskrit* (Strassburg, 1902), p. 64.

[3] Pischel, *Grammatik d. Pkt.-Sprachen*, 364.

[4] So Pāli and Pkt · cf. Geiger, *Pāli-Grammatik*, 171, Pischel, op. cit., 518 (only pl.).

in passages where Nep. (BBEd) has the imperfect, aorist, past act partic , or the present indic with *sma* [1]

The above facts may be considered sufficient to show —

(1) That the UG. texts are composed in an older language, i e. in one nearer to Pkt

(2) That the process of Sanskritization was sometimes going on in Central Asia on lines different from those of India (Nepal), as reflected by the idiom of CU.[2]

Thus the UG. MSS seem to represent the oldest stratum of the language of the text known to us, but there is no proof of its being the original form of the text or language Further discoveries may bring to light such an original, very likely composed in Pkt ,[3] as Professor Luders supposes.

Before we leave the question of language it will be of some interest to examine that of the title of *SP* Two points attract our attention ; the form of the word *pundarīka* and the designation *Vaipulyasūtra.*

The Nepalese MSS call the text *Sad-dharma-pundarīka-sūtra* ; the same form is used in O [4] Ot. A., B. name the sūtra (in colophons as well as in the text) *Sad-dharma-paundarīka,* while LP uses the form *Sad-dharma-pondarīka* [5] (and *°paundarīka*) Though *au, ai* are sometimes found in LP. instead of *o, e*—perhaps owing to the scribe's inadvertence— the form *pondarīka* seems to be original, Skt *i, u* before double consonants can become short *e, o* in Middle Indian [6]

[1] So BBEd. p. 212, l. 4, *abhāsanta,* O. (ibid., n. 2), *babhāsuḥ* , Ot B , No. 19, 68, *bhāsi* , BBEd., p 29, l 2, *āmantrayate sma,* O. (ibid., n 2), *°yām āsa. From the frequent use of the periphrastic perfect in* H. Set II, I infer it was written in the Calligraphic Upright Gupta.

[2] Cf Lüders, *MR.*, p 161.

[3] It is not impossible that the original text was written in the Kharoṣṭhī script

[4] Cf. BBEd., pl. (chs iii, x), pp 28, n 10 (ch. 1), 59, n. 3 (ch. ii), etc

[5] Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin says (p. 1067) . " Le sūtra est nommé dans nos colophons Saddharmapaundarīka . .," but the colophons printed pp. 1074 (ch. xi) and 1077 (ch. xii) read *°pondarīke,* which the editor considers to be a clerical error (cf. p 1069).

[6] Cf. Geiger, op. cit , 10, 2 , Pischel, op cit , 119, 125 (where this word *poṇḍarīya* = Skt. *puṇḍarīka* is given).

So Ardha-Māgadhī has *pondarīya* = Skt. *puṇḍarīka*.[1] If so, the form *pauṇḍarīka* would be a wrong Sanskritization of *pondarīka*.[2]

The next term (*vaipulya*°) is of special interest. The *SP.* is called more than once in the text itself (cf. BBEd., Index, s.v.) *Vaipulya-sūtra*. This term is applied to other Mahāyāna works, being almost a synonym of Mahāyāna.[3] The term is usually translated "a sūtra of great extent". This word is met with in the colophons of the Nepalese and Central Asian MSS. of *SP*. The latter use, by the side of the common *Vaipulya*, the form *Vaitulya*[4]; the colophons of O mentioned in the footnotes and on the plate of BBEd. chiefly show the form *mahā-vaitulya-sūtra* (*ratna*).[5] The same form occurs in LP.[6]

Professor Kern has tried[7] to connect this designation (*vaitulya*) with *Vetulla* or *Vetulyaka*, the name of a sect in Ceylon (beginning of the third century A.D.) mentioned in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, as well as in the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* and *Mahā-vaṃsa*.[8] Their tenets seem to have been Mahāyānistic, or, at any rate, very near to the

[1] Pāli has *puṇḍarīka* (cf. Pāli Text Soc. *P. Dict.*, s.v.), Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī *-puṇḍarīya* (Pischel, loc. cit.). H. T. Seth in his *Pkt. Dictionary* (*Pāiasaddamahaṇṇava*, p. 762) gives *poṇḍarīa*, *puṇḍarīya* as equivalents of Skt. *puṇḍarīka*, and *poṇḍarīka*, °*rīka* as corresponding to Skt. *pauṇḍarīka*.

[2] *pauṇḍarīka* occurs in the later Vedic literature (Sūtras, cf. *Petersb. Dict.*, s.v.), but the process referred to is more admissible, as the redactors of Central Asian *SP.*-MSS. had a rather vague notion of Skt.

[3] Winternitz, ii, p. 230.

[4] Preface, p. ix.

[5] Cf. p. 28, n. 10 (ch. i), p. 59, n. 3 (ch. ii), also the plate for chs. iii and x. *Mahā-vaipulya* occurs at the very end of *SP.*, cf. p. 487, n. 7.

[6] *mahā-vaulya-sūtra-ratnaṃ* (*sic*), p. 1074 (ch. xi), and *mahā-vetulya-sūtra-ratne*, p. 1077 (ch. xii).

[7] *Vaitulya, Vetulla, Vetulyaka*, *Versl. en Med. d. K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Letterkl.*, 4te R. D. viii, pp. 312–19. Amsterdam, 1907, reviewed (or, rather, retold in English) by L. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 432 seqq.

[8] Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 124.

Great Vehicle [1] This attempt has not met with universal acceptance; some scholars believe the name *Vaitulya-sūtra* to be a mere blunder of the Kashgar MS [2]

The above has shown that it is found in other and older MSS. of *SP* We may quote other Buddhist works where it is used: so we find it in a fragment of the Mahā-parinirvāna-sūtra and in the *Candrapradīpa-sūtra* [3] quoted by Śāntideva.[4]

The question whether we have to do with an old term or a mere clerical error is, in the present writer's opinion, settled by the comparison with the Chinese use Eitel gives as the equivalent of Skt *(mahā)-vaipulya-sūtra* the term *fang-têng* (方 等), which may mean either "several places" (i e. Sūtras concerning the present and the future world), or "books on doctrinal points". Other translations are *fang-kuang* (方 廣), lit "expansion of the doctrine" or *ta-ch'êng* (大 乘), lit "(Sūtras of) the Mahāyāna school".[5]

B Nanjio says the form *fang-têng* means literally "square-even, or equal" [6] Dharmarakṣa repeatedly uses this term in passages where BBEd (i e Nep) has (*mahā*)-*Vaipulya-sūtra*,[7] while Kumārajīva and Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta

[1] The principal traits are docetism (Buddha, a supernatural being, dwelt in the Tuṣita heaven, while the law was preached by Ānanda) and the theory of voidness (*mahā-suññatā-vādin*). Cf Kern, loc. cit, n 3, and Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, pp. 155–7.

[2] Keith, op cit., p. 157, n 1

[3] Ed. F. W Thomas, *MR*, p 95 (reverse, l 3).

[4] *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, ed C. Bendall (*BB*, I, St Petersburg, 1897–1902), p. 354, l 6 *prathamaṃ vāca bhāṣeyā n=āhaṃ Vaitulya-śikṣitaḥ* In the corresponding footnote (4) the editor says. "Cf. the Vetulyaka sect' [quoting the Index to the *Kathā-vatthu*, *Journ. Pāli Text Soc*, 1889, p 222]. "The Tibetan term *rab-rgyas-dag-gis-bslabs* taught by those greatly increased (?) . . . seems to suggest the reading *Vaipulya*" The English translation (by Bendall and Rouse), p. 312, renders the passage thus: ". . first say unto them, I am not taught in the greater scripture" [The above Skt. passage is mentioned by F. W. Thomas, *MR*, p 97, n. 29]

[5] *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, 1st ed. (1870), p 160.

[6] *Catalogue*, col 391, s v. Dharmarakṣa (App. II, No. 23)

[7] E g p 19, l. 12 It is worthy of notice that the introductory verse of *SP* (ch. I, p. 1, l 3), *Vaipulya-sūtra-rājaṃ* . . *vakṣye*, is left out by all the Chinese translators. This seems to speak against H Kern's arguments (*Lotus*, intro., p xxxII), and to support the view of Burnouf, who ascribed it to some copyist.

employ the form *Ta-ch'êng-ching* = *Mahāyāna-sūtra*. As *fang* may mean "direction, separate", it looks like a translation of Skt *vi*, *têng*, "even, equal," can correspond to nothing but Skt *tulya* Dharmaraksa (and his predecessors) probably etymologized *vaitulya* as a *vṛddhi*-formation of *vitulya* (which they translated), whereas *vaitulya* is hardly anything else than a Sanskritized Pkt *Vetulla* (or *Vetulya*)[1]

The later translators preferred a more clear and intelligible term, *Mahāyāna-sūtra* (i e *Ta-ch'êng-ching*), to that obsolete designation which expressed (to them) the same idea. Indian tradition seems to have taken another line the obsolete word was slightly changed (*vaipulya*), seemingly to qualify the bulky extent of the new literary works[2] The latter term (viz *fang-kuang*) was used by the Chinese, too, but later than the former one A perusal of Nanjio's *Catalogue* shows not less than thirty-five words bearing this designation (I mean only such as can be dated), of which thirteen are called (*Ta-*) *Fang-têng* = (*Mahā*) *Vaitulya*, and twenty-two (*Ta-*)*Fang-kuang* = (*Mahā*) *Vaipulya*. *Fang-têng* appears in the second century A D. (An-shi-kao, A D. 149–70, No 54), it occurs for the last time at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century (Narendrayaśas, A D 589–618, No 62, and Dharmagupta, A D 590–619, No 72) *Fang-kuang* is used not earlier than the middle of the fourth century (the unknown translator of No 443 who worked under the three Tshin dynasties, 350–431), till the end of the tenth century (Thien-si-tsai, 980–1001, No 1056)

A certain unsteadiness of terminology can be observed; so Kumārajīva, who used the term *Ta-ch'êng-ching*

[1] Cf Pāli Text Soc., *P.D*, s v. *vetulla* (*vetulya*). The etymology and meaning of the word are not clear. *Vetulla* (°*lya*) is probably a proper name (of a person or place) *Vitula* (v 1. *Vipula*) appears in the *Mahā-bhārata* as the name of a prince, *Vaitula* occurs in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* (*gaṇa cihaṇādi*). Cf *Pet. Dict.*, s.vv.

[2] Unless this term is to be understood as a synonym of *Mahāyāna-sūtra*, its application to such short works as No 93 of Nanjio's *Catalogue* (*Tathāgata-guṇa-jñānācintya-viṣayāvatāra-nirdeśa*) in Fascicle 1 is puzzling

(= *Mahāyāna-sūtra*) instead of *Vaipulya* in *SP.*, employs *Fang-kuang* (*Vaipulya*) in the title of his translation of the *Śuddha-vinaya-vaipulya-sūtra* (No. 1101); Buddhabhadra (A D 398–421) designates the *Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra* (No 384) *Fang-têng*, while he uses *Fang-kuang* in the title of the *Buddhâvataṃsaka-sūtra* (No. 87) Such discrepancies can be explained by the desire of the translators to keep as truly as possible to their Indian originals.

This digression from the theme of the present paper may be summed up thus · *Vaitulya* (lectio difficilis !), so far as we can see from Indian, Central Asian and Chinese material, seems to be older than the term *Vaipulya*

Our next task is to compare the texts of various families of Central Asian MSS with one another and other recensions, such as the Nepalese and Chinese, since this can help us to show the existence of several Central Asian recensions, to determine their dates, even to form an idea of the original shape of *SP*.

Any chronology must have a quite tentative character, as we can find the *terminus ad quem*, but not the *terminus a quo* ; a scribe, or a Chinese translator, may have used a MS. a hundred or more years old [1] We know, from the Chinese preface to one of the translations of *SP* referred to above, that different MSS showed certain divergencies, and from H Kern's remarks scattered over his translation and edition of the text that in its present shape it is not free from interpolations and later additions (chs xxi–vi) [2]

Considering the sacred character of *SP* and the general reverence of the scribes and translators towards the book, it is more likely that additions were gradually made, than that certain prose passages or verses were eliminated. Thus a fuller or rather a more prolix text must be later than a shorter one. This leads us to the general question whether the Central

[1] Kern, *Lotus*, p xxi, supposes that Kumārajīva, though living at a later time than Dharmarakṣa, made use of ancient MSS.

[2] Ibid , pp. xix, xxii.

Asian recensions are more prolix than the Nepalese. Professor Kern asserts that the Kashgar recension (O) is more prolix,[1] a statement repeated by Professor Winternitz. A comparison made by the present writer shows that 710 *aksaras* of O (a whole leaf containing about 880 *aksaras*) corresponds to two pages of BBEd containing about 1,600 *aksaras*. For the fragments published by Professor Lüders the figures are 448 *akṣaras* (fragments), 1,420, 710, 535 *aksaras* of BBEd. The same is the impression of Hoernle,[2] who found that the text of his fragments is much shorter than that of BBEd. The other statement of Kern, supported by Luders,[3] concerning the different order of verses, is generally correct, though the *gāthās* are a far more constant element of the text than the prose.

The following points may be of interest :—

(1) The UG MSS agree with Nep. at the beginning of chs. viii and x, while Dharmarakṣa has some introductory passages [4] that are omitted by Kumārajīva and Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta.

(2) Ot. A has but one verse at the end of ch. ix (= v. 17 BBEd.) agreeing with Dharmarakṣa, while O, Nep., and Kumārajīva have two.

(3) LP omits the whole end of ch. xi (corresponding to BBEd., pp. 256, l. 7–266), i.e. it ends with the *gāthās* (vv. 1–41), while O, L (ff. 253, 254), and Nep. contain the passage (prose and verses) that Professor H. Kern calls "a clumsy interpolation", agreeing with Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva, who make of it a special chapter (xii).[5]

(4) This (probably the oldest) interpolation, already existent at the end of the third century (Dharmarakṣa), being first

[1] BBEd., preface, p. vi. Cf. Winternitz, ii, p. 377.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 273, 277.

[3] *MR.*, p. 157.

[4] Concerning ch. viii, cf. the Chinese preface to Jñānagupta's translation; concerning ch. x, ibid., and BBEd., p. 224, n. 1.

[5] BBEd., p. 256, n. 5. The remark of Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin (p. 1067, bottom) is, unless a misprint, due to some misunderstanding.

arranged in a special chapter [1] (the *Brahmacāri-parivarta* in Dharmarakṣa's version, the *Devadatta-parivarta* in Kumārajīva's), and thus troubling the usual arrangement, was later (Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta, Nep.) added to ch. xi.

(5) Ot. B leaves out the *gāthās* of ch. xxiv (the *Samantamukha-parivarta*) given in Nep., though omitted both by Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva (they were translated, only twenty-six out of thirty-three of Nep., by Jñānagupta, and later incorporated in his and Dharmagupta's translation of *SP*).[2]

(6) These verses are an obvious interpolation: Professor Kern says that they are "a pattern of mechanical verse-making, and give the impression as if they [the verses] were intended rather to stultify than to edify the credulous reader".[3]

(7) The last seven chapters (Nep. xxi–vii) are differently arranged in various recensions. The data concerning the Central Asian recensions are too scanty. B. Nanjio gives in his *Catalogue* [4] a synopsis of the Nepalese and Chinese arrangement (the latter according to the three versions), that has been reprinted by H. Kern in his translation.[5]

Such a list is given here, with some additional details.

Nep.	Cb.	O	Ot	Dh	Kum.	Jn.
21	22	—	23	25	26	21
22	23	—	20	22	23	22
23	24	—	[21][6]	23	24	23
24	25	—	22	24	25	24
25	26	—	[24][6]	26	27	25
26	27	27	—	27	28	26
27	28	—	—	28	22	27

[1] Though there is no corresponding footnote concerning O., it is very likely for it, too, as chs. xii, xiii, xiv of Nep. appear in O., as xiii, xiv, xv. The same might be true with respect to Cb. (Nep. xv = xvi, and so on).

[2] Nanjio, *Cat.*, Nos. 137, 129.

[3] *Lotus*, p. xxi. Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain whether the *gāthās* were extant in O., as there is a gap at that place.

[4] Col. 46.

[5] *Lotus*, p. xxi; it does not agree with Nanjio's list. Mr. Ishizaki has kindly compared the latter with the Chinese versions.

[6] The beginning only preserved; no colophon or number.

(Nep completely agrees with Jñānagupta-Dharmagupta.) Cf. on Cb above, p. 254.

While O. seems to agree with Cb. and Dharmarakṣa (ch xxvii = Nep, xxvi), the order of Ot. is quite different from all other versions, having but one trait in common with Dharmaraksa and Kumārajīva: the *Dhāraṇī-parivarta* (Nep, ch. xxi) is placed after the *Samanta-mukha-parivarta* (Nep, xxiv)

Ot may have had at least one chapter less, since it numbers the *Bhaiṣajya-rāja-parivarta* (Nep., xxii), as ch xx, and the *Ṣubha-vyūha-parivarta* (Nep, xxv) as ch xxiv. It is useless to guess which chapter or chapters were wanting.

The above-mentioned facts permit us to draw certain conclusions.—

(*a*) Serious differences of the text noted under Nos 2, 3, between the UG and CU. sets of MSS entitle one to speak of (at least) *two* Central Asian recensions of *SP*. (they may be designated according to the scripts UG. and CU), though they both have much in common as opposed to Nep. (perhaps owing to the similarity of the idiom).

(*b*) UG is *older* than CU (same points, especially No. 3).

(*c*) UG. is *older* than both Dharmaraksa and Kumārajīva (Nos 3, 4); it may be assigned to *the first half of the third century* A D.

(*d*) CU is probably *younger* than Jñānagupta · the use of the name *Avalokiteśvara* instead of *Avalokitasvara* (as in UG), permits us to assign this recension *to the seventh century* A D[1]

III. Future and Conditional in Buddhist Sanskrit[2]

The purpose of the present paper is to show certain peculiarities in the use of the two above-named verbal forms

[1] Cf supra about the script. Concerning *Avalokiteśvara* and *Avalokitasvara* cf. "Buddhist Miscellanea," I. Avalokiteśvara-Kuan-yin

[2] The following abbreviations are used —

Apte . . V. S Apte, *The Student's Guide to Sanskrit Composition*, 9th ed., Bombay, 1925.

in some Buddhist Sanskrit works. The writer does not pretend to give an exhaustive exposition of the matter referred to, his aim being to note certain facts, borrowed from works more familiar to him owing to his studies of the last years—facts that, to his knowledge, have hitherto escaped the notice of scholars

1. *Future*

In many languages the future implies the *wish* of the speaker, this tense thus easily becomes correlative to the imperative, e g English uses the so-called "commanding future" in this way

A similar use of the simple (*-sya*) future is met with in Skt, though implying a special meaning Speyer [1] considers it to be used in the sense of the future imperative, Apte [2] qualifies it as "a courteous way of telling one to do a thing".

The future with *mā* in the sense of the prohibitive is also found in Classical Sanskrit [3]

The present writer has noted several instances of hortative and chiefly prohibitive use of the future in *Sukh.* and *SP.* Thus *Sukh.*, § 43, p 73, l 12, the Buddha, addressing Ajita (Maitreya) as the representative of his pupils, says :—

Kern, *Lotus* . *The Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka* or *The Lotus of the True Law*, transl by H Kern (Sacr. Books of the East, vol. xxi), Oxford, 1909

MR. . *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in E. Turkestan*, ed R Hoernle, vol i, Oxford, 1916

SP. . *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka* (quoted after the edition of H Kern and B Nanjio, *Bibl. Buddhica*, x, St Petersburg, 1908–12).

Speyer . J. S. Speyer, "Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax" (*Enc. Indo-Aryan Res.*, i, 6), Strassburg, 1896.

Sukh . "Sukhāvatīvyūha," etc., ed. F Max Müller and B. Nanjio (*Anecd Oxon*, Ar Ser, vol i, pt. ii), Oxford, 1883.

Vajr. "Vajracchedikā," ed F. Max Müller (*Anecd Oxon.*, Ar. Ser, vol i, p. i), Oxford, 1891.

Whitney . W. D. Whitney, "A Sanskrit Grammar" (*Bibliothek Indogerman Grammatiken*, Bd. II), Leipzig, 1879.

[1] pp. 59–60, § 197.

[2] p 140, § 215.

[3] Speyer, p. 73, § 237.

Yūyam idānīm abhiyujyata pratipadyadhvam | asya khalu punar Ajita dharmaparyāyasya mahatīṃ parīndanāṃ karomi | avipranāśāya buddhadharmānām anantardhānāya parākramiṣyatha mā Tathāgatājñām kṣobhayiṣyatha

The hortative and prohibitive meaning of the two futures is obvious, especially as the preceding sentence contains two imperatives (*abhiyujyata, pratipadyadhvam*) The redactor of the text was quite familiar with the use of *mā* + the injunctive (i e the augmentless aorist), as on the same page, ll. 6–7, we read · *mā samśayat = āsangam anāvaranam buddhajñānam mā bhūt . bandhanāgāre praveśaḥ* | .

The future in this passage need not be interpreted as a future imperative, it is probably used in order to vary the long series of imperatives Such a use is noteworthy, because the language of *Sukh.* is fairly good Sanskrit (for a Buddhist work, at least)

Three instances of the prohibitive use of the future may be quoted from *SP*

Ch. iii, p. 73, ll. 6–7 . *mā h=aiv=âtr=aiva sarve 'nena mahat=âgniskandhena dhaksyath=ânayavyasanam āpatsyatha*, which Kern translates [1] · " Come lest ye be burnt in that mass of fire, and come to grief and disaster," interpreting the future as a kind of subjunctive dependent on the preceding *nirgacchata*.[2] This sentence looks like a clumsy translation from Prakrit, both verbs have active endings, though the former is obviously a passive form and the latter is conjugated in the middle only in good Sanskrit

SP, ch iv, p 106, ll 8–9 · *mā bhūyo 'nyatra gamiṣyasi* (the rich father addresses his poor son), " do not go again to another place." [3]

iv, p. 107, l. 13 *mā ca me tvaṃ kiṃcid ato vipranāśayiṣyasi*, " Thou shalt not suffer anything of it [the father's wealth] to be wasted " [4]

[1] *Lotus*, p. 73.
[2] Cf. Kern's n. 6 (*SP.*, p. 73).
[3] *Lotus*, p. 104.
[4] Ibid., p. 106.

It would be difficult to interpret the above occurrences of the future in the sense of the future imperative (though every imperative refers naturally to the future time), nor consider them as courteous formulæ of ordering a person.

The above facts can be easily explained *logically*, but not *historically* All the instances seem to belong to the familiar speech, probably more akin to Pkt. than to the Vedic or Epic languages. The Western grammars of Pāli and Pkt. do not mention a similar use of the future. On the other hand, these instances can hardly be connected with the sporadic forms of the future subjunctive in the Vedic literature [1] or the future imperative in the Epos [2]

2 *Conditional*

This tense is called by Whitney [3] " the rarest of all the forms of the Skt verb " ; the late scholar found no more than fifteen occurrences in the whole *Brāhmana* literature (except the *Śatapatha*), only one in *Manu* and two in *Śakuntalā*, while some works, like *Nala*, *Bhagavadgītā* and *Hitopadeśa*, do not contain a single instance of it.

The grammarians still teach how to form and how to use it. In Classical Sanskrit, as known, it is used in both clauses of a conditional sentence when expressing the *modus irrealis*, referring to the past, corresponding thus to the English pluperfect (or past) conditional [4] In spite of the prescriptions of grammarians,[5] the conditional appears to be interchangeable with the optative [6]

It is used in this way in some Buddhist Skt works The present writer has noted no less than eighteen occurrences (in eight sentences) of the conditional in *Vajr.* These are for

[1] Whitney, § 938.

[2] Only two pl. mid. (like *bhaviṣyadhvam*, etc.), ibid., and Speyer, p 58, § *192*.

[3] § 941.

[4] Speyer, p. 60, § 198 , Apte, pp. 140–1, § 216

[5] Apte, ibid., note (" N.B.").

[6] Speyer, loc. cit.

the most part the forms of the root *bhū* (fourteen occurrences); *kṛ + vyā* gives but two, *bhās* and *vac* a single instance each

This use must have been old enough, as the readings of the Vulgata (i e M. Muller's edition) are corroborated by a Central Asian MS of the fifth or sixth century edited by Mr. Pargiter in *MR*[1]

The first three sentences show the regular (from the point of view of Skt grammar) use of the tense, i e. as a preterite, while the optative may have stood in the other cases as well

(1) § 9, p 26, ll. 14–15 · *sacen mama Bhagavann evam bhaven . na māṃ Tathāgato vyākariṣyad . .*

The optative does not stand in this sentence instead of the conditional, as might appear: the speaker (Subhūti) does not *now* think, etc , while he was *before* destined to become a Buddha (Deest in *MR*)

(2) § 14, p 31, ll. 13–16 : *sacen me Subhūte tasmiṃ samaye ātmasaṃjñ=âbhaviṣyad vyāpādasaṃjñ=âpi me tasmin samaye 'bhaviṣyat | sacet sattvasaṃjñā jīvasaṃjñā pudgalasaṃjñ= âbhaviṣyad vyāpādasaṃjñ=âpi me tasmin samaye 'bhaviṣyat |* (*MR* , p 184, f 9*a*, ll 3–4)

(3) § 17, p 36, ll 16–18 *sacet punaḥ Subhūte kaścid dharmas Tathāgaten=âbhisambuddho 'bhaviṣyat na mām Dīpaṃkaras tathāgato vyākariṣyad .* (Deest, *MR*)

(4) § 19, p 40, ll 6–7 *sacet punah Subhūte punyaskandho 'bhaviṣyan na Tathāgato 'bhaviṣyat . .* (*MR* , p. 190, f. 15*a*, ll 3–4)

(5) § 25, p. 42, ll 10–13 · *yadi punaḥ Subhūte kaścit sattvo 'bhaviṣyat yas Tathāgatena parimocitah syāt sa eva Tathāgatasy= âtmagrāho 'bhaviṣyat . . . pudgalagrāho 'bhaviṣyat |* (*MR.*, p. 192, f 16*b*, l. 6 ; f 17*a*, l 1 : *yadi . . . °satvo bhavet yas Tathāgatena parimocito 'bhaviṣyat*, etc)

(6) § 26, p 42, l 21–43, l 1: *sacet punaḥ Subhūte lakṣanasaṃpadā tathāgato draṣṭavyo 'bhaviṣyad rāj=âpi cakravartī tathāgato 'bhaviṣyat |* (*MR* , ibid , f. 17*a*, ll 4–5)

[1] pp. 176–95 (pages refer to *MR* , f. and l designate the sheets and the lines of the manuscript).

(7) § 30, p. 44, ll 17–18 *saced Bhagavan bahuḥ paramānusaṃcayo 'bhaviṣyat na Bhagavān avakṣyat* . . (*MR*, p 193, f 18b, l 11. *sace Bhagavaṃ saṃcayo 'bhaviṣya na Bhagavāṃ 'bhāṣiṣyaṃ*)

(8) § 30, p. 45, ll. 3–4 · *saced Bhagavan lokadhātur abhaviṣyat sa eva pindagrāho 'bhavisyat* . . (*MR*, p. 194, f 18b, ll. 4–5 *°dhātur abhaviṣyat . . . pindagrāho 'bhavisya*)

SP, ch xix, p. 381, l. 15—p. 382, l 1, offers one more instance :—

yadi mayā Mahāsthāmaprāpta pūrvam ayam dharmaparyāyo n=odgṛhīto 'bhavisyan na dhārito n=āham evaṃ kṣipram anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddho 'bhaviṣyam |

Vajr (as well as *SP*) is written in a language which is full of Prakritisms ; the use of the conditional cannot be explained by the influence of Skt grammarians. We have to look for the source elsewhere We have already quoted Whitney, who had found only fifteen instances of the conditional in the *Brāhmanas*, except the *Śatapatha*, where this form occurs more than fifty times [1]

Such a coincidence is hardly fortuitous That reminds us of the statement of the late Professor Kern, who found the vocabulary of "the standard dialect of the Buddhists" to be closely related to that of the *Śatapatha-brāhmana* [2]

The ample use of the conditional seems to constitute another trait of similarity in regard to syntax

On the other hand, the conditional remains a living form in Pāli, being used as the expression of the *modus irrealis* both of the past and present [3] (as in Buddhist Skt), while it has altogether disappeared in all Prakrit languages.[4]

Thus this trait of syntactic similarity, obviously not so easily borrowed as a lexical peculiarity (involving phonetic ones), may help us to determine the dialect which served as a base to Buddhist Sanskrit.

[1] § 941 (cf. *supra*, n. 10).

[2] *Lotus*, p. xvi.

[3] Geiger, *Pāli Literatur u. Sprache* (Enc. I., Ar. Res., i, 7), Strassburg, 1916, § 157.

[4] Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 452.

A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters

By F W THOMAS and G L M CLAUSON

THE text contained in the MS. described below[1] begins with three syllables *śa-li-ḥbur*, which scholars will naturally (unless illuded for a moment by the thought of *sāli* "year") find suggestive of *Śāriputra*. The recurrence of the syllables will confirm this impression, more especially when far on in the document appears *'an.nog.da.la.sam.yag.sam.bu.de*, previously recognized as = Sanskrit *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi* But, since the conjunction of this expression with the name of Śāriputra is frequently exemplified in the mass of Sanskrit Buddhist writings, we are grateful for the occurrence early in the text of the combination *'a.myi.ḥda*,

[1] Ch. 77, ii, 3 (Roll, 162 × 26 cm., of soiled yellowish-white paper, rather coarse and thick, being for the most part, no doubt, double). The text is in five pages. Nos. 1–3, c 23–4 cm wide; No 4, c 28 cm.; No 5, c. 18 cm. The script is a rather formal copybook *Dbu-can*, not in itself specially clear in regard to the discrimination of certain characters, and now rather faint. The page was prepared by pencilled lines (16 per page) and vertical side lines.

The spaces between pages 3–4 and 4–5 are occupied each by two (superposed) rough miniatures of seated Buddhas, which in relation to the text are upside down. The space before p 1 (c. 8 cm wide), and those between pp. 1–2 and 2–3 (c 7 cm wide), show in a smaller and neater hand parts of lines of the same text, perhaps the original from which the MS. was copied Upon separating the paper where it is now double perhaps further parts of the text may come to light, a similar process having in other instances proved fruitful.

On the reverse of the roll are to be seen. (*a*) thirty-one vertical columns of a Chinese text in large black characters; (*b*) two horizontal lines of Tibetan, *c*. 15 and 18 cm. respectively, which may be read and translated as follows:—

[1] *ḥdi . yan . de . ḥi . tshe .* | *Thu . pod . yan . Ḥbrug gis . bris . pa . ḥo.* [2] *gar . son . gar . skyes . kyan . lha . yul . du . skye . bar . smon . no* ||

[1] "This also at that time was written by Thu . pod (. yan), a Ḥbrug. [2] Wherever going, wherever born, to be born in the realm of the gods is his prayer"

That the *Ḥbrug* people, to whom the writer, Thu . pod (. yan), belonged, possessed the region associated with Śa-ḉu has been pointed out in *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 67–8.

i.e obviously *Amitābha* or *Amitāyus*, pointing to the Amitābha literature When we come to try the smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (published by Max Muller and Bunyiu Nanjio in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, vol i, part ii, pp 92–100), the distribution and character of the paragraphs soon enables us to fix upon sections ix(viii)–xx, of which several afford great assistance by furnishing names of numerals or of Buddhas in succession As in the former case, some apparent divergencies from the Sanskrit original direct attention to the Chinese version translated into French by Messrs Ymaizumi and Yamata in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol ii, pp 39–44. And this has enabled Captain Clauson to verify the whole text as a transcription, syllable for syllable, of Kumārajīva's rendering (Nanjio, No 200) We give the Chinese characters from the India Office copy, and append a direct and inverse index of the syllables as represented in the Tibetan writing. From the interesting colophon it appears that the copy was a work of piety. The passage may be rendered as follows —

"Spring of the Tiger year . born[1] in the Gir-kis (Kirghiz) country, Ha-se-to 'Ab-ḥga-den, of a very princely house, having undertaken a vow to the company of gods of the Theḥu-kyig-śi province (*chor*), [has transcribed]—

'A-myi-da (Amitābha) sūtra, one chapter;

Par.yan [Chinese = *Aṣṭa— ?*] *sūtra*, one chapter;

Kvan-'im [Chinese = *Avalokiteśvara*] *sūtra*, one chapter,

Ta-sim [Chinese = *—citta(?)*] *sūtra*, one chapter;

Phyogs.bcuḥi.mthaḥ.yas [Tibetan = *Samanta(ananta)-daśa-dig*], one chapter;

Bkra.śis [Tibetan = *Maṅgala*], one chapter;

De-ḥbur-de-ciḥu [Chinese = *mahā-buddha-mahā-* (?)], one chapter;

Ḥda-la-ḥji-ciḥu [Chinese = *Dhāranī- ?*], one chapter;

Bzaṅ.po.spyod.paḥi.smon.lam [Tibetan = *Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna*];

Ḥthor.bśags [Tibetan = *Ḥthol-bśags*, "confession" (?)].

and so forth, these above-named, written for a vow, having

[1] *chuṅ.śi.ḥgi* seems to be Chinese.

read during one noon, paying honour to Buddha and the gods and Nāgas of the Eight Classes and the lords of the Four Quarters, may the company of gods associated with his vow protect him with blessing, so that, having in this life accomplished all the vowed purposes, he may first reach his country, and in future lives, wherever born, being free from suffering, he may not fall into hell, and may he be born in the realm of the gods"

The Theẖu-kyig-śi province (*chor*, cf *JRAS*, 1927, p. 68, n 2, where read "*cor*, sometimes *chor*" [1]) may with some apparent probability be identified with Turgash, which in Chinese syllables seems to be represented by *Tu-k'i-she* (Chavannes, *Documens sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p 271) For early mention both of Turgäsh and of the Kirghiz we may refer to Radloff, *Altturkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, pp. 425 and 427

The designation *Ha-se-to 'Ab-ẖga-den* commences perhaps with a family name *Ha-se-to*, possibly related to the *A-she-te*, which Chavannes cites (p 75, n, and p 308) as so used It will be observed that this Kirghiz mixes Chinese with his Tibetan

TEXT [2]

SMALLER SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA, cc IX(VIII)–XX [2]

舍 利 弗 於 汝 意 云 何 彼 佛
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
[A 1] [IX] Śa li ẖbur 'i z̀i 'i ẖun ha pi ẖbur .

何 故 號 阿 彌 陁 舍 利 弗 彼 佛
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
ha . ko heẖu 'A . myi . ẖda Śa li ẖbur . pi . ẖbur .

光 明 無 量 照 十 方 國
22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
kvaṅ . [A 2] meṅ ‖ ẖbu lyan ciẖu śib ẖbvaṅ . kog ‖

[1] The word seems to denote alternately the province and its head Cf. the Turki *cur* of the Orchon inscriptions (ed V. Thomsen, Helsingfors, 1896, p. 155, n. 39a).

[2] The serial numbers are inserted with a view to the Index, where the Sanskrit and other meanings will enable the reader to follow the sense with little reference to the Chinese characters.

無 所 障 礙 是 故 號 爲 阿 彌 陁
30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
ẖbu . śu . can ẖgi . śı ko heẖu . [*ẖu*][1] 'A myı . ẖda .

又 舍 利 弗 彼 佛 壽 命 及 其
40 41 42 43
'ıẖu śa . lı . ẖbur [*pi . ẖbur . śıẖu . men . gıb gi .*

人 民 無 量 無 邊 阿 僧 祇 劫 故 名
żın . min(?) . ẖbu . lyan . ẖbu pyan . 'a sin . gi gab ko me .

阿 彌 陁 舍 利 弗 阿 彌 陁
44 45 46
'A . myı ẖda Śa . lı . ẖbur][2] [A 3] 'A myı . ẖda .

佛 成 佛 已 來 於 今 十 劫 又 舍 利
47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58
ẖbur || śen . ẖbur . ye le 'u . kım . śıb . gab || 'ıẖu Śa lı .

弗 彼 佛 有 無 量 無 邊 聲
59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67
ẖbur || [A 4] pe ẖbur . 'ehu . ẖbu . lyan . ẖbu . pyan śen .

聞 弟 子 皆 [3] 阿 羅 漢 非 是 算 數 之
68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80
ẖbun de tsı ke śi 'a la han || phyi śı . svan śo ćı .

所 能 知 諸 菩 薩 衆 亦 復 如 是
81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89
śı [A 5] ẖhen . cı ẖcu . ẖbu . sar || [4] [*cun*] . yıg . [4] [*ẖbug*] . żı . śı .

舍 利 弗 彼 佛 國 土 成 就 如 是
90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
Śa lı . ẖbur . pı ẖbur . kog tho || śen . ẖdzıhu żı śi .

功 德 莊 嚴 又 舍 利 弗 極
101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109
[A 6] kon . tig . tshan ẖgem |88| [X] 'ıẖu . Śa lı . ẖbur gig .

樂 國 土 衆 生 生 者 皆 是 阿 鞞
110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120
lag . kog . tho . chun . śı . śe . [A. 7] ca . ge . śı 'a . pyı (?) .

[1] There is no syllable corresponding to this character in the MS.
[2] Twenty-four characters omitted in MS owing to homœoteleuton.
[3] No corresponding character in printed text
[4] There is no syllable corresponding to this character in the MS.

跋 致 其 中 多 有 一 生 補 處 其 數
121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132
bad . cı gı . cun̈ . ta 'eh̲u . 'ır śı . h̲phu . chı | gı śo .

甚 多 非 是 算 數 所 能 知 之
133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142
śım . ta . h̲phyı śı . svan . śo śı . [A 8] h̲hen cı 'ı [*sic*] .

但 [1] 可 以 無 量 無 邊 阿 僧
143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152
tan pu . kha ye h̲bu lyan̈ h̲bu pyan 'a [*sin*] .

祇 [1] 說 舍 利 弗 衆 生 聞 者
153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162
gı . kab śvar Śa lı . h̲bur chun śı h̲bun [A 9] ca

應 當 發 願 願 生 彼 國 所 以 者 何
163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174
'ın̈ . tan̈ . h̲had h̲gvan | wen śı pı kog śı yı ca ha .

得 與 如 是 諸 上 善 人 俱 會 一
175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185
tıg . yu . żı śı . cı . śan | żan żın ku . hve [A 10] 'ır .

處 舍 利 弗 不 可 以 少 善 根 福
186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196
chı || Śa lı h̲bur pu kha . yı . śıh̲u żan kın pug .

德 因 緣 得 生 彼 國 舍 利 弗 若
197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207
tıg 'ın . yvan tıg śı pı kog | [A 11] Śa . lı h̲bur | żag

有 善 男 子 善 女 人 聞 說 阿 彌
208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218
'ıh̲u . żan . nam ci żan h̲jı żın || h̲bun . śvar 'A . myı .

陀 佛 執 持 名 號 若 一 日 若
219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228
h̲da . h̲bur || jib . jı . me [A 12] heh̲u | żag . 'ır . żır żag .

二 日 若 三 日 若 四 日 若 五 日 若 六
229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241
żı . żır . żag . sam żır żag si żır żag . h̲go żır . żag . lug .

日 若 七 日· 一 心 不 亂 其 人
242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251
[A. 13] żir . żag . tshir . żır . 'ir sım . pu . lvan . gi . żın .

[1] No corresponding character in printed text.

臨 命 終 時 阿 彌 陀 佛 與 諸 聖
252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262
lım meṅ chun śı 'A . myı ẖda ẖbur . yı . cı . śen .

衆 現 在 其 前 是 人 終 時 心
263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272
[A 14] chun . hyen dze gı jon śı žın chun śı sım .

不 顛 倒 即 得 往 生 阿 彌 陀 佛
273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283
pu ten teẖu | tsıg tıg ẖbvan śe 'A . myı ẖda ẖbur .

極 樂 國 土 舍 利 弗 我 見 是
284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293
[A. 15] gıg lag . kog tho || Śa lı . ẖbur . ẖga kyen śı

利 故 說 此 言 若 有 衆 生 聞
294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303
lı ko śvar tshı ẖgen || žag 'ıhu [A 16] chun śı ẖbun .

是 說 者 應 當 發 願 [1] 生 彼 國
304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314
śı śvar ca . 'ın tan ẖhad hgvan wen śı pı . kog .

土 舍 利 弗 如 我 今 者 讚 歎
315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324
tho |ºº| [B 1] [XI] Śa lı ẖbur žu ẖga . kım ca tsan than

阿 彌 陀 佛 不 可 思 議 功 德 之 利
325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334
'A myı ẖda ẖbur . pu kha sı . ẖgı kon tıg | [*ci li.*][2]

東 方 亦 有 阿 閦 鞞 佛 須
335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342
ton . [B 2] ẖbvan yıg . 'ıẖu 'Ar cog . kyı [?]. ẖbur | [*Su.*

彌 相 佛 大 須 彌 佛 須 彌 光 佛
343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350
ẖbyi . syan . ẖbur][3] De.su . ẖbyi ẖbur | Su ẖbyı kvan . ẖbur |

妙 音 佛 如 是 等 恒 河 沙 數 諸
351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361
H̱byeẖi . 'ım ẖbur | [B 3] zı śı tıṅ . Hın ha . śa . śo . chi .

佛 各 於 其 國 出 廣 長 舌 相 徧
362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372
ẖbur . kag . 'u gı . kog chur . kvan jaṅ śır . syan . pyan .

[1] No corresponding character in printed text.
[2] No corresponding syllables in MS.
[3] Four syllables omitted, presumably owing to homœoteleuton.

覆 三 千 大 千 世 界 說 誠
373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381
h̲phu sam tshen | [B 4] de tshen . śe . ke . śvar . śeṅ .

實 言 汝 等 衆 生 當 信 是 稱 讚
382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392
śır h̲gen žu tıṅ . chun śı tan . sın . śe chıṅ . tsan .

不 可 思 議 功 德 一 切 諸 佛 所
393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403
pu . kha sı . h̲gı kon [B 5] tıg || 'ı . tshe chı h̲bur . śe .

護 念 經 舍 利 弗 南 方 世 界 有
404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414
ho nem . kyı |88| [XII] Śa . lı . h̲bur nam h̲bvan śe ke 'ıhu .

日 月 燈 佛 名 聞 光 佛
415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422
[B 6] Žır h̲gvar ten h̲bur | Men h̲bun kvan h̲bur |

大 燄 肩 佛 須 彌 燈 佛 無
423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431
De yam kyen h̲bur | Su h̲byı ten h̲bur | [B 7] H̲bu .

量 精 進 佛 如 是 等 恒 河 沙 數 諸
432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443
lyan . tsoṅ . tsın h̲bur | žı śı tın Hen ha śa śo chı .

佛 各 於 其 國 出 廣 長 舌 相
444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453
h̲bur kag 'u gı . kog . chur kvoṅ . jaṅ śar [*sic*] . syan .

徧 覆 三 千 大 千 世 界 說
454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462
[B. 8] pyan h̲phu.sam.tshen | de . tshen śe ke śvar .

誠 實 言 汝 等 衆 生 當 信 是 稱 讚
463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474
śeṅ . śır h̲gen žu tıṅ . chun śı . taṅ . sın śı . chın tsan .

不 可 思 議 功 德 一 切 諸 佛
475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484
[B. 9] pu . kha si . h̲gı . koṅ . tıg || 'i . tshe . chı . h̲bur .

所 護 念 經 舍 利 弗 西 方
485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493
śe [*sic*] . ho nem . kyı |88| [XIII] Śa lı h̲bur . se . [B. 10] h̲bvaṅ .

世 界 有 無 量 壽 佛 無 量 相
494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503
śe ke 'ıh̲u . H̲bu lyaṅ śıh̲u . h̲bur | H̲bu lyaṅ . syaṅ

佛 無 量 幢 佛 大 光 [1] 佛
504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512
h̲bur || H̲bu lyan jvan h̲bur | [B 11] De . kvaṅ meṅ h̲bur |

大 明 佛 寶 相 佛 淨 光 佛
513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521
De meṅ h̲bur || Peh̲u syan h̲bur || Dzen kvaṅ . h̲bur ||

如 是 等 恒 河 沙 數 諸 佛 各 於
522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532
[B 12] żı śı ten Hın ha . śa śo chı . h̲bur || kag 'u .

其 國 出 廣 長 舌 相 徧 覆
533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541
gı . kog chur kvon . ȷan . śar syan [B 13] pyan h̲phu

三 千 大 千 世 界 說 誠 實 言 汝
542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552
sam . tshen | de . tshen śe ke . śvar śen śır h̲gen || żu .

等 衆 生 當 信 是 稱 讚 不 可
553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562
ten chun śı tan [B 14] sın śı chıṅ tsan pu kha .

思 議 功 德 一 切 諸 佛 所 護 念
563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573
si h̲gi . kon tig || 'ı tshe . chı h̲bur śe - ho nem . [B 15]

經 舍 利 弗 北 方 世 界 有
574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582
kyi |88| [C 1] [XIV] Śa . li . h̲bur pug . h̲bvan śe ke . 'ıh̲u .

燄 肩 佛 最 勝 音 佛 難 沮
583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591
Yam kyen . h̲bur | Tsve . śın 'ım h̲bur | H̲dan . ku . [C 2]

佛 日 生 佛 網 明 佛 如 是 等 恒
592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602
h̲bur || Żır śı h̲bur || H̲bvan . meṅ h̲bur | żı śı . tın Hıṅ .

河 沙 數 諸 佛 各 於 其 國 出 廣
603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613
ha . śa . śo . chı h̲bur || kag [C 3] 'u . gı . kog . chur . kvon .

[1] No corresponding character in printed text.

長 舌 相 徧 覆 三 千 大 千 世
614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623
ȷaṅ . śar . syaṅ . pyan ẖphu . sam . tshen de . tshen . śe .

界 說 誠 實 言 汝 等 衆 生 當 信
624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634
ke . śvar śen śır . ẖgen . [C 4] żu ten . chun . śı . taṅ sin .

是 稱 讚 不 可 思 議 功 德 一 切 諸
635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646
śı . chın . tsan . pu kha . sı . ẖgı koṇ . tıg || 'ı tshe chi .

佛 所 護 念 經 舍 利 弗 下 方
647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656
ẖbur | śe . [C. 5] ho . nem . kyı |oo| [XV] Śa lı ẖbur | ha . ẖbvaṅ .

世 界 有 師 子 佛 名 聞 佛 名
657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666
śe ke . 'ıẖu . Śı . tse ẖbur | Mı ẖbvun ẖbur | [C. 6] Men .

光 佛 達 摩 佛 法 幢 佛 持 法
667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676
kvan . ẖbur || Ḫdar . ba . ẖbur || Phab ȷvan ẖbur || Ji phab .

佛 如 是 等 恒 河 沙 數 諸 佛 各
677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687
ẖbur || żı . śı . tiṅ . [C. 7] Hın ha . śa . śo . chı . ẖbur || kag .

於 其 國 出 廣 長 舌 相 徧 覆 三
688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698
'u gı kog chur . kvon ȷaṅ śar . syan . pyan . ẖphu sam .

千 大 千 世 界 說 誠 實 言 汝
699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708
[C. 8] tshen . de tshen śe ke . śvar śeṅ śır ẖgen . żu .

等 衆 生 當 信 是 稱 讚 不 可 思
709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719
ten . chun . śı . tan . sın śı . chın tsan pu kha . [C 9] si .

議 功 德 一 切 諸 佛 所 護 念 經
720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730
ẖgı . kon . tıg || 'ı . tshe . chi . ẖbur śe . ho nem kyı |oo| [XVI]

舍 利 弗 上 方 世 界 有 梵 音 佛
731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741
Śa . li . ẖbur | [C. 10] śaṅ . ẖbvan . śe . ke . 'ıẖu . Bam . 'ım . ẖbur |

宿 王 佛 香 上 佛 香 光 佛
742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750
Sug.ẖvaṅ ẖbur ‖ Haṅ . žan ẖbur | [C. 11] Han . kvaṅ . ẖbur ‖

大 燄 肩 佛 襍 色 寶 華 嚴
751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759
De . yam kyen . ẖbur Zab . śig peẖu . hva . ẖgem

身 佛 娑 羅 樹 王 佛 寶 華 德
760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769
śın . ẖbur | [C 12] Sa la . śu . waṅ . ẖbur ‖ Peẖu . hva . tıg .

佛 見 一 切 義 佛 如 須 彌 山
770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779
ẖbur ‖ Kyen . 'i . tseẖi . gi ẖbur | Żi . su . ẖbyi . [C. 13] śan .

佛 如 是 等 恒 河 沙 數 諸 佛 各 於
780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791
ẖbur | żı . śi . tın . Hin ha . śa . śo . chi . ẖbur ‖ kag . 'u .

其 國 出 廣 長 舌 相 徧 覆
792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800
gi . kog . chur . kvaṅ . jan . śar . [C. 14] syan . pyan . ẖphu .

三 千 大 千 世 界 說 誠 實 言 汝 等
801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812
sam . tshen . de.tshen . śe . ke . śvar . śeṅ śir ẖgen ‖ żu . tin .

衆 生 當 信 是 稱 讚 不 可 思
813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822
chun . śi . tan . sın . [C. 15] śi chiṅ . tsan . pu . kha . si .

議 功 德 一 切 諸 佛 所 護 念 經
823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833
ẖgi . kon . tig ‖ 'ı . tshe . chi . ẖbur . śe . ho . nem . kyı |88|

舍 利 弗 於 汝 意 云 何 何 故 名 爲
834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844
[D. 1] [XVII] Śa . li . ẖbur 'i . żi 'ı . ẖun . ha | ha . ko . myi . [*ẖu*][1]

一 切 諸 佛 所 護 念 經 舍 利 弗 若
845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856
'i . tshe . chi . ẖbur . śe . ho . nem . kyi ‖ Śa . li . ẖbur . żag .

有 善 男 子 善 女 人 聞 是 經
857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866
'ıẖu . [D. 2] žan . nam . ci . žan . ẖji . żın ‖ ẖbun . śi . [chi .

[1] No corresponding syllable in MS.

受持者及聞諸佛名 者是諸善男子
867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878
ẖbur.śi.śvar.myı.gıb.kyı.] [1] ca | śi ci.žan.nam.ci.

善女人 皆爲一切諸佛之所
879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889
žan.ẖji.žin.[D 3] ke.ẖu.'ı.tshe.chi.ẖbur.[gun] [1].śı.

護念皆得不退 轉於阿耨多羅
890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901
ho.nem.ke.tig.pu.thva.cvan || 'u.'an nog.da.la.

三藐三菩提 是故舍利弗汝等皆
902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914
sam.yag.sam bu de||[D.4] śe.ko.śa.li.ẖbur||žu.tın.ke.

當信受我語及諸佛所說舍
915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925
taṅ.sin.śıẖu.ẖga.ẖgi gıb.chı.ẖbur || śe śvar.Śa.

利弗若有 人已發願今
926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934
lı.ẖbur || žag.'ihu.[D. 5] žin || yi.ẖphad.ẖgvan | kim.

發願當發願欲生阿彌
935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943
ẖphad.ẖgvan | taṅ.ẖphad.ẖgvan || yog.śi.'A.myi.

陁佛國 者是諸人等皆得不退
944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955
ẖda.ẖbur | kog.[D. 6] ca.śı.ci.žin.tiṅ | ke.tig.pu.thva.

轉於阿耨 多羅三藐三菩提
956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966
cvan || 'u.'an.log (*sic*).da.la.sam.yag.sam.bu.ẖde ||

於彼國土 若已生若今生若
967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977
'u.pi.kog.tho.[D. 7] žag.ye.śe.žag.kim śe.žag.

當生是故舍利弗諸善男子善女
978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990
taṅ.śe || śi.ko śa.li.ẖbur || ci.žan.nam.ci.žan.ẖji.

[1] In these two passages the MS. reproduces a different version from that of the printed text.

人 若 有 信 者 應 當 發 願
991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999
žın ‖ žag 'ihu . [D. 8] sın . ca 'ın tan . ẖphad . ẖgvan .

生 彼 國 土 舍 利 弗 如 我 今
1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009
[śi.] pı . kog tho [XVIII] Śa . [D. 9] lı . ẖbur . žı . ẖga . kim .

者 稱 讚 諸 佛 不 可 思 議 功 德 彼 諸
1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022
ca . chın . tsan . ci . ẖbur ‖ pu kha sı ẖgı . koṅ . tıg ‖ pı . ci .

佛 等 亦 稱 讚 我 不 可 思 議
1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032
ẖbur tın | yıg . chıṅ [D. 10] śvar[1] . ẖga . pu . kha . si . ẖgı .

功 德 而 作 是 言 釋 迦 牟 尼 佛
1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043
kon tıg ‖ žı . tsag śı ẖgen ‖ Ska [sic] . ẖbu ẖjı . ẖbur ‖

能 爲 甚 難 希 有 之 事 能 於 娑
1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054
ẖnın ẖu . śım . ẖdan hı . 'ıẖu [D 11] cı . śi . ẖniṅ . 'u . Sa .

婆 國 土 五 濁 惡 世 劫 濁 見 濁
1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065
ba . kog tho ‖ ẖgo jvag . ẖ'ag śe kab . jvag ‖ kyen jvag ‖

煩 惱 濁 衆 生 濁 命 濁 中
1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074
ẖban ẖdeẖu . jvag ‖ chun [D 12] śı . jvag ‖ men jvag . chun ‖

得 阿 耨 多 羅 三 藐 三 菩 提 爲 諸
1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086
tıg 'an . nog da la . sam . yag . sam bu . ẖde ‖ ẖu cı .

衆 生 說 是 一 切 世 間 難 信
1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096
chuṅ śı . śvar . śi . 'ı . tshe . śe . [D 13] kan . ẖdan . sin .

之 法 舍 利 弗 當 知 我 於 五 濁 惡
1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108
cı . phab ‖ [XIX] Śa . li . ẖbur . taṅ . cı . ẖga . 'u . ẖgo . jvag . ẖ'ag .

世 行 此 難 事 得 阿 耨 多 羅 三
1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119
śe . ẖhe . tshi ẖdan . śe . tig . 'an . [D. 14] nog . ta . la . sam .

[1] The MS. seems to require 說 here.

藐 三 菩 提 爲 一 切 世 間 說 此 難
1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131
myag . sam . ḫbu . de || 'ḫu . 'ı . tshe śe . gan . śvar . tshi . ḫdan .

信 之 法 是 爲 甚 難 佛 說 此
1132 1133 1134 1135 1136 1137 1138 1139 1140 1141
sin . ci . phab || śi . ḫu . śım hdan . [D. 15] [XX] ḫbur śvar . tshi

經 已 舍 利 弗 及 諸 比 丘 一 切 世
1142 1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148 1149 1150 1151 1152 1153
gyı . yı || Śa . lı ḫbur | gıb . cı . ḫbyı . ḫkhyeḫu . 'ı . tshe śe .

間 天 人 阿 修 羅 等 聞 佛 所
1154 1155 1156 1157 1158 1159 1160 1161 1162 1163
ken || then źin 'A siḫu la tiṅ . [D. 16] ḫbun . ḫbur śe .

說 [1] [1] 歡 喜 信 受 [1] [1] 作 禮
1164 1165 1166 1167 1168 1169 1170 1171 1172 1173 1174
śvar . ke . de hvan . hı || sın śıhu . ḫbun ḫhe tsag le .

而 去 佛 說 阿 彌 陀 經 [一 卷]
1175 1176 1177 1178 1179 1180 1181 1182 1183 1184
źi khe |88| [D. 17] Ḫbur . śvar . 'A . myı . ḫda kyi . 'ır . kvon ||

[E. 1] Stag . gı . loḫı . dbyar || Gır . kis . yul . du . Ha . se . [E. 2] to . 'Ab . ḫga . den . chun . śi . ḫgi || khan . rje . man . gyis || [E 3] Theḫu . kyig śı . chor . lha . ḫtso . ḫi . yid . dam . du . bsṅos . te || 'A . [E. 4] myı . ḫda . kyi . bam . po gcıg . dan | Par . yan . kyi . bam . po . gcig . dan | [E 5] Kvan . 'ım . kyı . bam . po gcig . daṅ | Ta . sim . kyi bam po . gcig . daṅ | [E. 6] Phyogs . bcuḫi . mtha . yas . bam . po . gcıg . daṅ | Bkra . śis . bam [E 7] po . gcig . daṅ || De . ḫbur . de . ciḫu . bam . po . gcig . daṅ | [E. 8] Ḫda . la . ḫji . ciḫu . bam . po . gcig . daṅ | Bzaṅ po . spyod . paḫı . smon . [E 9] lam . daṅ | Ḫthor . bśags . la . stsogs . te || goṅ . [nas] . smos . [E. 10] pa . ḫdi . rnams || yi . dam . du . bris . pa . ḫdi || gdugs . gcig . [E. 11] klag . chiṅ || saṅs . rgyas . daṅ | lha . klu . sde . brgyad . daṅ | phyogs . bźi [E. 12] ḫi . mgon . po . la . mchod . ciṅ | yi . dam . du . bcas . te || lha . ḫtsho . [E. 13]

[1] No corresponding character in the printed text.

tshe . lus . la . dam mtha . thams . cad . grub . chiṅ | yul . du . sṅar . phyin . [E 14] pa . daṅ | tshe . slad . ma . la . gar . skyes . kyaṅ || sdug bsnal . daṅ . [E. 15] bral . chiṅ || na . rag . tu . myi . rtuṅ . bar . byin . gyis . skyabs . te || [E. 16] lha yul . du . skye . bar . śog . śig ||

Index I

[The numbers within the brackets refer to the serial order of the syllables in the text: the K numbers are from Karlgren's *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese*, the latter, with their accompanying transcriptions, are omitted in the case of characters contained in the previously published text (*JRAS*, 1926, pp. 508 sqq.) Entries marked with a * differ from the previous transcription]

chuṅ 終 chung K 1145 tṣung—t'śung—t'śi̯ung < t'- (254.270, "death")
chur 出 ch'u K 1255 tṣ'u—t'ś'ut—t'ś'i̯uet < t'- (367.449, etc., "stretch")

Da. *See* ta (900.960.1078 = *-ta-*)
de 弟 ti K — [cf. 985 ti—tai—d'iei] (69; de.tsi = "disciple")
*de 大 ta (343, etc. = *mahā*)
*de, ḫda, ḫde 提 t'i (906.966.1123 = *-dhi*)
*dze 在 tsai (265, "in")
dzeṅ 淨 ching K 1199 tsing—tsing—dz'i̯äng (519 = *śuddha*)

*Gab, kab 劫 chieh (55 = *kalpa*)
*gan, kan, ken 間 chien (1094.1128.1154, "within," etc.)
*ge, ke 皆 chieh (71.117, "all")
gi 其 chi, ch'i (123.131.250, etc. = *sa*)
*gi 義 i (774 = *artha*)
*„ 祇 ch'i, chih (153 = *-khya*)
gib 及 chi (871.920.1147, "attain," *ātta-*)
gig 極 chi K 327 ki—kik—g'i̯ək (109.284; gig.lag = *Sukhāvatī*)
guṅ ? (888)
*gyi, kyi 經 ching (872.1142.1182 = *sūtra*)

Ha 下 hsia K 134 hia—ha—γa < g'- (655 = *adhas-*)
*ha 何 ho (8.11.174, etc. = *ka*, *-ga*, "how")
han 漢 han K 389 χan—hon—χân (75 = *-han*)
haṅ 香 hsiang (745.748 = *gandha*)
heḫu 號 hao (13.36.224 = *nāma*)
hi 希 hsi K 127 hi—hei—χi̯ei (1048, "rare")
hi 喜 hsi K 129 hi—hei—χji (1168; *see* hvan.hi)
hiṅ 恆 hêng (525.602.681, etc. = *Gaṅ-*)
ho 護 hu K 120 χu—u—γuo < g'—g (404.486.572, etc. = *parigraha*)
hva 華 hua (758.768, etc. = *kusuma*, *utpala*)
hvan 歡 huan K 449 χuan—fūn—χuân (1167; hvan.hi = *abhinand-*)

hve 會 hui K 112 χuei—ūi—γuâi < g‘- (184, "meet")
hyen 現 hsien K 368 hien—īn—γien < g‘- (264, "appear")

*H̲’ag 惡 o, wu (1060.1108, "vice")
h̲u 爲 wei (883.1045.1085.1124, "do")
h̲un 云 yun (7.840 = *man-*)
h̲ban 煩 fan K 227 fan—fān—b‘i̯ʷən (1066; h̲ban.h̲deh̲u = *kleśa*)
h̲bu 無 wu (24.30, etc., a negative)
„ 牟 mou (1041 = *-mu-*)
* „ 菩 p‘u (85.1122 = *-bu, bodhi*)
*h̲bun, h̲bvun 聞 wên (68.161.215, etc. = *śru*)
h̲bur 弗 fu K 47 fu—fɐt—pi̯uət (3.10.43, etc. = *putra*)
*h̲bur 佛 fo (21.47.49, etc. = *Buddha*)
h̲bvan [*sic*] 往 wang K 1298 uang—uong—ji̯ʷang < g- (278, "go towards," "formerly")
h̲bvan 方 fang K 25 fang—fong—pi̯ʷang (28.336.411, etc. = *diś*)
h̲bvan 網 wang K 1301 uang—mong—mi̯ʷang (596 = *jaleni*)
h̲byeh̲i 妙 miao K 861 miau—miu—mi̯au (351 = *mañju*)
h̲byi, myi 彌 mi K 13 mi—nei—mji̯ę < -ạ (15.38.45, etc. = *-mi-*)
h̲byi 比 pi K 714 pi—pei—pji, b‘ji (1149 = *bhi-*)
h̲cu. *See* ci (84)
h̲da 陀 to K 1011 to—t‘o—d‘â (16.39.46, etc. = *-da*)
h̲da 跋 po [*see note to text*]
h̲da, h̲de *See* de
h̲dan 難 nan K 651 nan—nān—nân (590.1047.1095, etc. = *duṣ-*)
h̲dar 達 ta K 956, 957 tā—t‘āt—d‘ât (669 = *dhar-*)
h̲deh̲u 惱 nao K 653 nau—nou—nâu (1067; *see* h̲ban. h̲deh̲u)
*h̲dzih̲u 就 chiu (98; śeṅ.h̲dzih̲u = *samalaṃkṛta*)
*h̲ga 我 wo (291.320.918, etc. = *aham*)
h̲gem 嚴 yen (104; tshaṅ.h̲gem = *vyūha*)
h̲gen 言 yen (298.383.465, etc., "word")

h̲gi 礙 ai K 205 ai—ngoi—ngâi (33 ; *see* can)
h̲gi 語 yü K 1281 ü—ü—ngi̯^{w}o (919, "speak")
h̲gi 議 i (396.478.564, etc. ; sı. h̲gi = *cint-*)
h̲go 五 wu K 1280 u—ng—nguo (238.1058.1106 = *pañca*)
h̲gvan, wen 願 yüan K 1344 uan—ün—ngi̯^{w}en (166.310.933, etc. = *praṇıdhāna*)
h̲gvar 月 yueh K 1347 ue—üt—ngi̯^{w}et (416 = *candra*)
*h̲had, h̲phad 發 fa [1] (165.309.932, etc. = *kṛ-*)
h̲he 行 hsıng K 156 hing, χung—hāng, hεng, hong—γεng, yâng < g'- (1110.1172, "act")
*h̲heṅ, h̲nen, h̲nıṅ 能 nêng (82.140.1044.1052, "able")
h̲ji 女 nü (213.862.880.900 = *duhıtṛ*)
*„ 尼 ni (1042 = *-nı*)
h̲khyeh̲u 丘 ch'ıu K 406 k'iu—iau—k'i̯ə̯u (1150 = *-kṣu*)
h̲nen, h̲niṅ. *See* h̲heṅ
h̲phad. *See* h̲had
h̲phu 覆 fu K 54 fu—fuk—p'i̯uk (373.455.541, etc. = *saṃchāday-*)
h̲phu 補 pu K 49 pu—pou—puo < -u (129 = *pratı-*)
*h̲phyi, phyi 非 feı (76, a negative)
h̲vaṅ, waṅ 王 wang K 1298 uang—uong—ji̯^{w}ang < g- (743.765 = *rājan*)

'I, ir 一 i (127.185, etc. = *eka*)
'i 意 i (6.839, "mind")
*'i, 'u 於 yü (4.837, "in," "at")
'ih̲u 又 yu K 249 iu—iau—ji̯ə̯u (40.56.105 = *punar*)
'ih̲u, 'eh̲u 有 yu (62.126.208, etc., "have," "exıst")
'im 音 yin K 277 jin—iəm—·i̯əm (352.588.740 = *ghoṣa, nırghoṣa*)
'in 因 yin K 273 jin—i̯ən—·i̯ĕn (198, 'in-yvan = "cause")
'iṅ 應 ying (163.307, etc., "ought")

Jaṅ 長 ch'ang (369.451.537, etc., "long")
ji 持 ch'ih (222.675 = *dhṛ*)

[1] Note the final -d, which is found only in these two syllables and "bad".

jib 執 chih K 1222 tsï—t'śəp—t'śjəp < t'- (221; jib.ji = *manasi-kṛ*)

*jon 前 ch'ien (267, "presence")

jvag 濁 cho K 916 tṣo—t'śuk—d''åk < d'- (1059.1063, etc. = *kaṣāya*)

jvan 幢 ch'uang K 1149 tṣ'uang—t'ś'ong—d''ång < d'- (507.673 = *dhvaja*)

Ka 迦 chia (1040 = *-ka*)

kab. *See* gab (154.1062 = *kalpa*)

kag 各 ko K 411 ko—kok—kâk (363.445.531, etc. = *svaka-svaka*)

kan. *See* gan (1094)

ke 界 chieh K 360 kie—kāi—kai < -d (379.413.461, etc. = *dhātu*)

ke. *See* ge (71.882.892, etc.)

ken. *See* gan (1165)

kim 今 chin (53.321.934, etc. = *etarhi*)

kin 根 kên K 312 kən—ken—kən (195 = *mūla*)

ko 故 ku (12.35.295, etc. = *hetu, kāraṇa*)

kog 國 kuo K 480 kuo—kuok—k^wək (29.35.111, etc., kog and kog.tho = *kṣetra*)

kon 功 kung (101.333.397, etc., koṅ.tig = *guṇa*)

ku 俱 chü K 488 ku—kŭu—kịu (183, "complete")

ku 沮 chü K 1070 tsu—tsŭu—tsị^{w}o (591 = *pradharṣa*)

kvaṅ 光 kuang K 451 kuang—kuong—k^wâng (22.349.421, etc. = *ābhā, prabhā, prabhāsa*)

*kvaṅ 廣 kuang (368.450.536, etc. = *vistara*)

kvon 卷 chüan K 495 kuan————kị^{w}än (1184, "chapter")

kyen 肩 chien K 371 kien—kīn—kien (425.584.753 = *skandha*)

kyen 見 chien (292.771.1065 = *dṛś-, dṛṣṭi, sampaśyamāna*)

kyi. *See* gyi (488.730.833, etc. = *sūtra*)

kyi *See* pyi (341 = *-bhya*)

kha 可 k'o (145.191.330, etc., "possible")

*khe 去 ch'ü (1176, "depart," etc.)

La 羅 lo (74.763.901, etc. = *-la*)
lag 樂 *lo* K 568 *lo—lok—lak* (110.285; *gig.lag* = *Sukhāvatī*)
le 禮 li (1174, "ceremony," etc.)
le 來 lai (51, "go")
li 利 li K 527 li—lei, lai—lji (294 = *artha*; 2.18.42, etc. = *-ri-*)
lim 臨 lin K 738 lin—lɐm—ljəm (252 = "at")
lug 六 liu K 563 liu, lu—luk—ljuk (241 = *ṣat*)
lvan 亂 luan (249 = *vikṣip-*)
lyaṅ 量 liang (25.64.148, etc.; ḫbu.lyan = *amita*)

*Me, men, mi, miṅ, myi 名 ming (223 = *nāma*)
meṅ 明 ming K 634 ming—ming—mjʷɐng (23.418.666, etc.; meṅ.ḫbun and mi.ḫbvun = *yaśah*)
meṅ, min 命 ming K 558 ming—ming, meng—mjʷɐng (253.1072 = *āyuḥ*)
myag 藐 miao, mo (1120 = *(sa)myag-*)
myag 藐 [*character is apparently a secondary form of* 藐]
myi. *See* ḫbyi (218.257.281, etc. = *-mi-*)

Nam 南 nan K 650 nan—nām—nâm (410 = *dakṣiṇa*)
nam 男 nam (210.859.877.987 "male")
nem 念 nien (405.487.573, etc. = *smṛ*)
nog, log 耨 nou (899.959.1077.1116 = *-nu*)

Pe, pi 彼 pi K 721 pi—pei—pjʷię < -ạ (9.20.60, etc. = *sa*)
peḫu 寶 pao K 702 pau—pou—pâu (516.757.767 = *ratna*)
pu 不 pu (190.273.329, etc., a negative)
pug 北 pei, po K 702 pei, po—pɐk—pək (578 = *uttara* "north")
pug 福 fu K 52 fu—fuk—pjuk (196 = *kuśala* (?))
pyan 徧 pien K 733 pien—pīn—pien (372.494.540, etc., "completely")
pyan 邊 pien (66.150.617; ḫbu.pyan "unlimited")
pyi (?) 譬 [*also possibly* kyi, *q.v.*] (?) K — (120 = *-vi-* ?)

phab 法 fa (672.676.1098, etc = *dharma*)
phyi. *See* ḫphyı (76, a negative)

Sa 娑 so K 846 so—so—sâ (762.1054 = *sa-*)
sa 釋 shih (1039 = *sa-*)
sam 三 san (232.374.456 = *tri* and *sam-*)
sar 薩 sa (66; ḫbu.sar = *bodhisattva*)
se 西 hsı K 776 sı—saı—sieı (492 = *paścima*)
si 思 ssŭ (331.395.477, etc., "think," "conceive")
sı 四 ssŭ (235 = *catur-*)
sıḫu 修 hsıu K 257 siu—sau—sie̯u (1158 = *-su-*)
sım 心 hsın (247.272 = *citta*)
sın 信 hsin (389.471.537, etc = *prati-*, *śraddhā-*)
sın K 1047 (152 = *-san-*)
su 須 hsü (344.347.427.777 = *Su-*)
sug 宿 su, hsü K 821 su, su, siu—suk—si̯uk (742 = *nakṣatra*)
svan 算 suan (78, 137 = *samkhyā*)
syan 相 hsiang (371.453.503, etc., "consider," etc, *dhvaja*, *ketu*)

Ś(a)ka 釋 迦 (1039–1040 = *Śākya*)
Śa, śar 舍 shê K 863 ṣə—ṣe—śi̯a (1.17.41, etc. = *Śa-*)
śa 沙 sha (359.441.527, etc. = *bālukā*)
śan 山 shan K 849 ṣan—ṣan—ṣan < s- (779, "mountain")
śaṅ 上 shang (180.734 = *upariṣṭha*)
śar, śir 舌 shê K 862 ṣə—ṣıt—d'ź'i̯ät < d'- (452.538.615, etc. = *jihvā*)
*śe 世 shih (378.412.460, etc. = *loka*)
*śe, śi 生 shêng (114.115.128, etc. = *jāti*, *saṃbhava*, *upapad-*)
śe. *See* śi
śeṅ 誠 ch'êng K 1204 ṭṣ'əng—ṣing—źi̯äng < d'- (381.463.549, etc., "sincere")
śeṅ 聲 shêng K 397 ṣəng—ṣing, ṣeng—śi̯ang (67; śeṅ.ḫbun = *śrāvaka*)
śeṅ 聖 shêng K 1205 ṣəng—ṣing—ṣi̯äng (262, "holy," "sage")

śeṅ 成 ch'êng (48.97, "make"; śen.ḫbur = *sambuddha*)
śi 師 shih K 893 ṣï—sï—ṣı (660; śi.tse = *siṃha*)
śı 是 shıh (34.77, etc, "this")
śı, śe 事 shih (1051.1113, "thing")
śi 時 shıh (255.271, "moment", cf 868)
śı, śe, śu 所 so (31.81.139, "place where," "that which," etc.)
śıb 十 shıh K 876 ṣï—ṣɐp—ẑ̧ıəp < d'- (27, 54 = *daśa*)
śıg 色 se K 772 sə, ṣai—ṣık—ṣıək (756; *see* zab)
śıḫu 少 shao K 861 ṣau—ṣıu—śıäu (193 = *avara*)
śıḫu 壽 shou (499 = *āyuḥ*)
śıḫu 受 shou (917, 1170, "receive," *śraddhā-*)
śim 甚 shên K 871 ṣən—ṣɐm—ẑ̧ıəm < d'- (133.1046.1137, "very")
śin 身 shên (760 = *gātra*)
śıṅ 勝 shêng K 1193 ṣəng—ṣing—śıəng (587; *see* tsve)
śır = śar (370 = *jıhvā*)
śir 實 shıh (382.464.550, etc., "true")
*śo 數 shu (79.132.138, etc. = *saṃkhyā*)
śu 樹 shu K 913 ṣu—ṣü—ẑ̧ıu < d'- (764, "tree")
śvar 說 shuo (155.216.296, etc., "say")

Ta 多 to (125.134, "many", 1117 = *-ta-*)
tan 但 tan K 967 tan—tān—d'ân (143, "only")
taṅ 當 tang (164.308.388, etc., sıgn of future)
teḫu 倒 tao K 976 tau—tou—tâu (275; *see* ten)
ten 顚 tien K 995 tien—tīn—tien (274. ten.teḫu = *viparyasta*)
*ten, tiṅ 等 têng (356.385.438 = *upama*, etc.)
*teṅ, tıṅ 燈 têng (417.429 = *pradīpa*)
tig 得 tê (175.200.277, etc., "attain")
tig 德 tê (197.334.398, etc. = *guna*, *śrī*)
toṅ 東 tung K 1146 tung—tung—tung (335 = *pūrva* "east")
than 歎 t'an K 390 t'an—t'ān—t'ân (324; *see* tsan)
then 天 t'ien (1155 = *deva*)
tho 土 t'u (96.112.287, etc.; *see* kog)
thva 退 t'ui K 1141 t'uei—t'üü—t'uâi (895.955, thva.cvan = *vinivartanīya*)

Tsag 作 tso (1036.1173, "act")
tsan 讚 tsan K 1027 tsan—tsān—tsân (323.392.474, etc.; tsan.than = *parikīrtay-*)
tse, tsi. *See* ci (70.661. *See* śi 660)
tsig 卽 chi (276, "immediate")
tsin 進 chin K 1265 tsin—tsŭn—tsi̯ĕn (434. *See* tsoṅ.tsin)
tsoṅ 精 ching K 1085 tsing—tsing, tseng—tsi̯ang (433; tsoṅ. tsin = *vīrya*)
*tsve 最 (586, tsve.śiṅ = *vaiśvānara*)
tshaṅ 莊 chuang (103 tshaṅ.ẖgem = *vyūha*)
*tshe 切 ch'ieh (400.482.568, etc.; 'i-tshe = *sarva*)
tshen 千 ch'ien (375.377.457, etc. = *sahasra*)
tshi 此 tz'ŭ (297.1111.1141, "this")
tshir 七 ch'i K 1055 ts'i—ts'ət—ts'i̯ĕt (244 = *sapta*)

'U. *See* 'i (52.364.446, etc., "in," "at")

Wan. *See* hvaṅ (765)
wen. *See* ẖgvan

Yag. *See* myag (963.1081)
yam 燄 cf. K 239 yen (424.583.752 = *arciḥ*)
*ye, yi 以 i (146.172.192, "with")
*ye, yi 已 i (50.931.972.1143, sign of past)
*yi, yu 與 yu (176.260, "associate with")
yig 亦 i K 187 i—jik—i̯ak < z- (87.337.1025 = *api*)
yog 欲 yu K 425 ü—iuk—i̯ʷok < g- (940, "wish")
yvan 緣 yuan K 1136 üan—ün—i̯ʷän < d- (199, 'in-yvan = "cause")

Zab 襍 chi [cf. K 1053 tsi—tsāp—dz'i̯əp] (755; zab.śig = *sampuṣpita*)

Żag 若 jo (207.225.228, etc., "if")
*żan 善 shan (181.194.209, etc., "good")
żan. *See* śaṅ (746 = *uttama*)
żi 二 êrh K 8 ər—i—ńźi < ń- (229 = *dvi*)
żi 如 ju (88.99.177 = *tathā*, etc.)

INDEX II (Reverse of I)

êrh 而 żi, żu
„ 二 żı

fa 發 ẖhad, ẖphad
„ 法 phab
fan 梵 bam
„ 煩 ẖban
fang 方 ẖbvan
feı 非 ẖphyi, phyi
fo 佛 ẖbur
fu 弗 ẖbur
„ 覆 ẖphu
„ 福 pug

han 漢 han
hao 號 heẖu
hêng 恒 hin
ho 何 ha
hsı 希 hı
„ 喜 hi
„ 西 se
hsia 下 ha
hsiang 香 haṅ
„ 相 syaṅ
hsien 現 hyen
hsin 心 sim
„ 信 sin
hsing 行 ẖhe
hsiu 修 siẖu
hsü 須 su
„ 宿. *See* su
hu 護 ho
hua 華 hva
huan 歡 hvan
hui 會 hve

i 義 gi
i 饑 ẖgi
„ 一 'ı, 'ir
„ 意 'ı
„ 以 ye, yi
„ 已 ye, yi
„ 亦 yıg

jên 人 żin
jih 日 żir
jo 若 żag
ju 如 żı
„ 汝 żi, żu

kên 根 kin
ko 各 kag
k'o 可 kha
ku 故 ko
kuang 光 kvan
„ 廣 kvaṅ
kung 功 koṅ
kuo 國 kog

lai 來 le
li 禮 le
„ 利 lı
liang 量 lyaṅ
lın 臨 lim
lıu 六 lug
lo 羅 la
„ 樂 lag
luan 亂 lvan

mi 彌 ẖbyi, myi
miao 妙 ẖbyeẖi
„ 藐 myag
ming 名 me, meṅ, mi, miṅ, myi

ming 明 meṅ
„ 命 meṅ, miṅ
mo 摩 ba
„ 藐. *See* miao
mou 牟 ḫbu

nan 難 ḫdan
„ 男 nam
„ 南 nam
nao 惱 ḫdeḫu
nêng 能 ḫheṅ, ḫneṅ, ḫniṅ
ni 尼 ḫji
nien 念 nem
nou 耨 nog, log
nü 女 ḫji

o 惡 ḫ'ag
„ 阿. *See* a

pao 寶 peḫu
pei 北 pug
pi 比 ḫbyi
„ 彼 pi, pe
pien 邊 pyan
„ 徧 pyan
po 北. *See* pei
po 跋 bad
p'o 婆 ba
pu 補 ḫphu
„ 不 pu
p'u 菩 ḫbu

sa 薩 sar
san 三 sam
se 色 śig
sha 沙 śa
shan 山 śan
shan 善 żan
shang 上 śan
shao 少 śiḫu
shê 舍 śa, śar
„ 舌 śar, śir
shên 甚 śim
„ 身 śin
shêng 生 śe, śi
„ 聲 śen
„ 聖 śen
„ 勝 śin
shih 釋 sa
„ 世 śe
„ 事 śe, śi
„ 時 śi
„ 是 śi
„ 師 śi
„ 十 śib
„ 實 śir
shou 壽 śiḫu
„ 受 śiḫu
shu 數 śo
„ 樹 śu
shuo 說 śvar
so 娑 sa
„ 所 śe, śi, śu
ssŭ 思 si
„ 四 si
su 宿 sug
suan 算 svan

ta 大 de
„ 達 ḫdar
tan 但 tan
t'an 歎 than
tang 當 taṅ

tao 倒 teẖu
tê 得 tig
„ 德 tıg
têng 等 ten, tiṅ
„ 燈 teṅ, tiṅ
ti 弟 de
t'i 提 de, ẖda, ẖde
tıen 顛 ten
t'ıen 天 then
to 陁 ẖda
„ 多 ta
tsaı 在 dze
tsan 讚 tsan
tso 作 tsag
tsui 最 tsve
t'u 土 tho
t'ui 退 thva
tung 東 toṅ
tzŭ 子 ci, tse, tsi
tz'ŭ 此 tshi

wang 往 ẖbvan
„ 網 ẖbvaṅ
„ 王 ẖvan, waṅ

wei 爲 ẖu
wên 聞 ẖbun, ẖbvun
wo 我 ẖga
wu 無 ẖbu
„ 五 ẖgo
„ *See* o

yen 嚴 ẖgem
„ 言 ẖgen
„ 餤 yam
yin 音 'ım
„ 因 'in
yıng 應 'ıṅ
yu 有 'iẖu
„ 又 'ıẖu
yu 語 ẖgi
„ 於 'ı, 'u
„ 輿 yi yu
„ 欲 yog
yuan 願 ẖgvan, wen
„ 緣 yvan
yüeh 月 ẖgvar
yün 云 ẖun

[unidentified] 釋 [myi ? kyi ?]

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

HASAN-I-RUMLU'S AHSANU'T-TAWÁRIKH

The Ahsanu't-tawárikh is a chronicle of events in Persia and the neighbouring countries from A.H. 900 to 985 Professor Browne used it largely for the last volume of his history, and he suggested to me the desirability of publishing the text. With the object of carrying out this suggestion—if financial difficulties allow of it—I have carefully studied the manuscripts available to me. Perhaps the following note may serve as an introduction.

Manuscripts of the Ahsan are rare, and only five are known to exist in Europe, viz. (1) The Bodleian MS , which I shall call *A* ; (2) Mr. A. G. Ellis' MS., *B* ; (3) The British Museum MS., *J* , (4) The Paris MS , *K* ; (5) The Petrograd MS., *L*.

A is a well-written MS., dated A.H. 1010. It has a great lacuna between A.H. 913 and 932 ; thus omitting a large part of Shah Ismail's reign, and such important events as Shaibak Khan's defeat and death, the battle of Cháldirán, and the Turkish conquest of Egypt. There are also many omissions in the names of places and a few Quranic quotations. The copyist was careless, for, when a word in the text recurs after a line or two, he has an annoying trick of omitting the intervening words.

B—which Mr. Ellis most kindly lent me—is complete, except for a few pages at the beginning and a larger portion at the end. Owing to the latter omission the date of writing is unknown ; the MS. is probably about as old as *A*. It is well written, but the names of places and Quranic quotations omitted in *A* are omitted also in *B*.

J (Or 4134 Rieu's supplement) is a complete MS. written in A.H. 1024. It has the same omissions in names, etc., as *A* and *B*. It is much more difficult to read than *A* or *B*, and if a name cannot be made out from *A* or *B*, it is not much use trying to decipher it in *J*.

K. Mr. Ellis tells me that this MS. has the same omissions as *A*, *B*, and *J*. I have therefore not arranged to inspect it.

L may, or may not, now exist; at all events it is unobtainable. Bernard Dorn must have used it for the extracts he has incorporated in his *Muhammedanische Quellen*. And in one instance, at least, it has the name of a place omitted in the other MSS.

A, *B*, *J*, and *K* all appear to be copies of a single archetype, but not of the original. *L* is, or was, a copy of some other MS., or possibly of the original. It is probable that other MSS. exist in Persia, if not in India. I have not been in a position to make any effective search. The text which I have prepared is based on *A* and *B*, compared with *J*. It therefore has the omissions common to those MSS

Besides the work which is the subject of these notes Ethé states that there is another Ahsanu't-tawárikh by Hasan bin Muhammad al Khakiu'sh-Shirazi Perhaps this work may have been mixed up by Dorn with our Ahsan, for his extracts include events earlier than A.H. 900, when our Ahsan begins, the earliest is for the year A H. 846 Our Ahsan was used and quoted by Iskandar Munshi in his *Tárikh-i-Álam Áráy-i-Abbási*, and is said by Ethé to be referred to in the *Afzalu't-tawárikh*.

Beyond the fact that Hasan-i-Rumlu is referred to by Iskandar Munshi as a well-known historian (mu'arrikh), I can find no reference to him, and the following details are taken from the Ahsan. He was the grandson of Amir Sultan Rumlu, a noble of the Courts of Shahs Ismail and Tahmasp, and hereditary grantee of Qazwin, who died at Tabriz A.H. 946. Hasan's father is never mentioned and must have died young, for, when Bahram Mirza fled from Gilan in A.H. 943 and came to Qazwin, Hasan, then a boy five years old, was taken to meet the prince by his mother. He did not succeed to Amir Sultan's command, for he was being trained up as a leader of the qurchis or tribal levies; moreover, he was perhaps too young, even in that age of youthful precocity,

for he was born at Qum in A.H. 938 In A.H. 948 he accompanied Shah Tahmasp on an expedition to Dizful, and he observes that from that time onward he was with the Court in all its expeditions, and saw most events with his own eyes. Thus, in A.H. 953, he took an active part in the fighting in Georgia, and he records that, four years later, he took part in a skirmish with the Kurds of Ardalan. He read a certain amount of Sufiistic philosophy, e.g. Nasiru' d-din's *Tajrid* with Maulana Ahmad Bawirdi, and the *Shamsiyya* with Maulana Malik of Qazwin In A H 985 he joined Muhammad Khudabanda at Qum, when that prince was marching from Shiraz to Qazwin.

The main portion of the Ahsan was written in A H. 980, for Hasan tells us he was writing the events of A.H 907, 958, and 974, in that year. He added the last five years either as events occurred, or—more probably—in A.H. 985. Each year begins with sections describing the chief campaigns or expeditions of the Shah and his soldiers, or of the Turkish Sultan, or the Uzbek chiefs, or Sultan Husain of Herat, or Babur and his descendants in Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India. This is followed by miscellaneous events, and by some account of famous personages, whether princes or writers or savants, who died in the year under notice. The history of the earlier times is based upon various authorities. Hasan certainly used the *Habibu's-siyar*, for he refers to it, and twice challenges statements made in it. He also used the unknown author, whose history has been described, and in part translated, by Sir E. Denison Ross (*JRAS.*, 1896). There are several passages which make this clear. Thus, describing an attempt to get Shah Ismail murdered soon after he left Lahijan, we find :—

Ross' author.	*Ahsanu't-tawárikh.*
و بعض این حکایت را بدین نوع	و بعض این حکایت باین طریق
نقل کرده اند که محمدی بیگ	نقل کردند که محمد برادر احمدی

Ross' Author.	*Ahsanu't-tawárikh*
برادر احمد بیگ درآن تاریخ نزد	بیگ درآن تاریخ ملازم میرزا
میرزا محمّد سلطان می بود و امیر	محمّد بود الوند بیگ کسی نزد
الوند میرزا کسی نزد میرزا محمّد	میرزا محمّد و محمّد بیگ فرستاد و
سلطان و محمّدی بیگ فرستاده	ایشانرا بایالت اردبیل و خلخال
ایشانرا بایالت اردبیل و خلخال	موعود ساخت مشروط بر اینکه
وعده داد بشرط آنکه حضرت	خاقان اسکندر شان را گرفته
خاقان سلیمان شان را گرفته نزد	نزد او فرستند
او فرستند	

This incident is not mentioned in the *Habibu's-siyar*. In regard to Turkish history Hasan made use of the *Hasht Bihisht*, the great work of Maulana Idris of Bitlis. Compare, for example, the following passages, describing the great ships known as "Kukas":—

Hasht Bihisht.	*Ahsanu't-tawárikh.*
آن قسم معروف به کوکه برمثال	آنکه به کوکه معروف است
کمان درمیان آن تیری است که بر	برمثال کمان درمیان تیریست بر
عکس تیر و کمان هیشه کمان آن	عکس تیر کمان هیشه کمان او
هچو تیر روان است فامّا تیر	هچو تیر روانست و تیر او هچو
او هیشه پای برجا است	کمان هیشه بر جاست

It is probable that the Jahán Árá of Qazi Ahmad al Ghaffári (d. A.H. 975) was also used by Hasan. But this is not certain, for the numerous resemblances are not so striking as to preclude the supposition of a common official source. Hasan-i-Rumlu wrote volumes on earlier history, though I am not aware that they now exist. At the beginning of our Ahsan he writes: این جلد را نیز .. نوشته (this volume, too, I have written). In several places he refers to earlier volumes (جلد). Thus, when dealing with calligraphists, he says that Ibn Muqla taught his daughter after his own hand was cut off "as is written in the sixth volume" (در جلد ششم); and that Ya'qut's life has been written "in the seventh volume" (درجلد هفتم). He refers to the death of the Fatimid Khalifa Isma'il bin Hafiz li Dinillah in A.H. 549, whose history he says has been given "in the seventh volume" (در جلد هفتم). Describing the provinces conquered by the Turkish sultans, he says that Sultan Muhammad's conquests were given in detail "in former volumes" (تفصیل ولایات در مجلدات سابق نوشته شده).

Hasan's tribe, the Rumlus, was one of the eight Turkish tribes that rallied to Shah Ismail, and formed the bulk of the armies of that monarch and his successors. The Rumlus were Anatolian Turks by origin, and are supposed to have been descended from prisoners taken by Timur in his wars with Bayazid Ildarim. According to the Silsilla-i-Safawiyya (Browne's edition of the text, p. 47), when Timur, after his wars with the Turks, passed through Ardabil, he sent for Sultan Khwaja Ali and gave him a cup of poison to drink. But the poison came out in sweat, and the astonished potentate gave Sultan Khwaja Ali all his Turkish prisoners. The holy man set them free, and gave them a place to live in, and they became known as the Rumlu Sufis.

Professor Browne commended the simplicity of Hasan's style. I confess I do not see much difference between it

and the style of other chroniclers of the time. The Ahsan is very much like the *Jahán Árá*, *Lubbu't-tawárikh*, *Sharafnáma*; and not very different from the *Habíbu's-siyar*. In direct narrative it is simple, but in description Hasan shows that he can emulate the *Anwár-i-Suhayli*. Like all these chronicles the Ahsan is interlarded with Quranic quotations; and with Persian verses, the authorship of which is usually left unstated. As a work of history I believe the Ahsan has value. As to events before his time Hasan took some trouble to inquire as to the facts. Thus he questioned men who had actually been present at the battle of Marj Dábiq In regard to occurrences subsequent to A.H. 948 he must be considered a careful contemporary, and often an observant eyewitness. Belonging to a fighting caste, it is natural for him to look upon history as merely a record of wars and expeditions. We should prefer an account of the administration, and of the life of the people, but we can hardly blame Hasan for having tastes differing from our own. And a good deal that looks like want of candour was due to political caution. Hasan tells us that Prince Ismail had been confined for twenty years in the Castle of Qahqaha, but not why he was sent there, nor that his misdeeds at Herat led to this punishment. Nor does he describe Shah Ismail's flight after Chaldiran; it is left for the more candid author of the *Sharafnáma*—writing in the safe retreat of Bitlis—to tell us how the great Shah fled precipitately to Darjuzin and Hamadan. For the same reason Hasan's character sketches of Ismail and Tahmasp are quite inadequate. He shows but little sense of humour, but he does possess that sense. It can be seen in his account of the minister Ghiyásu'd-din Mansur, whose dread of a certain disease led him into absurd actions and ludicrous situations, and in his story of the Qazi of Qa'in, who was an astronomer and prophesied an earthquake; no one believed him, so he went out alone with his family, till the bitter cold of the Persian night drove them back to their house, when the

earthquake came and brought down the house on their heads.

The sixteenth century was a fierce and savage age, and nowhere more cruel than in Persia. Shah Ismail's dreadful punishments, Shah Tahmasp's callous treachery, and the bloody executions of the second Ismail's short reign, were in accord with the spirit of the time. Religious intolerance was rampant, and Sunnis and Shi'as murdered and tortured one another. Learning was almost confined to the making of more and more commentaries on the works of Nasiru'd-din Tusi and other famous writers of an earlier day. And the picture, though not attractive, is well drawn by Hasan. History is for the most part a record of the doings of cruel, intolerant, selfish men. If that be so, the reigns of the Safawi kings form quite a striking period.

C. N. SEDDON.

THE FACTORIES AT CANTON, 1807

In the *Journal* for October, 1922, appeared a note of mine on " A Chinese Court of Justice ", in which I interpreted a painting presented to the Society by Sir G. T. Staunton and hanging on the wall in the Society's lecture hall. At the monthly meeting of January, 1927, two paintings were exhibited by Captain William Jaggard, of Stratford-on-Avon ; one being a replica (without any indication which was the original) of the Staunton picture ; the other being an exterior view of a section of the factories, with the judges arriving for the trial.

The colours are fresh, and I am able to correct my note of the Staunton picture in one unimportant respect. The five judges all have white buttons ; we may assume then that the three Fu at the middle table were of the fifth class, indicated by the crystal button, and that the two Hien at the side tables were of the sixth class, indicated by the opaque white (porcelain) button. The Hoppo's deputy is seen to have a blue button (purchased or obtained by Court

favour); and the four Hong Merchants have all the red button (second rank) as stated in the note.

The exterior view shows the factories from the New English factory on the right,[1] then passing Hog Lane, the Fungtae, Old English, Swedish, and Imperial Factories. This is on the assumption that the projecting open-air room is not that of the Dutch Factory, but was an adjunct of the New English Factory, before its reconstruction in 1810. The hall in which the trial was conducted was in the Old English Factory, as evidenced by several indications: in the upper windows, besides one civilian, is an officer in a scarlet coat with a red plume in his shako, evidently a Lieutenant of R.M.L.I.; at the entrance is one marine sentry; behind him, facing to the left, are two runners with banners and gongs, the head of the procession; the incoming throngs are converging on this door, the official procession coming from the left, the "public" rushing in from the right and the chairs and retinues of earlier arrivals being at rest in front of the door.

The official in the four-bearer chair is beyond question a Fu, since a Hien in a Fu city, and especially in the very presence of his Fu, would not venture to appear in anything more dignified than the humble two-bearer chair; and that he is the incumbent Kwangchow Fu is probable from his having the red umbrella and other emblems of authority carried before him, and from the fact that six chairs and their attendant retinues have already arrived in advance of his arrival. Among those so arrived in advance, some were officials as evidenced by the horses of mounted attendants and the high conical hats of yamen runners.

The button of the official in the four-bearer chair cannot be seen; but the official in the two-bearer chair following has a white button, presumably of the sixth class. It is unlikely that he is the Fu's secretary, since honours were

[1] See the plan in *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, vol. iii, p. 1.

not scattered so profusely 120 years ago as has since, in China, become the practice; he is more likely to be one of the two Hien attending his superior; but I should have expected the Hien to come on the stage with his own retinue, and the Hien, in fact, did not commonly thus attend the Fu in a street procession.

In my previous note I attributed the Staunton picture to "probably a Chinese artist". Captain Jaggard is of opinion that his pictures are by an English artist of repute, whose name he gives tentatively; and in that case the Staunton picture is by the same artist. In support of this opinion I may note that the composition of the pictures, the delineation of the human figures and of the horse, and the technique in applying oil paint to canvas, appear to be of a quality unattainable by Chinese artists before the arrival of George Chinnery in 1825 or 1826. On the other hand, certain details would indicate a Chinese hand: the draughtsmanship of the two characters on each of the two blue banners carried in front of the red umbrella; the correct representation of every ethnographic feature; and especially the drawing of the Chinese queue, which, until Chinnery's arrival, European artists generally made to curl up at the end, like those of English sailors with which they were familiar. On the negative side it may be mentioned that there is no record of any English artist having stopped over to the next season; and in the Chronicles under this year (1807) I have written (vol. iii, p. 28): "The prohibition of traders remaining over from season to season was maintained, except in the case of those British subjects who held a Prussian or a Danish commission." The artist may have been in Canton only during the stay of the ship which brought him; but he had evidently been present at the trial which he depicted, this trial was held on 9th April, and the fleet of Indiamen (it being war-time) was dispatched on 28th April.

清
道

H. B. Morse.

WEST HIMALAYAN *BŎHRI* AND SINĀ *BODŬ*

Most Indo-Aryan languages have a word for "many" or "much" or "very", and another for "big" or "great", corresponding to Hindi *bahut* and *baṛā* respectively, and each word has generally the same varieties of meaning. Thus the word for "many" also means "much" and "very". In Hindi *barā* sometimes stands for *bahut*; Panjabi *baṛā* and *bau't* are the same as *bahut*, and *vaḍḍā* is used for "big" or "great".

So far as I know attention has never been drawn to a remarkable word for *bahut* found in a continuous area which includes the Simla states of Kyūṭhal, Jubbaḷ, and Bashahr (part) as well as the British districts of Simla, Koṭ Gur, and Kotkhāī. The form under discussion is found in four out of the five Aryan dialects which are spoken in Bashahr and collectively known as Kocī, viz. the dialects of Bāghī, Rohṛū, Surkhuḷī, and Doḍra-Kuār. I have not actually heard it in the remaining Kocī dialect, that of Rāmpur, or across the Satluj in Sirājī, Suketī, or any of the other dialects further down the river, but, as there is much coming and going, the word must be heard outside its proper home.

The following varieties of the word should be noted. Kocī dialects in Bashahr :—

Bāghī	*bŏri*, *bŏhri*	Surkhuḷī	*bŏri*
Rohṛū	*bŏhri*	Ḍoḍra Kuār	*bŏri*

Jubbaḷ, *bŏʔri* (with glottal stop)

Kot Gur *bauhri*

Simla, Kyūṭhal *bhauri*

The final *i* represents a high front vowel often written -ī.

About these words it has to be noted that—

(i) In all of them the *r* is dental, not cerebral.

(ii) All are indeclinable: the ending -*i* occurs with both genders are numbers.

Nearly all the words meaning "much" or "many" have indeclinable forms (this follows from their etymology);

but those meaning "big" are generally declined. Thus words of the type *bau'* (i.e. *bahu, baũ', bau'*) and *bahut* (*bau't, bhaut, bahut*) are not declined. Note, however, that Pj. *bau'tā* "much" is always declined. The words for "big" or great", such as *baṛā, vaddā, bŏro, bŏrau, băṛo, bŏddā, bauṛau, băddā*, etc., have cerebral *ṛ* or *d* and are declinable.

What is the derivation of *bŏhri*. One thinks naturally of *bahutara*. That would explain **bŏhrā*, but does not account for the ending *-i*, which, as we have seen, is not fem. Professor Jules Bloch suggests to me that perhaps *bŏhri* really *is* a fem. and agrees with an unexpressed noun, and Professor R. L. Turner that *-i* is possibly emphatic like the similar ending in Nepali. There are difficulties. The meaning "many" seems incompatible with the idea of an unexpressed word; the emphatic seems to postulate a non-emphatic form, but I do not know of one. Probably all three types, *bŏhri, bahu*, and *bahut* come from forms of the same root, and the words for "big" from forms of another root unconnected with the first.

We proceed now to another type. The Ṣiṇā word for *bahut* is *bodŭ*, very interesting and difficult to explain. Like *bŏhri* and *bahut* it has a dental for its second consonant, but unlike them it is declined. The word for "big" is *bŏrŭ*, pronounced with cerebral *ṛ*. The suggestion has been made that *bodŭ* and *bŏṛŭ* are merely different spellings or pronunciations of the same word. They differ, however, in both sound and sense. *Bodŭ* has a dental *d*, *bŏṛŭ* a cerebral *ṛ*, and the first vowel is very different. The *ŏ* of *bŏṛŭ* changes to *ă* in the fem. *băṛi*, and plur *băṛĕ*, going back probably to an original *ă*, while the *o* of *bodŭ*, which never changes, probably comes from original *-o*. One word means "great" or "big", the other "many", "much", or "very".

I add some examples of the use of *bodŭ* :—

bodi băṛi bări, a very big pond.

bodĕ băṛĕ bări, very big loads.

bodĕ agūrĕ bări, very heavy loads.

bodi miṣṭi pŏn, a very good road.
bodŭ hĭn, much snow.
bodŭ gălīs, very ill.
bodĕ khūnĕ, many murders.
bodŭ valĕ', bring a lot.
bodŭ girān, very difficult.
bodi dūr, very far.
ma bodŭ beṭūs, I sat much, i.e. I waited a long time.
talāk bodi thēnĕn, they make much divorce, i.e. often divorce their wives.
bodı gıróm valĕrĕ', much perspiration cause-to-be-brought, i.e. perspire well.
jăk bodĕ yāgi hanĕ, people are very independent.
tŭs bodŭ chūt thıga, you made much lateness, you were very late.
bodı bĭrgayĕr' bodı shikăst khēgĕ, in much warfare much defeat they ate, i.e. they fought much and were severely defeated.

The word *bŏṛŭ* "big" hardly requires further illustration. It will be sufficient to refer to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which contains both words. We have *bŏṛŭ kōnĕr* "a great famine" and *bŏṛŭ pŭç* "the big son", i.e. "the elder son": also *bodi dūr* "very far". See the first two examples above.

The derivation of *bodŭ* from *vardhakaḥ* does not explain *o*. Professor Turner points out that Mid. I. *a* tends to become *o* in Ṣiṇā under the influence of a following *u*, but that this fact does not appear to have any bearing on the *bodŭ* question.

T. Grahame Bailey.

ḪURRIAN SALA(S)

The Newcastle Museum contains the following inscription (= CIL, vii, 759) from Caervorran, Northumberland:

Imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
Spicifera iusti inventrix urbium conditor
Ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos

Ergo eadem Mater Divum Pax Virtus Ceres
Dea Syria lance vitam et iura pensitans
In caelo visum Syria sidus edidit
Libyae colendum inde cuncti didicimus . . .

The central idea, and that which explains all or most of the titles and allusions, is the identity of Dea Syria and the constellation Virgo.[1] Though found, so far as I know, only here in Britain and (without development) in *Schol. in Germ. Arat* (Teubner, p. 388, 7), this identification probably represents an oriental tradition of high antiquity Virgo, or most of it, was assigned by the Babylonian astronomers to the goddess Sala or Salas. Sala(s) was a Syrian goddess (her consort being given as Dagan or Adad), and her name and the termination *-s* suggest that she was originally a goddess of pre-Semitic (Ḫurrian, Subartic, Mitannic) Syria. From her, probably, the relation to the constellation Virgo was taken over by the later Semitic Dea Syria.

This constellation is named *ab-sin* = vegetation or the like (cf our *spica* = *a* Virginis) in cuneiform texts; never *Virgin* or anything similar. What is the origin of the latter name? Probably the Greeks took it ultimately from the Ḫurrians by way of Asia Minor; for the Ḫurrian (Mitannic) word *Sala* means *girl, maiden* (Mitannic letter, I, 47, 51; III, 35, 37).[2] The Ḫurrian peoples, influenced by Bab.-Ass.

[1] Virgo bears an ear of corn; in another aspect she is Astraea, Justice; by virtue of her name she could be Virgo Caelestis. The poet has worked in all this: *spicifera* (2), *Ceres* (4); *iusti inventrix*. . . . (2), *lance. . pensitans* (5), *Libyae colendum* (7). The identification with Justice may be connected with the Scales which follow her in the Zodiac. The Lion precedes her: hence *imminet Leoni* (1), which is verified also in the mythology of the lion-drawn *Mater Divum* (4). *Pax* and *Virtus* (4), if not secondary developments of one of the above, possibly represent the other stellar aspect of the Syrian Goddess, Venus star. *Virtus* could refer to the Morning Star, the divinity of which regularly stands for *strength* in Semitic, and is probably named therefrom as 'Uzzā, 'Azīz; and *Pax* would be a fair Latin equivalent to Arṣu, Monimos (Mun'im), Favour, etc., names of the Evening Star-god as antithetic to 'Azīz. . . .

[2] It denotes the young daughter of the Mitannic king, and so connotes either *daughter* or *maiden*; obviously, as name of a goddess, the latter meaning is more likely; naturally the word may have had both senses.

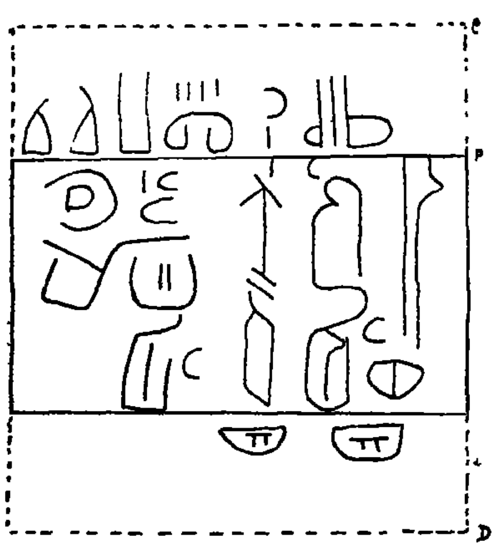
astrology, would have called the constellation by the name of Sala, which the Greeks, or an intermediate people, borrowed as *Virgin*.[1]

ERIC BURROWS, S.J.

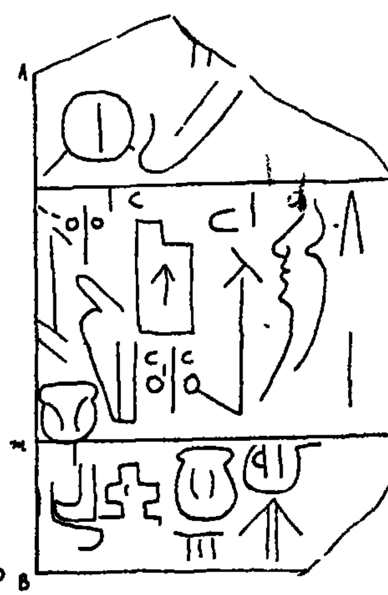
CAMPION HALL, OXFORD
July, 1926.

A HITTITE INSCRIPTION FROM ANGORA

The block of basalt bearing the inscription reproduced was found on 5th May of this year in the course of a hurried visit to the Acropolis of Angora.[2] As no new finds were



OP = 26 5 cms.



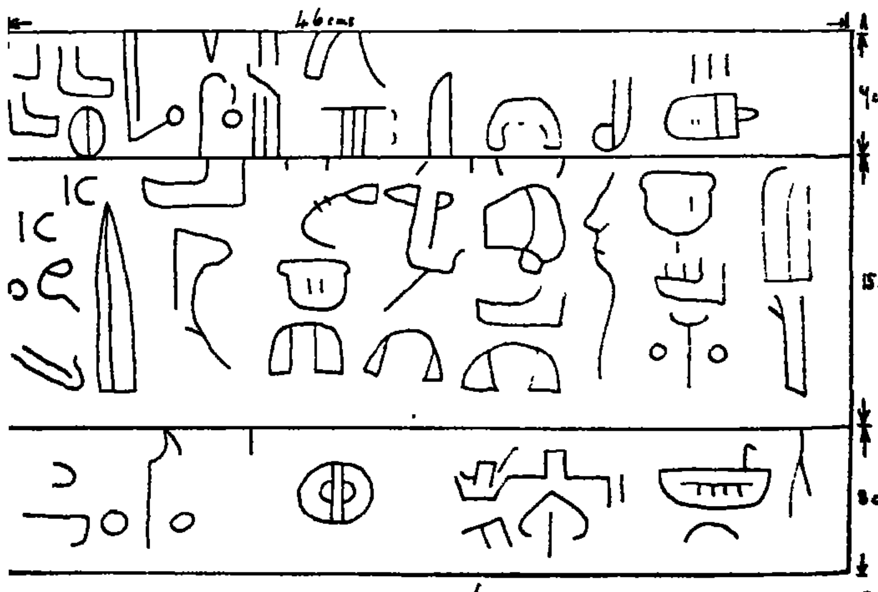
mn = 21 cms.

[1] It is not clear why ^{d}Šala was related to *absin* (vegetation) or *spica*, though the fact is certain. She ought to be a vegetation-goddess, but the evidence is supposed to indicate a goddess of snow-mountains. If this view is correct, it would seem that she must have had a *secondary* vegetational character (e.g. due to west-Sem. Etymology, e.g. Can. שׁבלת = *spica* ?).

[2] Mr. Cameron wishes to thank Professor Souter and the University Court of Aberdeen for leave of absence to make the journey and the Carnegie Trustees for a grant towards travelling expenses.

looked for there the copy was made without a view to publication, and it was only after our return to England that we were informed by Dr. Cowley, who was good enough to examine the inscription, that it was certainly Hittite and probably new. Hitherto, no Hittite monument has been found so far north as Angora, and this stone may have been carried to its present position.

The copy of the central division was made by Mr Pares, that of the sides by Mr. Cameron, but the whole represents



an agreed reading. For reproduction the three inscribed surfaces have been drawn to scale, but, as the symbols were not measured, they are only roughly in proportion. The inscription is incised on three smooth surfaces, forming a band round part of the block. The centre is complete, the left is worn at top and bottom, and the right at top and right. The measurements appear on the drawing.

A. CAMERON.

ASSYRIAN *GARIDU* = "BEAVER"

Professor Campbell Thompson, in the *Journal* for October, 1926, refers to Herodotus as writing that the European beaver was found on the Upper Don, and suggests that *castoreum* must have found its way to ancient Assyria from southern Russia.

But the *Encyclopædia Britannica* includes the beaver in the fauna of Mesopotamia, as "said to have been seen on the Euphrates"; and fifty years ago, books on natural history used to give this river as a habitat I believe it is still found on the upper waters of the great Siberian rivers.

I do not know who is the original authority for the statement that the beaver existed on the Euphrates fifty years ago (I cannot believe that it has been there during the last thirty years). But the statement has been frequently made. If it is true, then the Assyrian *castoreum* would have come, not from the Black Sea region but from Assyria itself.

EDWARD THOMPSON

THE WORD "VASTHĀNAM" IN AŚVAGHOSA

Cowell's Manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-carita* give verse 55 of canto iv as follows :—

"*Tāsām tattvena vasthānam dṛṣṭvā sa puruṣottamaḥ*
Sasaṁvignena dhīrena cintayamāsa cetasā."

Cowell corrects *sasamvignena* to *asamvignena*, which is obviously right; but definitely retains *vasthānaṁ*, quoting *Maitrī Upan* (Comm.), vi, 1. The occurrence of this peculiar form in Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit would be a linguistic detail of some importance, if established, but I do not think that it can stand. It is obvious at once that Cowell's translation "having seen them in their real condition" is forcing the words *tattvena vasthānaṁ* to the limits of grammatical possibility, even if we admit the peculiar form. And it is not the meaning wanted. Siddhārtha has been watching the posturing of the women at play in the garden. He has

not seen them in their real nature That is a revelation which comes later on when they are asleep, a very different sight. There can be little doubt that I think the true reading is :—

Tāsām tattattvavasthānam dṛṣṭvā, etc. (i.e. *tat tat tu*) "Seeing these various positions of theirs", to which the *tat tat* is relevant. The corruption arises quite naturally from the instrumental termination immediately below; while the peculiar form noticed disappears, and we get exactly the sense required.

C. W. GURNER.

STHĀNAM

May I point out that the word *sthānam*, translated by Mr. De as "six musical tones" (*JRAS*. 1926, p. 79), means *stance* or "position", e.g. full face (*ṛju*), profile (*pārśvagata*). The word is used in this sense in the *Viṣnu-dharmottara* (see translation by Miss Kramrisch, Calcutta, 1923) and in the *Śilpa-ratna* (see my translation of chap. lxiv, to appear in the forthcoming Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Memorial Volume).

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTE

THE ASSYRIAN ROOT, *KATĀTU*, SUMERIAN *TUKU*.

Fr. Delitzsch, in his *Handwörterbuch*, p. 363, assigned the meaning "to frighten" to the *piel* of the verb *katātu*, which is given in *CT*. xviii, 44 B 45, *gū-ud-BUL-BUL* = *kuttutu*; this is, in general, the correct meaning against Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 460, "to cut, to bruise." A variant of *CT*. xviii, 44 B 45 is the Hittite vocabulary, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, 35, 3, which has *ḫu-ud-du-u* for *kuttutu*; according to Weidner, *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, vii, 26, *ḫuddû* stands for *kuddû*, assuming a root *katû* (= *kadû*) = *katātu*. *katātu*

is probably the same root as *ḫatātu*,[1] which has the meaning "tremble, totter"; cf. *aḫtata* "I was astounded", *PBS*. x, 212, 32, and the *piel ḫuttutu* "to terrify", Syn. *maḫāṣu* = Sum. *tag*, *Voc. Scheil*, 182 = Thureau-Dangin, *URUK*, 37, R. ii, 17. In Hebrew this root חתת is also transitive in the *Kal* form, "to frighten, make to tremble." In fact, the *lamedh yodh* form of *ḫatatu*, *ḫatû*, has the active sense "destroy, overpower", as well as the original meaning "to hasten, hurry, tremble"; cf. *ana âlu Nagiti . . . aḫ-ti* "I hastened to the city Nagiti", in R. 12, Slab, 2, 9. The form *ḫadû* is found in *PSBA* 1912, 75, 32, *limuttu i-ḫad-da iati* "evil rushes upon me".[2] See also the form *ḫatû* (partial assimilation of *t* to *ḫ*) in *ana miṣir mātāti-šunu la ḫa-ti-e* "not to hasten unto the borders of their lands", Scheil, *Assarhaddon*, p. 24, 31.

Therefore, the Hittite vocabulary, in giving *ḫuddû* for *kuttutu* "to frighten, destroy", is clearly substituting a phonetic and philological variant, which was recognized in the Babylonian and Assyrian language The original meaning of *ḫatātu*, *ḫatû*, *ḫatû*, and *katātu* is "to hasten in fear", "be frightened", and this is proved by the Sumerian word for *katātu*.  (*tu-ku*) = *nâšu*, "tremble, quake" Clay, *YOS*. I, 53, 100; *nâšu ša rêši* "to shake" (said of the head), Poebel, *PBS*. v, 104, ii, 8, and *BUL* is again glossed *tu-ku* in *PBS*. v, 111, ii, 18. In the *Brussels Vocabulary*, *RA*. 10, 79, iii, 1, *BUL* (*tu-uk-tu-uk*) BUL = *râba* "to tremble" = *CT*. 19, 15, K. 5448 A 2; *ibid*., iii, 3, *LIPIŠ*-BUL (*tu-uk-tu-uk*) BUL = *râdu* "hasten, tremble" = K. 5548 A 4. The gloss in *ki-a in-*  (*tu-tū-ki*)-*e-ne* = *irṣitim unaššu* "they cause the earth to quake", *CT*. 17,

[1] For the substitution of *k* for *ḫ* at the beginning of a word, cf. *ḫamâru* > *kamâru*, Streck, *ZA*. xviii, 179, and the values *ḫub* > *kup* for the sign . The inverse change is seen in *kam* > *ḫam* for the sign , where *kam* is undoubtedly original. The Sumerians pronounced this sound as a *sonant* fricative guttural *ĝ*, and in Sumerian it becomes *g*.

[2] This is more probable than my rendering from *ḫadû* "to rejoice", the phrase is parallel to *ikkibu imḫur-anni*.

27, 17, is perfectly intelligible Compare *e-ne-em* [d.]*Mu-ul-lil-lá-ge-tŭk-tŭk-ăm* = *amat* [d.]*Enlil ittanašrabbit* "The word of Enlil rushes forth", Reisner, *SBH*. 7, 38 = Langdon, *SBP*. 40, 35. Here is added a gloss [*ku*]-*ut-ta-tum*, as a rendering for *tŭk-tŭk*, or *tutuki*, that is, "quaking, terror". This restoration is proved by King, *AKA*. 86, 81, *ina narkabti-ia ina šuk-tu-te* "in my chariot, in speed", and by *CT*. 12, 20, 38189,  (*tu-ku*) [1] = [*nâšu*, *râbu*], *šu*-[*uk*]-*tu-tu*,[2] *ra-a-du*, *ra-ta-tu* (hasten after, frighten, *Shurpu*, ii, 58; cf. *mi-ku-u ra-ta-tu*, *CT*. 15, 31, Obv. 8, and my *Epic of Creation*, 75 n. 22).[3]

For the original meaning of *katātu* "hasten away, be frightened", see the astronomical passage · Venus, *ad-riš uš-tak-ti-it-ma ir-bi*, "quickly hastened into gloom and vanished", where *katātu* is a Syn. of *rabû* = *râbu*, Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, *Ishtar*, *Supplement*, 2, 49, 73; also *šamar uš-ta-ka-ta-at* "quickly will he be frightened (afflicted)", Boissier, *DA*. 92, 4. *ka-ta-a-tum* is given as the equivalent of *sil-la-a-tum*, Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, pl. ii, 50 = p. 47, 35, and my rendering "bruising" cannot be defended; the meaning "cut, bruise" for *katātu* must be dismissed from our consideration, and the nouns *kuttatu*, *katātu*, *šuktutu* "terror, swiftness", admitted in Assyrian lexicography.

Fundamentally no root *katātu* "cut, bruise" exists, and Holma, *Personennamen*, p. 69, is clearly wrong when he assigns the meanings "bruise, crush" to this root as the *original* meanings. Syriac *k*e*thaš* (verberavit), Hebrew כתש

[1] Cf Ungnad, *ZA*. xxxi, 271.

[2] Ungnad's restoration *šu-tak-tu-tu* is improbable

[3] The word *mikû*, *mekû*, does mean "plan, plot, intrigue", as I stated in my note there. The Sumerian for this word is *A-RÁ*, PBS. v, 148, 16, *a-rá* = *ṭêmum*; MAG. I, 2, 54, 20, *a-rá* = *ṭe-e-mu*, K. 4606, 6, *a-rá* = *ši-tu-lum*, with *me-ku*, *me-ki-tu*, ll. 4–5; King, *Creat.*, ii, pl. lv, Col. II, 24 = Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 200, 81, *a-rá* = *milku*; V R. 51, B 28, *a-rá-šú in-gar-ra* = *ana ṭi-im iškunu*, "which he provided for guidance." The statement in my note has been challenged by many reviewers, but the evidence for its correctness is beyond criticism.

" strike " (late), may be the same Semitic root, due to the aspirated pronunciation of the final dental *t*, as Holma states, but the Syriac and Hebrew verbs are employed in this secondary sense only.

S. LANGDON.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEIDEN

In April, 1925, a Research Institute for the study of Indian archæology was founded at the University of Leiden, Holland, with Dr. J. Ph. Vogel as President and Dr. J. H. Kramers as Hon. Secretary. The aim of the Institute (which has been named after the great Dutch Orientalist, Dr. Kern) is to promote the study of Indian archæology in its widest sense.

It is in possession of a library and of collections of photographs, slides, casts of sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions. Students from abroad, who wish to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered, will be cordially welcome

The Institute has further taken in hand the publication of an " Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology ", which will contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles pertaining to the field of studies outlined above. It is also proposed, in an introductory note, to survey the chief archæological discoveries made in the course of the year, with the addition, if funds permit, of a few good illustrations. The endeavour will be to render this annual bibliography as complete as possible, especially with regard to archæological publications appearing in India, which often, owing to their being published in local periodicals, remain unnoticed by scholars in Europe and America. Students of Indian archæology and allied subjects are particularly requested to supply the Kern Institute with copies of their publications.

Those who are in sympathy with the objects of the Kern Institute are invited to give their support by becoming members. Applications and inquiries should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland. The annual subscription for ordinary members is 5 guilders.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Reviews of Books on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

1. THE ETHICS OF BUDDHISM. By S TACHIBANA. 9 × 6; xi + 288 pp. Oxford University Press, 1926

Professor Tachibana informs us that this book is mainly the thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy which, in 1922, he presented to the Oxford University. That work was then entitled "Ethics of Pāli Buddhism", but has now been enlarged to comprise the entire domain of Buddhism, though the Professor still draws his information mainly from Pāli sources. However, he ventures to think that "an interpretation of the ethics of Pāli Buddhism is an interpretation of Buddhism in general", and we may, at least to a certain degree, subscribe to this suggestion, though it seems to the present writer that it is still somewhat open to objection.

Professor Tachibana, in his preface, has set forth in a few words some of his leading tenets Thus, he informs us that "religion is wisdom to Brāhmanism; philosophy is wisdom to Mahāyānism or the advanced form of Buddhism; and morality is wisdom to Pāli Buddhism. Every one of these is at once a religion, a philosophy, and an ethical system, but each of them has its characteristic features; and Pāli Buddhism, as anybody who knows it is aware, is characteristically ethical . . . The pantheistic doctrine which is shared by both Mahāyānism and Brāhmanism is completely absent in Pāli Buddhism." This may all be quite true But it leaves us somewhat in the dark, as the learned author has not taken the trouble to inform us what is to be understood by "Pāli Buddhism".

It cannot mean the form of Buddhism preached in the books composed in Pāli, for these tenets certainly do not apply to the works contained within the *Abhidhamma* or to a book

like the *Milindapañha* But Professor Tachibana may retort that the bulk of the Pāli canon consists of the *Vinaya*, the codification of moral precepts for the *śramaṇas*, and the great *Sutta-Piṭaka*, which is in the main a vast collection of edifying literature useful to the friar and the layman as well. If the contents of these books are to be called by the special name of "Pāli Buddhism", we are quite prepared to concur with Professor Tachibana, for one of the characteristic features of the *Suttas* is the tenacity with which the Enlightened One waves aside all philosophical discussion, in order to be able to inculcate his lofty ethical precepts.

Recent researches, however, seem to have established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that if this was the teaching of the Tathāgata himself—which is, of course, highly probable—he must also have been preaching quite other things. The time-honoured picture of the Śākyamuni as an essentially practical man who brushed away the philosophical arguments of his opponents like so many cobwebs, can scarcely be a strictly historical one, and we have to admit that like his many contemporaries, amongst which we need only remember the six heretical teachers with whom he was continually at daggers drawn, Gautama Buddha was alike a pundit and a philosopher. Like Śankara, the St. Thomas Aquinas of Hinduism, he had a *parā* and an *aparā vidyā*. And it is the later one that we ought, with Professor Tachibana, aptly to design as "Pāli Buddhism".

But apart from this and other small objections, it should be willingly admitted that Professor Tachibana has composed a very careful and learned treatise. The book scarcely makes very exciting reading, which could hardly be expected; but it is a thorough and trustworthy guide through a somewhat neglected field of research.

2. Inland Transport and Communication in Medieval India. By B. K. Sarkar. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; 11 + 87 pp. Calcutta University Press, 1925.

This little book consists of enlarged reprints of papers formerly published in the *Calcutta Review* and the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes It deals with the subject of water and land transport and post in what the author calls " Medieval India ", and draws its chief materials from the works of Muhammadan chroniclers and foreign travellers in India The author seems to have been working his way carefully, and although available sources cannot well have been dealt with exhaustively, his book is certainly an interesting and a useful one.

Some interest attaches to what should properly be designated " Medieval India ". The history of India—or rather perhaps the northern part of that subcontinent—cannot in any way be arranged in periods coincident with those still met with in European history. To Mr. B. K Sarkar " Medieval India " means the period from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, the period of chiefly Muhammadan supremacy To the present writer " medieval " seems a singularly unfortunate designation for that period; but this remains largely a matter of taste, and the question of its correctness cannot be raised here

3. Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India. By W. Crooke. Prepared for the Press by R. E. Enthoven. 9 × 6; 471 pp Oxford University Press, 1926

The well-known work of the late Dr. William Crooke, the *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, has long been known to all students of folk-lore and religion in modern India, and it is unfortunate that together with a good number of similar works by Dr. Crooke himself, Russell, Thurston, etc.. it has attracted far too little attention from authorities on the religion, mythology, and ritual of Ancient India. That the religious development in India is continuous through vast periods of time is a very probable theory, which has recently been strongly urged in an excellent work by Dr. Barnett. And this renders

it all the more necessary for the student of Ancient Indian lore to make himself as well acquainted as possible with the religious conditions of India in our own days.

It is therefore with special pleasure that we greet this new edition of Dr. Crooke's very important work which was wholly rewritten by him and includes much new material and has been prepared for and seen through the press by another well-known authority on Indian folk-lore, Mr. Enthoven. The book supplies us with a great and valuable amount of new information and should be widely consulted. It was undoubtedly wise to curtail the store of parallels from sources outside India which were found in the earlier edition; such parallels could never be complete and would, if extensively enlarged, quite overshadow the Indian materials, which are here of primary importance.

This new edition is arranged on the same principles as the older one and is in every way excellent. But it seems to have been seen through the press at a somewhat rapid pace, for misprints are not few This is generally no great matter of concern, but may sometimes be a little bewildering, as when one of the best-known Sanskritists living is, in two consecutive lines, described as Macdonell, A B., and Macdonell, V. M.

4. Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings and Meetings. Vol. vii. Seventh Meeting held at Poona, January, 1925. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; 136 pp, 4 plates. Calcutta, 1925

The seventh volume published by the Indian Historical Records Commission consists entirely of papers dealing with India during Mughal and English times. As the meeting was this time held at Poona, due attention has, as was to be expected, been paid to Marāṭha history.

Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and Mr. Rawlinson have b published papers concerning records preserved in the Pēshw Daftar at Poona, and their contributions in general cov

the same ground. Mr. Phadke of Indore deals with the critics of Mahārāja Yeshwant Rao Holkar and tries to defend him against certain accusations—with what success must be left to more competent judges than the present writer. The paper by Professor Jadunath Sarkar called "Historical Records relating to Northern India, 1700–1817" gives a short survey of the collections of *akhbarats* or news-sheets of the Delhi Court preserved at various places, and, like everything produced by this prominent historian, is valuable and interesting.

No small interest attaches to the contribution of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar dealing with "The Bakhar of Rāma Rāja", a report on the events leading up to the battle of Tālikot, and on that fateful event itself, purporting to be written by an otherwise unknown Rāmjī Tirumal who was in attendance on the Vijayanagar Court at that date. There exists, in the Mackenzie Collection at the India Office, an English translation of that document, apparently from the Kanarese, which was prepared just after 1800; and while occupied in cataloguing parts of that collection, the present writer had occasion to notice the apparent discrepancies between that translation and the accounts published by the late Mr Sewell It seems scarcely possible, at the present moment, to form an opinion of its historical value.

Other contributions to this volume are by Sir Evan Cotton, dealing with an episode during Lord Clive's Bengal administration, by Mr. Ramsbotham and Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari on the settlements of Bengal and Salem and Baramahal respectively, and Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali dealing with "The Silk Industry in Bengal in the Days of John Company". All of them certainly present interesting points to the student of the history of British India, but we must confess to having found the somewhat curious paper by Dr Balkrishna far from exciting.

The picture of the Pēshwā Mādhav Rao, Nānā Farnāwīs

and Mahādajī Sindia, reproduced at the beginning of this volume, is ascribed, on p. 130, to a certain James Wales, a Scottish artist who visited India in 1791. It certainly bears a striking resemblance to the portrait of the Pēshwā and his great minister now exhibited in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society's premises in Grosvenor Street.[1]

5. Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference. Madras, 22nd to 24th December, 1924 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; lxx + 745 pp.; 8 plates Madras, 1925

The Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference contain no less than sixty-three different papers, very nearly all of them by Hindu scholars, and certainly bear witness to the intense interest which University men in India are now developing in every possible field of research. The different languages of India, her history, literature, philosophy, etc, alike attract numbers of enthusiastic investigators, and considerable though the number of printed contributions is, we learn from the Proceedings that not much more than one-third of the lectures actually presented to the Conference have been published in this imposing volume.

It would clearly be impossible, in a review like this, to dwell upon each paper separately, and without wishing in the least to detract from the indisputable value of the work, it may as well be said that a fair number of the contributions scarcely warrant any very close investigation. All that can be done here is to give a cursory notice of a few selected papers—some of them being remarkable for their merits, others perhaps presenting a few puzzles to the Western scholar.

It is always with the greatest pleasure that we meet, in the field of Sanskrit research, with any work by Professor S. K. Belvalkar, who certainly represents the very pick of native Indian philologists and seems to walk, with unerring

[1] That picture, according to information kindly supplied by Mr. Edwardes, was painted by this same James Wales.

steps, along the path trodden by his illustrious countryman, the late Sir R G. Bhandarkar. He has contributed to this volume two separate papers, the one dealing with four unpublished *Upanishads*, the other one with the so-called *Paryaṅkavidyā*; neither of them needs any recommendation to the scholarly world. Professor Belvalkar's researches in Sanskrit philosophy, drama, and grammar have shown us that we are entitled to hope great things of him in the future.

Mr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, who has made a splendid start with his "Buddhist Iconography", presents a very good paper called "Glimpses of the Vajrayāna", which, I venture to think, presents much new information to most Sanskritists The opening paper, by Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, on Kālidāsa's relation to political science we admit having read with considerable interest, and the same applies to the extensive and learned paper, by Mr K V. Subrahmanya Iyer, on the early Pāṇḍya monuments and their inscriptions, though the present writer cannot profess to be a competent judge in these matters. Papers of no mean value seem to be those by Professor M. Habib on the organization of the Delhi Sultanate, though the author is, of course, far too lenient in his judgments on 'Alāu-d dīn Khilji and some other worthies; by Father H. Heras, S J., on some contemporary documents concerning Venkata II of the Āraviḍu dynasty, and that by Mr. R. Satyanatha Iyer on his successor Śrī Raṅga III. Without passing judgment on a strange and obscure subject, the present writer would like also to point out the interest he has found in the article by Professor C S. Srinivasacharya on the "Influence of South Indian Imperialism on Medieval Hindustan".

The present writer, unfortunately, is far too little at home in the complicated systems of Hindu philosophy to be able to form an adequate opinion on the numerous contributions towards that subject included in this volume. He may be allowed, though, to express the interest he has taken in the papers by Professor M. Hiriyanna on Bhartṛpra-

pañca, by Pandit Panduranga Sarma on the Nātha Panthīya Siddhas, by Kumar Gangananda Sinha on Dhāmat Religion, and by Professor Sivaprasad Bhattacharya on the date of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyana*. The argument against the well-known opinion of Dr. Barnett concerning the origin of the Tamil Siddhānta, by Mr. V. R Ranganadhan, seems slightly futile.

There is an interesting collection of materials in Professor K Rangachariar's paper on "Gotra and Pravara". The lengthy contribution, by Shamsu-l ulema Dr. J J. Modi, entitled "The Huns who invaded India, what was their religion?" evokes no common interest. Dr. Modi's main theory, viz. that the Hephthalites were strongly influenced by Iranian religion, carries rather strong conviction; but we fail to see how it can be proved on the arguments adduced by the learned author. To mention a small detail, it is rather curious to hear the Alans described as "a tribe of the Huns".

Of the papers which leave us slightly wondering, we shall say little or nothing. To the Western scholar it certainly would be difficult to discuss in all earnest the contribution by Mr N. B. Pavjee, called "Soma Juice is not Liquor," leaving wholly aside the question whether this is the [illegible] or not Dr. R. Shama Shastri, for no cogent reasons at [illegible] wants to prove that Tirujñāna Sambandhar and his patron Kūṇ Pāṇḍya of infamous memory, lived in the eighth century A.D., while their attribution to the previous century seems fairly well established This, however, is not too bad. But the strongest objections must be lodged against the way in which Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer tries to prove an affinity between the pronouns of the Aryan and Dravidian languages. The author apparently is totally unacquainted with the simplest principles of Comparative Philology, and what little there is of that discipline within the domain of Dravidian idiom seems to have left him equally untouched. Dravidian languages have recently been compared with the

Fenno-Ugrian ones[1]—probably with only scanty success. But there is just as little—or perhaps even less—reason to try, in the present state of our knowledge, to connect them with the Indo-European family, and to write about matters of that paramount importance in the manner of Mr. Swaminatha Iyer can only be directly harmful

But let us finish with a word of praise for the energy and enthusiasm for research-work which undoubtedly manifest themselves in a work like this, and also let us express our hope for a bright future for Indian scholarship.

6 Santal Folk Tales. Edited by P O. Bodding. Vol i Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning. 9½ × 7¼; xvi + 369 pp. Oslo: H Aschehoug and Co, 1925

The Rev P. O. Bodding has long been working as a missionary amongst the Santals and seems to have a greater knowledge of that interesting tribe, their language and customs than perhaps any other living European scholar. He has made his name well known by several publications on his favourite subject and has now started upon his *magnum opus*, the edition of a large collection of Santālī folk-tales in the original language and with a parallel English translation

The present volume gives altogether twenty-four tales, divided into two headings, viz. "Stories about Jackals" and "Stories about Women". It is certainly a remarkable fact that while the former are, without exception, quite fascinating, the later are, on the contrary, nearly all of them exasperatingly monotonous and boring. But most of them—and especially the delightful jackal-stories—contain motives well-known from fables and tales in and outside India and must evoke widespread interest among Sanskritists and students of tales alike. By preserving these tales in their original shape, the Rev. Bodding has

[1] Cf. Dr. F. O. Schrader in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. iii, p. 81 sqq.

certainly achieved great merit, and text and translation alike evoke our admiration of his high standard of scholarship.

It is somewhat unfortunate that this precious volume should be preceded by an introduction which could certainly, in every way, have been improved. Its author, Professor Konow, has only deigned to give some scrappy remarks concerning the origin of tales and the Aryanization of the Santals, on both of which subjects previous information of a far superior quality is available. No detailed criticism of this piece of work can be offered here; but it certainly seems remarkable that a scholar who has had a fairly long connexion with India and has edited, for the Linguistic Survey, the specimens of Muṇḍā languages, should withhold from us information which we may well believe him able to give.

The footnotes are useful, though sometimes unnecessarily long. Possibly the author has not seen his way to giving them a final touch before sending them to the press, as much the same details appear in various sets of footnotes.

7. Travels in India. By Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne. Translated from the original French Edition of 1676, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, Notes, Appendices, etc. By V. Ball. Second Edition, edited by William Crooke. Vols i–ii; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, xc + 335 pp., xv + 399 pp. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne, was not the least distinguished of the many prominent men living in France during the long reign of *Le Roi Soleil*. As a traveller in Eastern countries—Turkey, Persia, and, above all, India,—he had a unique record, and none of his contemporaries could probably have boasted, like himself, of having had an intimate inspection of the Great Mogul's priceless collection of jewels. With many other famous travellers he shared the fate of seeing his relations doubted and disbelieved; but though historical and geographical inaccuracies may be found

in several passages of his work, his reliability has generally proved to be far greater than was at one time suggested. And undoubtedly his book, save for some technical details which may be valuable but are decidedly tiresome, makes very pleasant reading. He was not a scientifically trained observer like his countryman Bernier, nor an intriguing gossip like Manucci, but he united in himself the qualities of a sound and unemotional business man and an intelligent and experienced traveller. Time might be much worse spent than in following his tracks across the vast subcontinent of India, where he visited any number of places from Peshāwar to Madras and from Surat and Goa to Dacca

Since the days of Hakluyt and Purchas interest in foreign travel has been greater in England than in any other country, and we are not astonished to hear that the work of the Baron d'Aubonne was presented in English garb by a certain John Phillips as early as 1677, the year after the publication of the French *editio princeps*. But older translations, of which a fair number exist, have all been superseded by the carefully annotated work of the late Dr V. Ball, which was first published in 1889 As Dr. Ball did not, during his lifetime, issue a second edition, which was badly needed as the older one seems long to have been out of print, this task was completed by the late Dr William Crooke. The new edition, the issue of which we now gratefully acknowledge, owes much to his vast knowledge of Indian subjects, and has also been enriched by several additions by Mr. H. A. Rose. It is a thoroughly scholarly work and must be warmly recommended to everyone who takes an interest in the history and conditions of India during the Mughal period

Minor additions and corrections from authorities like Sir William Foster and others will, no doubt, be forthcoming and may, at some future time, be worked into still another addition of this useful work. It would be interesting to go into more detail, but owing to lack of space that cannot be, and we must finish by once more expressing our

gratitude for the splendid work performed upon Tavernier's travel book by the late Dr. Ball. To him it owes not a little part of the interest it still evokes

8 PSALMS OF A SAIVA SAINT Being Selections from the Writings of Tāyumānaswāmy translated into English, with Introduction and Notes By T. ISAAC TAMBYAH. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; ccviii + 264 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1925.

Tāyumānaswāmy or Tāyumānavar was a Tamil poet enraptured by love and adoration of Śiva, who seems to have lived during the seventeenth or possibly even the eighteenth century and left behind him a number of hymns in which are manifested the most ecstatic sentiments of pure *bhakti* Every line met with in these selections exhales love and adoration of the great god, who is praised as the Lord of all in an infinite variety of more or less sublime epithets, and who shows himself to the faithful dancing his mystic dance in the Golden Hall of Chidambaram.

Mr. Tambyah, himself a Christian, has apparently spared no efforts to make his English translations as attractive as possible, and we feel convinced that he has succeeded very well in rendering the spirit pervading these poems, which are literally steeped in ecstasy and love of the Supreme Being. The author has added a very extensive introduction and commentary, both of which are possibly a little too prolix, but certainly contain a fair amount of useful information. There are a number of minor slips, as when the author, with the late Mr V J Tamby Pillai, believes the word *ārya* to be of Dravidian origin (p. ii, n 5), or when he is in possession of singularly scanty information concerning early Christian missions in India (p. lviii sq). But apart from this we may be allowed to compliment Mr. Tambyah on his successful and instructive work.

9. IL PENSIERO RELIGIOSO NELL' INDIA PRIMA DEL BUDDHA. By CARLO FORMICHI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$; viii+287 pp. Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1925.

This little book, by Professor Formichi, forms part of a collection called the *Storia delle Religioni* and edited by Professor Raffaele Pettazzoni of Rome. Other volumes issued in the same series deal with the religion of Zoroaster, with pre-Hellenistic Greek religion, Manicheism, Slavonic Mythology, etc. We do not know whether any previous series dealing with the history of religions exists in Italy; but even if that be the case, there is no doubt that the one now being edited by Professor Pettazzoni is most useful and may find many interested readers even outside Italy herself.

Professor Formichi's name is well known to every Sanskritist, and we are certainly under an obligation to him for having published this well-written and instructive little book. As the title tells us, it deals with Indian religious speculation up to the time of Buddha, and it contains three chapters dealing successively with the *Rigveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, and the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upanishads*. Each chapter is followed by a small but carefully selected collection of notes, and there is a good index, although its arrangement according to the Sanskrit alphabet seems somewhat unnecessary.

The theories advanced by Professor Formichi generally seem sound and not very startling. As for the gods of the *Rigveda*, he mainly clings to the old idea of their being deified powers of nature; but as this forms no central point in his argument, we shall not try to contest it, although the time has come to modify these ideas concerning gods like Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, or the Aśvins. To Professor Formichi the main point is that the *Rigveda* is already pervaded by philosophical ideas, and that these ideas are generally the same as the leading ones of the *Upanishads*.

No doubt, a number of philosophical hymns exist in the *Rigveda* and still more in the *Atharvaveda*. By common consensus those of the *Rigveda* are considered to be of late origin, and there is, fortunately, no reason for doubting this.

We have, of course, no means of ascertaining how far back commences philosophical speculation which must, in the eyes of the strict ritualists, have been from its outset heretical. That the Jina Pārśva was a historical person who lived some time in the eighth century B.C., may be taken well-nigh for granted, and it is not impossible that even his predecessor, Ariṣṭanemi, may really have existed some centuries earlier, as has actually been suggested by a very high authority. The contemporaries of Aśoka certainly believed also in the real existence of at least one of the Śākyamuni's predecessors. Thus it may perhaps also be possible to assume that some sort of proto-Upanishadic speculation had already arisen about a thousand years B.C., and that the hymns on which Professor Formichi lays much stress may actually belong to that period.

But the bulk of the *Ṛigveda* is certainly very much older, and there we find no ideas even distantly connected with those of the *Upanishads*. Thus, it seems as if Professor Formichi had slightly overrated the importance of these few and late hymns, which certainly bear traces of an influence unknown to the *rishis* of yore. But this may perhaps be a matter for argument, and instead of urging it here, we will confine ourselves to expressing our gratitude for the pleasant time spent with Professor Formichi's very entertaining book.

10. ZIEGENBALG'S MALABARISCHES HEIDENTHUM. Herausgegeben und mit Indices versehen von W. CALAND. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie von Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXV, No. 3. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; 291 pp. Uitgave van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1926.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719), a German by birth, in his twenty-third year entered the Danish mission at Tranquebar, which was at that time carrying on a successful

work of conversion amongst the Tamil-speaking population of that part of Southern India. Although only a short span of life was bestowed on him, Ziegenbalg undoubtedly was the most prominent amongst the energetic workers in the field of the Danish mission during the eighteenth century. He seems to have possessed no common faculty for learning foreign languages and soon became an expert in Tamil, as is attested both by his own works and by the evidence of his contemporaries. In this, if not in other accomplishments, he successfully emulated the great Catholic missionaries of his own and bygone centuries

Professor Caland, besides his great work on the Vedic ritual texts, has during the last ten years taken to editing and commenting upon several old European texts dealing with the Hindu religion and social institutions This meritorious work ought to be gratefully acknowledged by all scholars interested in Indian religion; for, although most modern students are apt to treat this somewhat obsolete literature with a certain neglect not to say contempt, a considerable amount of important information is to be gathered from it So far only one living scholar is possessed of a thorough and unrivalled acquaintance with this branch of literature, viz., Professor Zachariæ. The contributions towards the knowledge of it which he has given us in the form of articles and extensive reviews are masterpieces of accuracy and learning alike and will always keep their place at the head of researches in this field of investigation. It is a matter of regret that Professor Zachariæ has not seen his way to give us, in a work of a more comprehensive scope, a general conspectus of this neglected but all-important literature

Professor Caland's editorship hitherto embraced the work of his own countryman Roger on Hindu paganism, as well as several old Portuguese and French tracts on the same topic. It is a pity that the Portuguese texts should have been given, not in the original, but in a Dutch translation; for although only a limited number of scholars

are acquainted with Portuguese, the general impression is that that language makes considerably easier reading than does the somewhat bewildering Dutch. This may, however, be a matter of taste, and the remark is not intended to detract in the slightest from a grateful acknowledgement of Professor Caland's services to scholarship in editing these interesting tracts

Ziegenbalg's work is important enough, and it is well that it should now have been finally published more than two centuries after the author's death. It cannot be denied that Ziegenbalg had a thorough knowledge of Tamil and a good acquaintance with part of its literature, and it is also obvious that his work is generally accurate and correct, though he has made occasional mistakes. But compared with the works of some of the Catholic missionaries, many of which are still unedited or hidden away in remote archives, his book makes rather a poor show Ziegenbalg was a strenuous missionary and an admirable Christian, but he had none of that spirit of scientific investigation which animated not a few of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

To edit a work of this kind without a thorough knowledge of Tamil is, of course, a very difficult task. Professor Caland has, however, with the help of Winslow's dictionary, mastered the difficulties fairly well, though, as is sufficiently clear from the index, there remain several puzzles to be solved. To attempt to make any contribution towards this aim would swell this review to undue length, and demands a separate article Here, as everywhere within this branch of literature, there will, of course, always remain a small residue of materials which baffle every explanation, probably because of misunderstandings on the part of the author himself.

The introduction and notes are of the very shortest, which is somewhat astonishing. Professor Caland has, owing to his own avowal, made good use of Germann's edition of Ziegenbalg's *Genealogie der Malabarischen Goetter* (Madras,

1867), but we are astonished to find that the *editio princeps* of that work (Berlin, 1791), which is decidedly preferable to Germann's publication, should have remained unknown to the learned editor. Nor does he seem to have mentioned anywhere the article, by Germann, on the present work published in the *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, vol. x (1883), p. 481 sqq. As for that amazing work, the *Aṟupattunālu-tiruviḷaiyāḍal-Purāṇam*, the scarce and eccentric but still very useful work of Rodriguez might have been consulted with some advantage

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The Right Hon SIR MORTIMER DURAND. A BIOGRAPHY. By Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES, K C.I E , C B., C M G. 9½ × 6; xi + 356 pp., 8 plates, 3 maps. London · Cassel and Co . 1926.

The life of Sir Mortimer Durand, by Sir Percy Sykes, is that of a great Anglo-Indian, to use that term in its old familiar sense, by an enthusiastic admirer, who has himself done important service in the same sphere It cannot but possess a peculiar fascination for Durand's contemporaries The pages of this *Journal*, however, afford no place for anything but the merest notice thereof

Durand's remarkable official life may be divided into two parts: as a member of the Indian Civil Service and as a Minister and Ambassador in other countries. Even in India he passed practically the whole of his time as a political officer. His promotion was extraordinarily rapid, so that he was engaged almost from the beginning in affairs of the greatest importance, and came into personal contact with the men who made history in his time The doings of a man with such a career are more than interesting, they bear an historical value; but unfortunately the official acts and the controversies that explain and led up to them cannot be revealed till they are long past. Sir Percy has accordingly been obliged to be reticent on many a point that Durand's contemporaries would be glad to have cleared

up, especially as he was intimately concerned with events deemed to be of the highest importance in the past. Of such were Durand's service with Lord Roberts after the murder of Cavagnari in 1879, and the succession of 'Abdu'rrahman as Amir of Afghanistan.

Next, Durand had much to do with Sir Courtenay Ilbert and the "Ilbert Bill", now a dead and gone controversy, which older Indian officials will remember as a very serious "row" indeed. On this matter Durand has left some caustic comments behind him, some of which are new to myself, as to Sir Courtenay's personal share in the measure named after him Then came the Burma War, and here Durand has made an illuminating observation of the greatest interest to old Indian officials, in his diary for October, 1885: "The season has ended with an ultimatum to Burma I have advocated annexation and this is agreed upon. We settled it last Sunday after breakfast sitting in Lord Dufferin's veranda after the usual custom, with the hum of bees around us and a sweet sunny breeze." Durand, however, noted a fact in his diary, a fact long known to most people, that the final cause of the rupture with Burma were certain treaties made by Thibaw's government with European powers. It may be of interest to note that these treaties were eventually found in 1888, in a coffer in my own room in Mandalay Palace, at the bottom of which they had lain unnoticed for two years or more. After Burma came a mission to Sikkim and Tibet, and then trouble with the Russians on the northern mountain marches of Kashmir These led in the end to Durand taking a leading share in creating the boundaries of Afghanistan, including the greatest of all his services in India—the settlement of the "Durand Line". Here Sir Percy Sykes, as an acknowledged authority, is worth quoting: "For the Indian Empire this successful mission constituted the most important achievement of external policy during the nineteenth century. Not only did it stop the further advance of Russia towards India, but it removed a constant source of misunderstanding and

irritation with that power. Moreover, it paved the way for the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which improved the relations of the two Powers to such an extent that their co-operation in the Great War was thereby materially facilitated."

After this Durand left India with the highest of reputations, being appointed Minister at Tehran, where, after his wont, he did well. He was then appointed Ambassador to Spain, and subsequently to Washington Here he was in a new sphere and, what was unfortunate for him, in a new service which looked askance at all outsiders. In Washington he was confronted by President Roosevelt, a strong, overbearing man, then at the zenith of his influence Roosevelt determined to push any man aside, who in his opinion thwarted him. He therefore used intrigue to get rid of one whom he could not circumvent, with the result that Durand was recalled without warning It is a pitiful story, as disclosed in Sir Percy Sykes' informing pages, and Durand ended his splendid official career with a rankling sense of injustice. So overpowering was it that he subsequently refused the Governorship of Bombay, to India's loss He was only 56 when this misfortune happened, and he lived for eighteen years afterwards as a private individual.

Though prevented by circumstances from describing many of the details of Durand's public service, Sir Percy Sykes has been fortunate as to the private side of his life. Durand kept a journal and a diary nearly all his days—a real diary, into which went all and sundry of his feelings and ideas; so that it is possible to know him as he was, and not as he appeared to be to those with whom he came in contact. To his acquaintances he was shy, and so silent as to be aloof and difficult to get on with. He never began a conversation and never helped one that had been begun. But from his diary, journal, and private letters, we see that he was possessed of powerful emotions and an almost overpowering sense of the ludicrous, hidden behind an austere manner. His love for wife and children was

so great as to make him ready to sacrifice himself for them. From another point of view, Durand as a "civilian" was a square man in a round hole, being at heart a soldier. He was also a poet by nature, and full of romance. All this and much more has Sir Percy Sykes taken full advantage of his opportunities to disclose, and one must be thankful to him for it.

Like most men ever at work in India, Durand made himself a considerable Oriental scholar, using his knowledge in some published books Indeed, the story of his learning Persian, so as to read and speak it readily in "record time", is a revelation of what determined application can achieve

I have already exhausted the space allotted me; and, therefore, with the remark that Sir Percy Sykes has given us a picture of his old friend well calculated to make this Society proud of its former Director, I must close this inadequate notice of his book.

R. C T

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. No. lxxxiv: The Âryamanjusrîmûlakalpa, part iii. No lxxxv: The Vishnusamhitâ. No. lxxxvi: The Bharatacharita of Srîkrishnakavi. Edited by Mahâmahopâdhyâya T. Ganapati Sâstrî. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 547–722, 1 + i + i + 249, i + i + 134 pp. Trivandrum: Govt Press, 1926.

With its third part the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* is now completed. It is a curious document, or rather collection of documents. The present edition, apparently printed *verbatim et litteratim* from a single manuscript, is of course full of errors; and as much of the work itself is written in a semi-barbarous Sanskrit, it teems with obscurities. Nevertheless, it throws much light on the mentality of the decadent Mahāyāna from which it arose. Part iii contains chapters l–lv, of which chapters l and li (mostly verse), lii (mainly prose), and lv (prose) contain chiefly miscellaneous prescriptions for magical rites, mainly of the vulgar sort, while

liv (prose and verse) gives a spell for the comfort of beings, and liii, the longest and most important in the book, is composed of a metrical pseudo-prophecy or pretended forecast of the reigns of a large number of historical kings mixed up with mythical persons This last section deserves study, for although the historical statements are very confused and the text corrupt, it includes in its survey many dynasties, both Northern and Southern, down to almost medieval times, and has some attempts at chronology The *Visnu-samhitā*, which is said to be abridged from a larger work of the same name, comprises thirty chapters treating of the distinctions of the Pāñcarātra churches, the principles of their theology, and various rituals and other religious practices belonging to them There is a good deal in it that will repay study, especially in the earlier chapters. Finally, we have in the *Bharata-carita* a poem of considerable merit Its twelve cantos narrate the legends of Dussanta and Bharata, including the ever-green story of Śakuntalā, in a style modelled to a great extent upon that of Kālidāsa Its diction is skilful and often pleasing ; occasionally, however, it tends to be over-subtle and more ingenious than happy, and the strict critic will object to e.g the hiatus in *Kanvasya ṛṣēr*, ii, 5.

This notice would be incomplete without a *carama-ślōka* to express our regret that death has removed the learned editor from the fields of study which he loved so well and cultivated so devotedly. But he has raised for himself a lasting monument in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and there is good hope that his successor will carry on his work in a manner worthy of him.

2. MĀGHA'S ŚIŚUPĀLAVADHA Nach den Kommentaren des Vallabhadēva und des Mallināthasūri ins Deutsch übertragen von E. HULTZSCH. 10 × 7, vii + 249 pp. Leipzig : Verlag der Asia Major, 1926.

Not many Western scholars are ready to endorse the conclusion of the pandits' verdict that *Upamā Kālidāsasya*,

Bhāravēr artha-gāuravam, Nāiṣadhē padalālityam, Māghē santi trayō gunāḥ. Although Māgha had a real poetic talent and when he chose could express it with effect, he was much more of a bookman than a poet; and in his work feeling is almost buried beneath erudition. Nevertheless he has wielded an enormous influence in Sanskrit literature, and he must be read by all who desire to know what the language is capable of. Professor Hultzsch's scholarly translation therefore will be very useful. Besides this more or less pedagogic merit, it has the additional interest of presenting the variant readings of Vallabhadēva's recension, which often differ considerably from the common text of Mallinātha. Though these divergences are not of profound importance, they are numerous and often interesting.

The translation is, as we should expect from a scholar of the eminence of Professor Hultzsch, excellent. The only criticism that can be offered is that in some passages it is perhaps a little too free in the wording, though correct as to sense. Thus in I, 9*a*, *bhinnayā* is not exactly "bedeckt" (Mallinātha comes nearer with *miśrayā*), nor is *kṣata* precisely "getroffen" (Mall. takes it as a substantive, *sangharṣanēna*, or it may be translated as a participle, "rubbed") In I, 14*b*, "nur der Frommen Haus begehren die Weisen liebevoll zu betreten" is not quite right; the text says "the wise desire not to approach in love the houses of the unrighteousness". II, 8*b*, "(wie) das Vorspiel zur Einfuhrung in den Stoff eines Schauspiels (dient)": the text is literally "in order to supply a prelude to the matter of a drama". X, 9*b*, "Hierbei erlangte (die Lippe), obwohl der rote Lack (durch den Likör) entfernt worden war, die ursprüngliche (Farbe) wieder, da sie (durch den Biss) gerötet wurde": the text is simply, "the lac, though disappearing, yet [apparently] preserved itself by [the lip] becoming reddened." But such inexactitudes are of small account, especially when set against the solid merits of the book.

3. PAVANADŪTAM OF DHOYĪ Edited, with . . . introduction, Sanskrit notes, variants, etc , etc. by CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 13.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, v + 38 + 36 + v pp Calcutta : Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, 1926.

Unmoved by the sneers of Bhāmaha, who in his *Alaṃkāra* (i, 42) poured scorn upon the poets who make clouds and winds the messengers of the lovelorn, the literary public of India and Ceylon promptly took Kālidāsa's *Mēgha-dūta* to its heart and flattered its author by producing innumerable imitations One of these is Dhōyī's *Pavana-dūta*, a poem of 104 stanzas, which was first published by the late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti in the *JPASB*. of 1905, p 41 ff , and has now been edited more successfully by Mr C Chakravarti Apart from a few stanzas ascribed to Dhōyī in anthologies, this is the only work of his that has survived Though quite devoid of the magic touch of genius and too often imitating Kālidāsa, sometimes even slavishly, it occasionally shows traces of natural poetic grace, and has on the whole considerable literary merit Its chief interest, however, is an historical one : it is really a panegyric upon the poet's patron, King Lakṣmaṇasēna of Gāuḍa, and thus belongs to the same category as Madana's *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, Sōmadēva's *Lalita-vigraha-rāja-nāṭaka*, Vidyānātha's *Pratāpa-yaśōbhūṣaṇa*, and the like. The theme is artful : a Gandharva maiden on the Malaya Hills, having seen Lakṣmaṇasēna travelling through India on a campaign of universal conquest, has become deeply enamoured of him, and on the coming of spring entrusts to the South Wind a message of love to be borne by it to the king. Thus opportunity is given for poetical descriptions of the cities and other sites visited by the wind in its journey northwards and for elaborate panegyrics of Lakṣmaṇasēna's personal charms and the splendours of his capital. The campaign mentioned here appears to be a poetical fiction : inscriptions indicate that the king's armies won some successes in Kaliṅga, Assam, and the lower Ganges valley,

but no more The route which the wind is directed to follow is also very erratic, comprising the Malaya Hills, the Pāṇḍya land, in the latter the city of Uraga-pura (which, *pace* Mr. Chakravarti, is clearly Ālavāy or Madura) on the river Tāmraparṇī, Adam's Bridge and Rameswaram, Conjevaram on the river Subalā (?), the course of the Kāvērī, the Mālyavat hill, the Pañcâpsaras lake, the Āndhra country around the Gōdāvarī, Kalinganagarī (apparently Mukhalingam in Ganjam), the Vindhya, the Narmadā, Yayāti-nagarī (perhaps Vinīta-pura in Sonpur), Suhma (south-western Bengal), and Lakṣmaṇasēna's capital Vijaya-pura.[1]

Mr Chakravarti on the whole has edited this literary curiosity well, though on grounds of strict phonetic propriety one may object to his use of ढ़ and ड़ for ढ and ड, to the spelling *kalasayōr* for *kalaśayōr* on p. 19, v. 56, l. 4, to *cēt* for *cēd* on p. 9, v. 26, l 1. and to *kaṭâkṣāh* for *kaṭâkṣā* on p. 18, v. 52, l 1. His Sanskrit notes are commendably brief and pithy, and his introduction is generally sound and instructive.

4 DIE STREICHE DES BERAUSCHTEN Satirische Posse von KÖNIG MAHENDRA - WIKRAMAWARMAN. Vollständig verdeutscht von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Indische Dichter. Bd I) 7 × 4¾, 92 pp Leipzig : H. Haessel-Verlag, 1924.

5. AWIMARAKA SCHAUSPIEL VON BHASA Übersetzt von HERMANN WELLER (Indische Dichter Bd. II) 7 × 4¾, 188 pp. Leipzig : H Haessel-Verlag, 1924.

6. WÂSAWADATTÂ, EIN SCHAUSPIEL NACH BHÂSA. Übersetzt von HERMANN WELLER. (Indische Dichter Bd III.) 7 × 4¾, 128 pp. Leipzig : H Haessel-Verlag, 1926.

The *Matta-vilāsa*—"Die Streiche des Berauschten," as Dr. Hertel renders its title—is certainly one of the wittiest

[1] This itinerary may be compared with that given in the *Bhagavadajjuka*, v. 25 (p 68 of Mr. Anujan Achan's edn.). Ganges, Vindhya, Narmadā, Sahya, Gōlērya (?), Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā (on which see *Ep. Ind.* xii, 145), Paśupati-bhavana, Conjevaram, Kāvērī, Tāmraparṇī, Malaya Hills, the sea, Laṅkā.

of the products of the Indian comic Muse, and has the further advantage of being the work of a great and brilliant king.[1] Hence it forms an attractive beginning to this neat little popular series of "Indische Dichter". The excellent fooling of the play, with its racy waggeries and lively topical satire, necessarily loses a little in translation; but in Dr Hertel's vigorously idiomatic and unobtrusively scholarly version the loss is reduced to a minimum. With the translation we are given also a brief introduction and short but adequate notes, followed by an interesting appendix in which Dr. Hertel sets forth anew and defends his views on the Indian drama, supporting them by the evidence of the modern *swāng*.

The talented gentleman who as orientalist is Hermann Weller and as poet appears under the name of Hans Lindach, has shown good taste in choosing for translation two of the best dramas in the collection ascribed by a dwindling number of scholars to Bhāsa, and wisdom in learning to modify his opinions on their authorship. When he wrote his version of *Avimāraka* he was a believer in the Bhāsa-legend; in his *Wâsawadattâ* he appears in a chastened mood. Reason has prevailed. He now admits that at best the *Svapna-nāṭaka* is likely to be only "eine auf Bhâsa's Srv fuszende Umarbeitung", and as to the authorship of the other plays he can only say that "the possibility is not excluded" that some of them may have been compiled from works of Bhāsa, or may contain extracts from that source. We venture to congratulate him on this *prabōdha-candrôdaya*.

Herr Weller's translations are generally true to the sense of their originals, though exception might perhaps be taken to them in a few cases.[2] They are more open to criticism on

[1] In passing we may note that Dr. Hertel is apparently mistaken in his statement (p. 15 f) that the king's titles *Matta-vilāsa*, *Avani-bhājana*, *Guṇa-bhara*, and *Śatru-malla* are all derived from this play: the inscriptions seem to tell another story.

[2] For example, the rendering of the opening stanza in *Wâsawadattâ*, though based on Gaṇapati Sâstri's note, is, in our humble opinion, erroneous; and *bhaddë* is certainly not "mein Kind", but rather "my lady" (ib., p. 52).

another ground, their continuous metrical form. As in the whole *Svapna-vāsavadatta* there are only fifty-seven stanzas, a translation of it into German verse throughout with never a break seems to us a reversal of the natural order of things; and we still hold impenitently to the conviction that the lively prose of Indian dramas, especially the Prakrit, loses its vitality and energy on being rendered into the iambic pentameters of Herr Weller, and sinks into long-drawn monotony, sometimes even into ponderous bathos. The rendering of the Sanskrit verses, too, is sometimes rather prolix: thus the opening *āryā* of *Svapna-vāsavadatta* is translated by a German verse of seven lines and seventy syllables, and on p. 78 ib. a *vasanta-tilaka* quatrain is expanded into ten lines of German. Apparently Hans Lindach sometimes overbalances Hermann Weller.

For the rest, we fear that few serious scholars will assent to Herr Weller's theory which discovers in the hero Avimāraka the spirit of the monsoon destroying the demon of drought.

7. ĀŚCARYACŪḌĀMAṆI, a drama by ŚAKTIBHADRA . . . With an introduction by S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. (Sri Balamanorama Series, No. 9.) 8⅝ × 4⅝. 28 + 238 + iii pp. Mylapore, Madras: Bālamanōramā Press, 1926.

The *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi*, which has long been a favourite on the stage in Kēraḷa, was first introduced to the reading public in the *Kēraḷa-grantha-mālā*, a magazine unfortunately very limited in its circulation, and, we believe, brief of life: at any rate the copy of it in the British Museum extends only to vol. ii, pt. 2, and includes only Acts 1–3 of this play. Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti called attention to it in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, p. 111, and published the prologue ib., p. 116. Now the Bālamanōramā Press gives us a good working text and a learned Sanskrit commentary, with valuable English introduction by one of the most erudite critics in India—a gift for which much gratitude is due.

The seven acts which compose the play present in dramatic form episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa—the coming of Sūrpaṇakhā into Rāma's hut, her mutilation by Rāma, the rape of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, his vain passion for her in Laṅkā, Hanumān's visit to Laṅkā, and the final scenes where Rāma, after his victory over Rāvaṇa, ascertain's Sītā's purity by the fire-ordeal and a message delivered by Nārada—and it takes its name from the miraculous crest-jewel and ring given to Rāma and Sītā by the hermits. It is open to criticism on some points. The structure is far from the Aristotelian ideal, and the language, though generally graceful and lucid, is not always handled with the sureness of touch of a great master. Nevertheless we incline to the opinion of Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri that "it is the best of the Rāma-plays, perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita in certain respects . . . it is refreshingly free from the features that contribute to the heaviness and unstageworthiness of certain well-known Rāma-plays like the Anargharāghava of Murāri and the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara". In fact, it deserves to be included in the list of classics, and studied as such.

The present edition is based on six MSS, and is on the whole carefully printed: the only serious errors that we have noted in the text are *ahibhavanavidhānānyudhīkṛtya* for °*vidhānāny āyudhīkṛtya*, p. 154, °*pāṃsulē pādē* for °*pāṃsulāu pādāu*, p. 178, and *pratipattih*, apparently for *vipratip*° (as in commentary), p. 229.

It is, however, to be regretted that the editor has not given us the variant readings of the MSS., especially in regard to the Prakrit passages. The Prakrit as printed here is a mixture—Śāurasēnī of the ordinary type (e g. *ajja*) together with forms characteristic of the Kēraḷa school, a little Māgadhī (e.g. °*lāvaṇa*, p. 67), and a few words that are impossible (e.g. °*rūpāi*, p. 59, *pavisadu*°, pp. 169, 219). But even in this corrupt state it is interesting, and deserves study. Space forbids us to do more than remark one feature, the treatment of the stems in -*a*, which corroborates the views which we stated in

this *Journal* of 1924, pp. 293 and 655. There is in this text great confusion between masculines and neuters; even the Sanskrit shows traces of it, presenting neut. *karāni*, p. 173, and *cāpaṃ*, p. 204, instead of masc. The facts as regards the Prakrit are as follows In the singular, masc. apparently is changed to neut. in *sagga-maggaṃ*, p. 169; *per contra*, we find masc adjj. agreeing with neut. vocatives in *anguliaa* . . . *°virahidō*, etc., p. 197, *hiaa* . . . *laddhappavēsa-maggō*, *jīvia* . . . *ṇivuttō*, p. 200. In the plural, neuters end in both *-āni* and *-āi* in nom. and acc.: thus we have nom *bhāahēāni*, p. 45, *hiaāṇi*, p 207, *gattāni*, p. 230, and acc. *kāraṇāni*, p. 145, as well as nom. *ettiāi*, p. 45, *uvaṇadāi siṇiddhasuumārāi bhakkharūpāi*, p. 59 (cf. p 62), and acc. *°ppavuttāi accariāi*, p. 48, *imāi*, p. 59, *°siharāi*, pp. 64 (?), 74. The masc stems normally have nom plur. in *-ā* (e.g. *pāṇā*, p. 95, *bānā*, p. 110, *maṇussā*, p. 122, *issarā*, p. 140). Sometimes, however, they are treated as neut. and inflected accordingly with *-āni* and *-āi* in nom. and acc. Thus we find in nom. plur. *pādāṇi*, pp. 178, 234, *pādāi*, p. 50, and in acc. *pādāṇi*, p. 174, *pāṇāṇi*, pp. 175, 202, 203, *guna-dōsāni*, p. 27 The bearing of these facts upon the Bhāsa-controversy is plain. And in that connexion we would call attention to the paragraphs in Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri's introduction where he deals with the other lights that our play throws upon the problem, and arrives at substantially the same conclusion concerning "Bhāsa" as that which we have maintained for many years.

In respect of vocabulary the Sanskrit will repay study and add somewhat to the dictionaries: for example, it gives us the rare *sauhṛdayya*, p. 79 (cf. *vārttika* on Pāṇini VI, iii, 51, and *Jānakī-haraṇa*, xvi, 42, in *B S.O.S.* iv, p. 289) and *kutastya*, pp. 90, 220. Altogether it is an attractive play, and it is to be hoped that we may soon have a really critical edition of it.

8. ŚRĪ-ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA-VIRACITĀ JAYA-MANGALĀ NĀMA SĀṂKHYA-SAPTATI-ṬĪKĀ. Edited by H. ŚARMĀ, M.A. With an introduction by GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ, M.A.

(Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 19.) 8⅝ × 5⅝, 3 + 10 + 69 pp., 1 pl. Calcutta, Delhi printed, 1926.

The title-page of this little book inspires the reader with two regrets. The first is that the editor, Mr. Haradatta Śarmā, should have followed the foolish practice now rampant in India, of hiding the real name under an initial, which is mistakenly supposed to be in conformity with European methods—a practice, we may add, which is doing very great harm to Indian bibliography, as it makes writers anonymous, or at best semi-anonymous. The other regret is that he should have endorsed on his title-page the silly ascription of the *Jaya-mangalā* to the great Śaṅkarâcārya which is given in the colophon In his introduction Pt. Gōpīnātha Kavirāja argues with much probability that the writer (obviously a Buddhist) is to be identified with Śaṅkarârya, the author of commentaries, also called *Jaya-maṅgalā*, upon the *Kāmandaki-nīti-sāra* and *Kāma-sūtra*.

The present Jaya-maṅgalā is an exposition of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa's *Sānkhya-kārikā*. Pt. Gōpīnātha accuses it of a "careless slipshod style", and apparently it contributes nothing new to the subject. Nevertheless, it has considerable merit as a clear and intelligent interpretation of the ordinary Sāṅkhya standpoint. The printing in parts leaves much to be desired.

9. Bhārata-ke Prācīna Rāja-vaṃśa. By Viśvēśvaranātha Rēu. Vol. III. 7½ × 5, 1 + ii + 488 pp., 9 plates. Hindī-grantha-ratnâkara Office: Bombay, 1925.

Continuing with commendable industry his useful series of sketches of Indian dynasties, the author in the present volume deals with the families bearing the cognate names of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Rāṣṭrôḍha, Rāṭhōr, and Raṭṭa, who have played prominent parts in the annals of Northern India and the Dekhan. At the outset it may be questioned whether he is justified in assuming that all the families bearing these names are akin: *rāṣṭrakūṭa* signifies only the chief official

of a district, a grade above the *grāmakūṭa* or village-headman,[1] and moreover the evidence that the Gahaḍavālas belonged to any section of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is very doubtful. This moot point, however, is without prejudice to the general merits of the book, which after a short introductory survey sketches first the history of the Rāstrakūṭas or Raṭṭas of Malkhed, Gujarat, and Saundatti, and then deals with the dynasties of Rajputana, viz. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi and Dhanop, the Gahaḍavālas of Kanauj, and the Rathors of Marwar, Bikaner, Jhabua, Amjhara, Kishangarh, Ratlam, Sitamau, Sailana, and Idar. This last section on the Rathor houses is perhaps the most useful part of the book, of which it occupies the greater part; it contains a large amount of compressed information, and where possible brings the histories down to modern times. The volume will be very useful, although the index is by no means adequate, and the four plates illustrating old Rāṣṭrakūṭa scripts are poorly executed.

10. THE KASIKA VIVARANA PANJIKA, THE NYASA. A commentary on Vamana-Jayaditya's Kasika. By JINENDRA BUDDHI. Edited with occasional notes by SRISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI. 10 × 6¾, 1064 + 1142 + 30 + i + i pp. Varendra Research Society. Rajshahi, Calcutta printed, 1913–25.

Pāṇini having composed an algebraical formulary of the grammar of pre-classical Sanskrit, generation after generation of Hindu grammarians piously devoted their utmost energies to expounding it by an ever-increasing elaboration of the Muni's methods, in order to prove by analysis of all the phenomena of the classical language that every one of them falls directly or indirectly under his infallible laws. The Pāṇinian schools have been as fertile as the banyan: Western students, painfully conscious of the fundamental weakness

[1] Cf., in addition to Dr. Fleet's remarks in *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 384 f., *Epigr. Ind.* vii, p. 221 f., xi, p. 342 f., etc.

of Pāṇini's method, might perhaps be tempted to liken them rather to the inverted fig-tree of the Upaniṣadic parable. Their mentality was not unlike that of our medieval Schoolmen, living in a hothouse atmosphere of semi-unreality which forced from their subtle and eager brains never-ending crops of ingeniosity, much of it sterile; but at least it cannot be gainsaid that they have subjected every fact of the language to microscopic scrutiny, and placed on record many interesting linguistic data. Of such sort is the huge work before us. The plain man might imagine that the bulky Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya, which in the Benares edition of 1890 occupies 1065 pages, had said all that was necessary for the exposition of Pāṇini's Sūtra; but Jinêndrabuddhi was not of that opinion. He had plenty more to say in elaboration of the same themes, and so he wrote as a commentary this "perfectly enormous book", filling 2,236 quarto pages, which has now been edited for the first time with patient industry and scholarly devotion by Mr. Chakravarti. "The force of Nature could no further go" Truly a monumental work of Sanskrit erudition, its publication does honour to the learned editor and to the energetic Varendra Research Society.

THE NIRUKTA. Its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies. By HANNES SKOLD. (Acta Reg. Soc. Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 8.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; London: H. Milford, 1926.

THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATANJALI. Adhy. 1, pāda 1, āhn. 1. Translated into English with historical, philosophical, philological, and explanatory notes. By PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta Oriental Press, 1925.

THEORY OF SPHOṬA. By the same author. Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Mr. Sköld tells us that his original purpose in writing this book was a purely linguistic one. A new etymological

dictionary of Old Indian is wanted, but a preliminary study of native Indian etymology is first necessary. Accordingly he has arranged all the etymologies of the *Nirukta* alphabetically with references and comments, so that it is easy to find out what is said about any particular word and the views of Grassmann and Roth thereon.

This is an extremely useful piece of work, and the facts are made quite accessible to the etymologist who may have no special knowledge of Sanskrit. It forms exactly the second half of the book, but the author has also gone on to analyse the text of the *Nirukta* and to determine some of the questions of its different recensions and the accretions of more modern times. Although the material is analysed in relation to the Vedas, the *Bṛhaddevatā*, and the commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the author tells us that he has quite abstained from trying to date Yāska. This is an understatement, but it is an example of the interrogative character of much of this portion. Attempts have been made to date Yāska, and if the author had told us why they cannot be accepted, we should at least be back at a point from which a fresh start can be made. As it is, this part of the work is rather a collection of material than a solution of the questions raised.

This is the case even with one of his "proved" conclusions. "Even in the time of Yāska and his predecessors, the language spoken in India was not Old Indian, but rather a form of Middle Indian of what is called the Pāli stage." In principle his conclusion is no doubt true, but it is here where traces of haste and incompleteness are most evident. He mentions but sets aside the views of other scholars without any discussion. The word *nighaṇṭu* itself is a puzzle. Of the three derivations in the *Nirukta* the author says that the first (from *ni-gam-*) is wrong, and the others (from *ni-han-*, *ni-hṛ-*) are quite out of the question. If this means that the principles of Sanskrit phonology make these derivations impossible, his conclusion is natural, but he goes on to connect the word with the Pāli *nigaṇṭha*. "The *Nighaṇṭu* brings the words

unfettered, i.e. takes them out of their Vedic frame." This, if it means anything, implies that he derives the word from *granth-* and the prefix *nir-*. But he makes no attempt to support this guess by citing any similar sound changes. It is an acknowledged principle that phonetic laws may always be broken if analogy or any other convenient cause can be adduced, but the author adduces nothing beyond the statement that the word "occurs in Pāli as *nighandu* 'vocabulary' ". This is an illusion. In the text it occurs only in the standing list of Brahmin studies, where it evidently refers to the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu*, and there is nothing to show that the Buddhists ever used the word independently. Childers quotes Buddhaghosa's comment in a corrupt form, and translates it " vocabulary ", but not because of any use of the word in Pāli. The author quotes the view of Roth, who derives it from *ghaṭ-*, *ghant-*. Will he not tell us if he thinks that *ghanṭ-* also comes from *granth-*, and whether he takes it, as the Dhātupāṭha does, to be only another form of *ghaṭ-*? Or was *ghanṭ-* invented merely to explain *nighaṇṭu*? Next he quotes Zachariae's view that it is a Southern word, but passes it by equally curtly. Yet the question of a non-Aryan origin is all the more important if the word is Middle Indian. Most curious is his proof that the language of the Buddha was Middle Indian. "It can hardly be doubted now after Mr. Peppé's discoveries in the Sākiya Tope. For the vase discovered there bears an inscription—which in the opinion of Mr. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 130) is the oldest inscription yet discovered in India—in clear Middle Indian." But what weight has the view of Rhys Davids expressed a quarter of a century ago, when some scholars put the inscription two centuries later than he did? However, the author does not profess to have proved all his points, and he has at least provided much valuable material for further study.

Dr. P. Chakravarti, who is devoting himself specially to Sanskrit grammar, has begun to translate the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patanjali. It is a large undertaking, and it is to be hoped

that he will receive encouragement enough to induce him to complete the work. So far it is ably done. Kielhorn's text appears to be used, but the numbering of the vārttikas varies occasionally. The changes may be justified, but surely Kielhorn's numbering should be indicated as well.

The theory of Sphoṭa has arisen out of a problem concerning the nature of significant words, parallel to that which in the West resulted in nominalism and realism. What the theory actually is is not too well understood yet. Mr. Skold in the book mentioned above attributes it to Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, although both the authorities adduced by him state that it was not held by that school. Dr. Chakravarti's brochure shows that it was really a theory of the grammarians, and he does much to make it clear by setting beside it the corresponding views held by the philosophical schools.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE OCEAN OF STORY. Being C H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara (or Ocean of Streams of Story). By N. M. PENZER. With a Foreword by E. DENISON ROSS. Now edited, with introduction, fresh explanatory notes, and terminal essay. Vol. V. 4to, xlvii, 324 pp. London: Privately printed for subscribers only by Chas J. Sawyer, Ltd., Grafton House, W. 1. 1926.

Mr. Penzer's new edition of Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Ocean of Story* is progressing rapidly and satisfactorily. One is justified in anticipating the completion of the work within a comparatively short time. It forms an invaluable addition to our knowledge of Indian literature of tales and legends, and a storehouse of information added by the Editor with consummate scholarship and wide reading. This new edition, moreover, is characterized by typographical beauty and sumptuous binding, a feature of great attraction in a publication of this kind. The present volume claims our

special attention. Somadeva has introduced into this "Ocean" a version of the Panchatantra. The importance of this book for the history of tales and of the dependence of the West on the literature of India has been demonstrated by Benfey in his famous introduction to the German translation of the book. A mighty impulse has thereby been given to the comparative study of folklore, and above all of folktales, for scarcely has any book enjoyed such popularity throughout the ages as this collection of Indian tales. It has circulated far and wide, and not only has it appeared in Europe under various names, differing slightly from one another, but its popularity has been equally great in India and the surrounding countries. Much has been done since the publication of Benfey's work to elucidate the connexion and dissemination of the different versions, as well as the mutual relation between them and their dependence upon one another. It is one of the great merits of Mr. Penzer's work that he has endeavoured, in Appendix I, to give a brief and yet full sketch of the history of the Panchatantra, and to show exactly the place which Somadeva's version occupies in the long chain of these texts. For Somadeva, like so many who have worked over the Panchatantra, has not hesitated to omit some portions, especially the introduction, but he has also inserted a large number of tales in which the fool plays an important part. Assisted by Professor Edgerton, Mr. Penzer has drawn up the most complete genealogical table yet attempted, a real boon to the student. One of the most important links in the chain of dissemination is the supposed Pahlavi translation made by a certain physician Burzoe, at the court of the king Chosroe Anushirvan, and by order of the king. It is said that he made it from the Sanskrit original. This statement, preserved to us by Al-Mokaffa, who made the Arabic translation of it, has hitherto been accepted as genuinely true. It is an undoubted fact that this Arabic translation, and this only, has been the ultimate source of all the translations, Eastern and Western, Persian and Turkish as well as Spanish, Greek,

Hebrew, etc. Sir Denison Ross has written a learned and most important foreword to this volume. Deeply versed in Persian and Arabic literature, he describes here all the Persian versions, extant or lost, and has been fortunate enough to recover for the first time a number of verses of the oldest Persian translation made from the Arabic by Rudaki. At the same time Sir Denison raises an important question, inasmuch as he ascribes priority to the Syriac translation made by a certain Bud, *ca.* 570, direct from the Sanskrit; and states that Ibnu l'Mokaffa made his translation from the Syriac He thus eliminates, as it were, the Pahlavi translation, and relegates to the realm of legend Ibnu l'Mokaffa's assertion that he had made his translation from the Pahlavi version of Burzoe Now the only reference to Bud is made by Ebed Jesu (beginning of the fourteenth century) and quoted by Assemani (eighteenth century), in the words that Bud "translated from the Indian the book of Kalilag and Damnag." The words "from the Indian" are surely not to be taken literally. They no doubt mean that he translated Indian stories, and not the Indian language from which these stories are said to have been translated. Bud was also a Persian, and if Ibnu l'Mokaffa, because of his Persian origin, tried to glorify the Persian kings, as Sir Denison says, by inventing that Burzoe story, Bud would have done the same. Not one of the following translators, who made use of Ibnu l'Mokaffa's translation, ever doubted the genuineness of that story, and as for the "secrecy" with which the book was alleged to have been guarded, this belongs to the setting and recommendation of such a book. There is an absolute parallel to it, among others, in the famous "Secretum Secretorum" or the "Mirror of Kings", alleged to have been sent by Aristotle to Alexander, which, in its way, enjoyed if possible far greater popularity in Europe than even the Panchatantra. Pahlavi, as is well known, was written in such a manner that it could be read with equal ease or difficulty by people who spoke either Persian or Aramaic, and is now in consequence the despair of philologists.

Nothing, therefore, is more easy than to assume that Bud could have translated the book from the Pahlavi into Syriac without much difficulty. But Sir Denison gives the whole case away in the very last sentence of his foreword. He acknowledges that old Persian words and forms are, indeed, found in that Syriac version. They have thus been taken unquestionably only from the older Pahlavi original, which was also the direct source of Ibnu l'Mokaffa's translation. Still, one must be grateful for Sir Denison's attempt to demolish the Burzoe authorship. Iconoclasm is always stimulating. One word more about the last Appendix in which Mr. Penzer discusses at length the fascinating story of the clever thief told by Herodotus. He carries his story through the whole of ancient classical literature down to Bolte and Polivka's annotations to Grimm's Fairy Tales As usual, the study is made with complete mastery of the subject.

M GASTER.

NALA AND DAMAYANTI By NORMAN M PENZER Illustrated with ten miniatures by P Zenker. 8½ × 6½, xi + 207 pp. (Edition limited to 1,000 copies.) London: A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 1926.

Like the tales of Śakuntalā, of Rāma and Sīta, and of Sāvitrī, the story of Nala and Damayantī has for ages past ranked as a classic in India, and will never lose its hold upon the popular imagination. For it is a story of marital fidelity and affection, instinct with beauty and morality, which appeals directly to the Indian conscience. It is well that the West, in its efforts to understand the East, should be acquainted with so noble an example of ancient Hindu literature and with the lesson that it conveys. Mr. Penzer's new edition, which is based on a close comparison of the various versions in the original Sanskrit, combined with "additional descriptive matter connecting the numerous incidents", strikes me as by far the most complete and attractive rendering of the story

hitherto published in English: for he has contrived to retain the imagery of the original, without the turgid hyperbole, which so often mars ancient Indian epic poetry to Western minds If criticism has to be made, it must be confined to a query whether "winksome" applied to the eyes of the hero and "stuporous" are orthodox adjectives, and also whether the illustrations, delicate and artistic though they are, are wholly suited to an ancient Hindu legend. They are based, as Mr. Penzer writes, on the Persian school, or, one might add, on the miniatures of the Mughal epoch, and to that extent introduce an element foreign to early Hinduism. On the other hand it must be frankly admitted that they are beautifully executed and will probably give more satisfaction to the average reader than, let us say, the painting of Damayanti by Khitindra Nāth Mazumdār of the Calcutta School of Art. The book is admirably produced in respect of type, binding, and general appearance, and would make an attractive gift-book.

S. M. E.

THE AO NAGAS. By J. P MILLS, M.A. Macmillan and Co

Experience has taught us to expect a good book from Mr. Mills, and we have got one. Experience has also taught us to look for ample and instructive notes from Dr. Hutton, under whose supervision the series of ethnographical monographs is being published by the Government of Assam and we are not disappointed. Dr Hutton's notes deal mainly with facts that point to connections and affinities with other ethnic units; and Mr Henry Balfour, who contributes a foreword, considers that: "Many striking links have already been established, serving to trace relationship between the culture-phenomena of the Naga Hills *massif* and, for example, Chota Nagpur, China, Burma, the Indian Archipelago, the Philippines and even far-distant Melanesia."

The Ao Nagas inhabit a portion of the Naga Hills lying between the River Dikhu and the plains of Assam, and in

1921 numbered thirty thousand five hundred and ninety-nine souls. The tribe differs in many respects from its neighbours, and it is on these peculiarities that we propose to dwell in this review; for the book is so complete and so packed with information that it is impossible in the space available to deal with the whole in an adequate manner.

One of the most interesting features is the division of the tribe into three language groups, Changki, Mongsen, and Chongli, which is the result of three successive waves of immigration, the history of which Mr Mills has patiently collected from informants; and he places before us, very clearly, the process of formation of the Ao confederacy and the extraordinary state of affairs resulting therefrom A Mongsen man will address his Chongli wife in Mongsen she will reply in Chongli, but she will teach her children Mongsen, because they belong to their father's clan. In some villages the inhabitants belong to different language groups; those of the Changki quarter will speak Changki to their Mongsen neighbours living across the street, who will reply in their own tongue. In some cases the inconvenience resulting from this custom has been so great that a common language for the village has been adopted, so that language is no longer an infallible guide to descent and a Mongsen-speaking man may be a Chongli and follow the customs of that group.

Each language group is subdivided into phratries and clans in a manner described by Mr. Mills as "bewildering," and there are complicated rules governing intermarriage of members of different clans and also regarding the rights of phratries and clans in dress and social organization, etc Mr Mills, from having adjudicated in many hard-fought cases, is able to deal very adequately with the matter, and his successors will find their labours lightened and the administration of justice much simplified.

The Ao system of government is peculiar. Each village is an independent unit. "The village organization is based on two main principles. First, the whole village is divided

into age-groups to which the various communal duties are assigned. Secondly, the control of affairs lies with a council, whose method of election and tenure of office vary in the different language groups." There are no chiefs nor any hereditary rulers. "Every three years a new group of boys born within the same three years enters the *morung* (bachelors house)" All through his life an Ao remains a member of his original age-group which is named after some prominent member. "From cradle to the grave a man is part of a machine. Only on these lines could a village of perhaps two thousand souls without king or chief be run"

The Ao community is extraordinarily highly organized and every social act is invested with meticulous ceremony, every detail of which is entrusted to some specially appointed person An Ao boy on entering the *morung* is put through the mill very thoroughly, and taught to consider himself a servant of the community; he then shares in the government of the *morung*, after leaving which he commences to serve the clan and the *khel* to which he belongs, passing from one grade to another till he becomes a councillor.

The councillors are all-powerful, and are remunerated with portions of the animals sacrified or killed in honour of distinguished strangers and of pigs paid as fines. Each councillor's share is accurately fixed by custom, in proportion to his status. When their tour of office is over, and they can never be re-elected, various unsavoury tasks are thrust upon them; a Chongli ex-councillor, for instance, has to make corpse-platforms and lay the bodies on them.

The public expenditure on sacrificial victims, presents to distinguished visitors, and councillors' banquets on the occasion of important debates, is met from the village funds, the successful management of which Mr. Mills admits fills him with wonder. Each animal requisitioned is paid for on the spot by some councillor, the tally of the cost, in rice, is kept with little bundles of bamboo slips, which are produced once a year and from them the amount of rice to be levied

from each householder, allowing a safe margin, is arrived at, and this is collected after harvest, when those who have paid for the animals are recouped, any balance being expended on a banquet for the councillors. "If the balance is too big, the village objects with an exceeding great noise."

The system of government is based on precedents and custom which "the Ao fully realizes is the sheet anchor of his little ship of state". An opinion also held by the officers entrusted with the care of the Aos and other Naga tribes, who in all their dealings endeavour to interfere as little as possible with either. Unfortunately the American Baptist Missionaries think otherwise, and Mr. Mills does not hesitate to point out the serious results of their attempts to make the Aos abandon not only the religion of his forefathers but also their customs, which in our opinion more than counterbalance the slight improvement in morals, truthfulness, and cleanliness, which Mr. Mills admits he has observed among their converts. A fanatical insistence on teetotalism, which has resulted in "secret drinking and the adoption of evil substitutes for the comparatively harmless rice-beer", seems to us at least unwise.

One lays down Mr. Mills' book with a feeling that one really knows his Aos and with a distinctly friendly feeling towards them; and, if some of their customs such as head hunting, slavery, and the depositing of the corpses of their relations, friends, and neighbours in shelters alongside of the main roads leading to the village, do not recommend themselves to us, there are others that we might well copy, e.g. that of fining club gossipers.

Besides a very detailed account of all that will interest students of ethnology, Mr. Mills' book contains folk tales and many amusing bits all written in an easy style, so that the general reader is also catered for. The illustrations are excellent, especially the four, from photographs by Dr. Hutton, entitled "An old man telling a story", which for quaint humour are hard to beat.

There are two good maps, a very complete bibliography

of the Naga Hills and adjoining parts, compiled by Dr. Hutton, and also an index, which occupies sixty double columned pages. It is needless to add that Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have turned out the book in good style.

J. S.

REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN. By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. (W. Nygaard). 10 × 6, 98 pp. and 3 maps. Price 2*s*. 9*d*.

This is one of the publications of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, and it was through the assistance of that Society that Dr. Morgenstierne was enabled in the year 1924 to visit Afghānistān and to stay in Kābul for something like six months devoted to the study of the Aryan dialects on both sides of the Indo-Eranian linguistic frontier. As he states, "For thousands of years these two closely related groups of languages have been in close contact in the Hindu Kush and adjoining mountains; invasions and expansions have pushed the frontier-line now towards the east, now towards the west, and the border languages have largely influenced each other, the result being very interesting deviations from the ordinary Indian and Iranian types". The task could not have been entrusted to more competent hands. Among Eranian languages, the author has given us studies on Persian, Paṣhtō, Shighnī, Ōrmuṛī, and Parācī, and among the Dardic, Bashgalī (or Katī), Waigalī, Ashkun, Presun, and Khōwār. Space will not allow me to discuss the many important philological questions raised by Dr. Morgenstierne, and I must content myself by offering a summary of the contents of the "Report" so that my fellow students may know the variety and the quality of the feast that is here presented to them.

A brief notice is first given of the Persian dialect spoken in Afghānistān. So far as the eastern parts of the country are concerned, this is related to the Tājikī of Turkestan and to

the Badakhshī and Madaglashtī dialects described by Colonel Lorimer. The principal variations from the standard are matters of phonology, and it is worth noting here that the old *majhūl* vowels, ē and ō, are as a rule preserved. This Persian is the main language of most of the towns, and is also spoken by the Pārsīwān and Tājikī peasants of the country parts. Being the language of educated people it is gradually superseding Paṣhtō as a general medium of communication; but in order to strengthen national feeling the present king desires to introduce Paṣhtō as the official language, and with this object a learned committee has lately been appointed in Kābul to prepare a grammar and a dictionary. Paṣhtō, being a language fairly well known, Dr. Morgenstierne has confined his remarks to a detailed account of its numerous dialectic variations

In the accounts of Ōrmuṛī given in the *Linguistic Survey of India* and in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I could deal only with the form spoken at Kaniguram in Wazīristān. Dr. Morgenstierne found some more Ōrmuṛs in the Lōgar Valley and here describes their dialect and tells us how it differs from that of Kaniguram. He was just in time, for the Lōgar Ōrmurs are fast abandoning their own language and taking to Persian. A language which he may claim to have discovered is Parācī, at present spoken in the Hindūkush valley of Shutul and in a few places in the neighbourhood, though it once covered a much larger extent of country. The people are mentioned by Babur and by two or three other writers, but our author is the first to describe their language, and this he has done in some detail While this Eranian language has borrowed freely from the neighbouring Dardic Pashai, it also shows signs of close relationship to the more distant Eranian Ōrmuṛī.[1]

In my own accounts of Ōrmuṛī, written before this fuller

[1] I note, *en passant*, that in some respects Parāchī agrees with Pashai not only in vocabulary but also in morphology, and that this would seem to indicate a relationship between the two that is closer than that shown by mere borrowing.

information became available, I suggested that on the whole the language agreed best with the West Eranian dialects. This was at the time contested, and scholars for whom I have the highest respect maintained that it belonged to the Eastern group Dr Morgenstierne, with the aid of the new materials which he has succeeded in collecting, now gives strong reason for believing that, in addition to these two groups, there is a third, hitherto unrecognized, south-eastern group of Eranian languages, mainly agreeing with the Eastern but sharing some important characteristics with the Western, and at present represented by Ōrmuṛī and Parācī These two languages would thus be the descendants of the original Eranian speech of Kābulistān In later times they became separated from each other by the ancestors of the present Dardic Pashais, and also by the incursion of Paṣhtō, an East Eranian tongue, from the North. The whole argument is very interesting, but is too long to give here in detail, and I merely report our author's general results.

Not less interesting and important is his account of the Kāfir dialects. In preparing the account of these for the *L S.I* my materials were collected in British India and in the country immediately on its frontier. Dr. Morgenstierne's researches have been carried much farther west, and cover nearly the whole of eastern Afghānistān north of the Kābul River. Bashgalī (or, as he calls it, Katī), hitherto known only as the language of the Bashgal Valley lying immediately to the west of the Chitral country, is now shown to be also spoken in a separate tract far to the West, in the Valleys of Ramgel, Kulum, and Ktivi, the two sections of the tribe being separated by the Presuns. There are no marked differences between the two dialects, and the tradition is that the original home of the speakers was Ktivi, whence some of them, only twelve generations ago, migrated to the Bashgal.

Waigalī[1] is also spoken in Afghānistān, where there are

[1] Dr. Morgenstierne adopts slightly different spellings for this and other names. For the sake of convenience I adhere to the spelling of the *L.S.I.*

two dialects, of each of which we are given a short account. Of Ashkund (or Aṣḥkū), spoken west of Waigalī, and south-west of the western Katī, mention is made in the *L.S.I.*, but I failed to obtain a single word of it Dr Morgenstierne was more fortunate. He managed to get hold of two men who spoke the language, and found that, in regard to vocabulary, it differs little from Waigalī. He is, moreover, able to show that the Kāfir language described by Trumpp in *JRAS.*, 1862, 1 ff., and also the specimens of Kafir and Sanu given by Tanner in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, N.S., III, 219 ff., are in Ashkund.

In the *L.S.I.* the account of Wasī-veri or Presun (our author's "Prasun") was based on information coaxed out of one timid and unintelligent shepherd. Dr. Morgenstierne also succeeded in securing a one-day interview with a single Presun, during which he garnered a vocabulary of some 200 words. It is satisfactory to learn that generally speaking these materials agreed fairly well with the *L.S.I.*, so that, if between us we have not produced much, it is at least probable that what there is is something solid, upon which future students may base their inquiries. Our author concludes that the language occupies an independent position within the Kāfir group, and that its phonetic system has been violently dislocated—a circumstance which, in conjunction with anthropological facts, renders it probable that a perhaps un-Aryan substratum has influenced its development.

About twenty pages are occupied by an interesting discussion as to the linguistic position of the Kāfir languages and, incidentally, of the other Dardic languages. While fully acknowledging the ability and clearness with which the author has marshalled his facts, I must confess that he has not convinced me of the unreasonableness of my conclusion that the Dardic languages as a whole can be classed neither as Eranian nor as Indo-Aryan, but form an independent family lying between the two. It is, of course, impossible for me to go into the question here, and I therefore refrain

from doing more than stating what I understand Dr. Morgenstierne's position to be. He is inclined to differentiate between the Kāfir and the other Dardic languages. Kāfirī, he admits (p. 68), has some affinities with Eranian, but has far closer affinities with Indian. It stands in a somewhat isolated position, and has to some extent been influenced by Eranian at an early date, but the language is now essentially Indian. On the other hand (p 52), the remaining Dardic languages are "absolutely and unquestionably Indian". It will be observed that he uses the word "Indian", and that I employ "Indo-Aryan", and it is possible that here there may be a misunderstanding due to terminology. To make my own meaning clear, I may explain that I cannot admit any language to be "Indo-Aryan", which cannot be traced back to the earliest form of Sanskrit known to us—or to some cognate dialect—through a recognized Prakrit, or through a supposed Prakrit that follows, in its main lines of phonology, the lines followed in recognized Prakrit. For instance, if a modern language habitually preserves unchanged an original Aryan *st*, I refuse to call that modern language "Indo-Aryan", because it is impossible to suppose that *st* would survive through any known Indian Prakrit, although, as we know, it has survived in Eranian, and because we have no right to invent a Prakrit *ad hoc*. We know nothing of any *Indo*-Aryan language older than the oldest written Sanskrit, and, on the other hand, we are not entitled to imagine, or invent any system of the development of Sanskritic Prakrits that does not, in its main features, accord with the Prakrits with which we are acquainted. It is quite legitimate to suggest the existence of a pre-Sanskrit language, but proof must be given that pre-Sanskrit was spoken in India, and had a development independent of, and differing from, the development of Sanskrit, before we can describe its descendants as "Indo-Aryan".

Khōwār is spoken in Chitral, and is not one of the languages that Dr. Morgenstierne had intended to study; but fortune

threw in his way a Chitrālī, with whose help he recorded a number of songs and fairy tales. By means of these he has been able to make a further study of this interesting form of speech As explained above, he looks upon it as a purely Indian language, without any Eranian features, but he admits that it has been influenced by its Eranian neighbours, such as the Ghalchah Wakhī This he attributes solely to borrowing —a borrowing of so intimate a nature that it extends even to the personal pronouns [1]

Perhaps the most important part of this book is the account of Pashai. The *L S I* was able, with the help of the late Mr J. G Lorimer, to describe two dialects, both spoken north of the Kābul River. Dr. Morgenstierne, more favourably situated, shows that the language extends over an area much wider than was formerly supposed, and has at least four well-marked dialects, with many sub-dialects. The territory at present inhabited by the Pashai is the long narrow strip of land stretching across the side valleys of the Kābul, from Gulbahar to Waigal. They have a tradition, probably quite true, that they once occupied the whole of the upper and middle Kābul Valley, and that they were gradually driven back into their present mountainous seats, the seclusion of which has favoured the development of dialectal varieties. This is entirely in accord with my own researches into the Tirāhī spoken south of the Kābul River,[2] a language closely connected with Pashai, the speakers of which have been driven to a new habitat in modern times and still retain the name of their former home.

[1] Dr. Morgenstierne is puzzled by the Khōwār change of *d* to *j* in such words as *jū*, two : *još*, ten : *žūr*, a daughter. He compares the Badakhshī *jūšidan* < *dōšidan*, to milk. I would suggest that here we have a result of the Dardic tendency to insert an *i* before *u* or *o*, exactly as we do in English, in words like "accuse" (pronounced *akhyūz*). See my *Piśāca Languages*, p. 86. I may add that *jū* also occurs in old Kāshmīrī, the modern form being *zᵘh*. Cf. e.g. Śitikaṇṭha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*, ii, 6, *bindū jū bhinnā*, two drops separately.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1925, 405 ff.

The book is provided with three excellent sketch-maps showing the localities in which the various languages dealt with are spoken.

I have explained above that space would not allow me to discuss the philological details brought forward by Dr. Morgenstierne, but, on second thoughts, I must ask for room to draw attention to his important discovery of the existence of three (not two) *r*-sounds in the Kāfir languages. To avoid mistakes, I quote his own words :—

"The Kati [i e. Bashgalī] sound written *ṛ* by Davidson and in the *L.S.I.* is quite different from the Indian and Pashto flapped *ṛ*. It is postalveolar, spirantic *r̥*, which I shall write *r′*. This *r′* occurs both as an initial, in post-vocalic position and after *k, g, p, b*, but not after dentals. The explanation probably is that Indian *r*, as described by the Sanskrit Grammarians, was 'cerebral', i e. articulated further back than the teeth. In Kafiri this special quality of the *r* is retained, except where it is drawn forward under the influence of a preceding *t, d* (e g. Kati *tre* '3', but *br′â* 'brother'). . . . In Waigalī and Ashkund both *r′* and *ṛ* occur."

The existence of this *r′* was hitherto unknown to me, and I believe to other students of Dardic languages, and the sound, as described by Dr Morgenstierne, appears to show a close relationship to the postalveolar *r*-sound of Ṣiṇā and Kāshmīrī, which some scholars have described as cerebral,[1] but which I have maintained to be post-alveolar. Here in Kāfirī we have (1) the ordinary *r*-sound of North-Western India and (2) a post-alveolar *r′*-sound. Then, as if specially employed to prevent the *r′*-sound being called "cerebral", there is used alongside of, and independent of these two, the true *ṛ*-sound of India—cerebral (*mūrdhanya*) and flapped (*dvispṛṣṭa*).

Although, personally, I have not been convinced by Dr. Morgenstierne's argument concerning the linguistic

[1] See for instance Dr. Grahame Bailey in *JRAS.*, 1925, pp. 92–3.

position of the Dardic languages, this does not diminish my appreciation of the truly scientific spirit in which he has undertaken the whole of his task or my admiration for the learning and clarity with which he has illuminated an important and little-known field of Oriental philology.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

REPRINT FROM DALRYMPLE'S ORIENTAL REPERTORY, 1791-7, *of Portions relating to Burma*. Rangoon Superintendent of Government Printing. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

Besides other documents, the book under review contains the reports of Edward Fleetwood, Captain George Baker, Ensign Lester, and Captain Walter Alves, who were sent by the Governor of Madras in 1695, 1755, 1757, and 1760 respectively on missions to the Court of Ava.

Baker's report is of more than ordinary interest, because it contains a description by a foreign observer of Alaungpaya, who was, perhaps, the greatest of the Sovereigns of Burma, as certainly he was the most striking and picturesque.

Another interesting paper is Captain Alves' report of the massacre of the English at Negrais in 1759.

In 1752 the Peguers (now known as Talaings) took Ava, the capital of Burma, made the effete king prisoner, and a few months later murdered him and his three sons at Pegu. Alaungpaya, a hunter living at Moksobo, raised a body of men and defeated the Peguers, first near his own home and then at Ava, after which his victorious forces swept down-country driving the Peguers before them, and Alaungpaya proclaimed himself king. During his short and meteoric reign of eight years this remarkable man defeated the kings of Pegu, Taungoo and Arakan, and annexed Manipur, but he failed in his last campaign, in which he undertook the conquest of the Siamese. He was besieging Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, when the rainy season began, and sickness broke out in his army and he himself was taken ill. He

ordered his army to retreat, hoping to reach his capital, Moksobo, alive, but he died on the way at the village of Kinyua in the Thaton district in the fiftieth year of his age. In eight years he extended the boundaries of his kingdom to their present limits—and beyond—and he also founded the House of Alaungpaya, a dynasty that subsisted for 134 years and furnished ten kings, the last of whom, Thibaw, was deposed by the British in 1886

Of Alaungpaya Baker writes: "He is about 45 years of age, about 5 feet 11 inches high, of a hale constitution and sturdy, and of a complexion full as dark as the generality of Buraghmahns, his visage somewhat long though not thin or prominent, and coarse features, a little pitted with the smallpox, his aspect somewhat grave when serious, and when seated in his throne I thought he supported majesty with a tolerable grace. His temper is hasty, and disposition severe and somewhat cruel I don't remember to have heard any instance of his justice, though he himself administers it in almost every case . . He often sees all corporal and capital punishments to be executed to the utmost vigour of the sentence, which generally argues rather a barbarous than humane disposition . . . As to his courage his actions have often proved it undaunted, which with the strictness of discipline he keeps in his army has won him his crown."

At one of the audiences that he gave to Baker at Moksobo he said: "See these arms and these thighs," drawing the sleeves of his vesture over his shoulders and the lower part up to his crutch, "amongst 1,000 you won't see my match." To Lester two years later he did the same thing; so evidently he was proud of his strength. He also boasted to Lester that "if a nine-pound shot was to be fired out of a gun and came against my body it could not enter," and adds Lester, "some other things of the same kind."

Three days before Lester left Negrais on his mission to the Burmese Court, Robert Clive had fought and won the battle of Plassey.

When Alaungpaya attacked the Peguers at Dagon (which place he afterwards re-named Rangoon, " The End of Strife ") the Company's Snow, *Arcot* was lying there. Her Captain, Robert Jackson, had received no orders regarding the attitude he should adopt towards the belligerents, and assuming that Alaungpaya was a mere usurper, helped the Peguers, while at the same time Brooke, the chief of the factory at Negrais, was conducting a friendly correspondence with the Burmans. This act of treachery, as Alaungpaya considered it, the King never forgot or forgave, although he had since received the friendly missions from the Hon'ble East India Company, and in 1759 he ordered the destruction of the English settlement at Negrais.

On 6th October of that year the bearers of a friendly letter from the King to the Resident, Southby, were invited to dinner at the Residency and " just as the servants were bringing dinner ", reports Captain Alves of the Snow *Victoria*, " on a signal . . each of the Buraghmahns having singled out his man before, they stabbed Messrs. Southby, Robertson Hope, and Brigs. At the same time and on the same signal, the Europeans below, they stabbed every man of them, only a Midshipman of the *Shaftsbury* (Europe ship, Capt. Inglis), which was then lying in the harbour, made his escape." About a hundred Indians also were murdered. " The Buraghmahns," says Alves, " murdered man, woman, and child that fell into their hands." They then burnt the factory to the ground. The ruins are still there.

No notice was taken of this outrage by the East India Company, and in the following year the company sent Alves to Naungdawgyi, Alaungpaya's eldest son and successor, with presents and a letter praying for permission to establish factories at various places in Burma.

Baker's description of the topography of Burma savours of the times in which he lived. Of the Irrawaddy River he believed that it came from a large lake above Ava and that " Out of this lake run not only the Ava River, but those of

Siam, Cassay, and probably those of Arrakan, Chatigan, and some others on that side".

We are indebted to the Government of Burma and the compilers, Mr. G. E. Harvey, I C.S , and Mr. Charles Duroiselle of the Archæological Survey of Burma, for making these interesting papers accessible to students of Burmese history and the public

W. A. Hertz.

Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century. By Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$. pp. viii, 395 ; Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1926.

This book appeals at first sight to the reader as a monument of industry. A more minute examination of its contents sets him wondering whose industry is to be commended. It appears to be generally understood in literary circles concerned with Indian subjects that more than one person has had a hand in its preparation, and that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was very fortunate in being able to secure the very valuable assistance of three well-known record searchers, whose work was so thorough that it was sent to the press without any material alteration. While the institution of literary "ghosts" is generally recognized, and, within certain limits, tolerated, we are of opinion that where, as apparently in this case, a considerable portion of a book consists of the materially unaltered work of more than one individual, the fullest acknowledgment should be made to the shares of the collaborators. Those who know anything of the circumstances in which the book was compiled will be surprised to find only one name on the title-page.

Had the facts been clearly stated they would have explained the difference in the treatment of each collection of documents, which is one of the first points to strike the reader. The section which treats of documents in the British Museum, for instance, is a catalogue of the documents with brief references to the

nature of their contents, and the MSS. at All Souls' College, Oxford, receive similar treatment. Those in the Bodleian Library and the Privy Council Registers are noticed rather more fully, and from the India Office records, the MSS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, and some of the archives of the Indian Record Offices we have extracts of such interest as to cause the student to regret that the treatment of documents has not been uniform throughout the book. For this inequality the author must be held responsible.

India was not emancipated so soon as England from the Reign of the Saints, and nine years after the Restoration some Factors and others at Fort St. George found it necessary to seek the good offices of the Archbishop of Canterbury against "two Sismatical and Seditious Ministers sent unto them, who by their unsound Principles and Turbulent Spirits did much disquiet the Factory there", and at the Archbishop's instance the Company was ordered to recall the two men, Hooke and Thompson, as being of "ill Principles and unfit for their charge", and to send in their place two suitable men, "such as the Lord Bishop of London should approve of."

We have an amusing glimpse of the discipline of the younger servants of the Company, and of the duties devolving on a President or Governor, in the entry (8th April, 1693) "Edward Bellamy, writer, being drunk and abusive, was publicly 'drubbed by His Honour'".

Of the dangers of the voyage to India in the seventeenth century we are reminded by a warning addressed to three wives who wished to join their husbands at Madras, "that Children dye fast in those Long voyages", and by the frequent deaths at sea. The dead were duly honoured, as at the funeral of Captain Ben Prickman, when a salute of 14 guns was fired, and every mess "had a boule of punch at the buriall". After the death of another captain, who received a salute of 36 guns, the first mate, who succeeded to the command,

had difficulties with the Governor of the Cape, who was unwilling to permit him to provision his ship. He thus describes his attempt to conciliate the Dutchman: "Anchored and saluted the fort with 13 gunns, in hopes to oblidge the mighty Hogan Mogans, but after their Brutish manner they returned us 11 in answer under no Colours nor any of their shipps showed us any". The worthy mate was much angered by the discourtesy with which he was received. "And so I was dismist without sitting down or being asked to drink, and I do intend they shall be as little the better for me as possible I can".

Much of the ground covered by this work has already been covered by Sir William Foster, but the book will nevertheless serve as a useful and convenient guide to students and historians. It is much to be regretted that the author has not treated his collaborators with greater courtesy and generosity.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE FAMILY IN CLASSICAL CHINA. By H. P. WILKINSON, B.C.L., Oxon, formerly H B M. Crown Advocate at Shanghai; and Judge of the High Court at Weihaiwei, China. 8½ × 5½, 239 pp. Shanghai. Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1926. London: Macmillan & Co, Ltd.

The title of Mr. Wilkinson's book does not quite adequately cover the ground of the fifteen chapters devoted to his topic, which more exactly, if less briefly, might have been described as "The Chinese Family System and its bearing on Exogamic Marriage in general".

Mr. Wilkinson does not claim to have made original researches in Chinese literature, or to propound any fundamentally novel facts. But long residence in the country, an early and active interest in his subject, and a vocation sometimes demanding, and still oftener encouraging, a thorough comprehension of Chinese family structure and

terminology, have fully qualified him for the investigations the results of which will here be found.

In indicating and illustrating the cultural horizons on which the Chinese family is first disclosed to us, the author is content to cite passages from the English translations of the Classical Books made by Dr. Legge, and these can of course be treated as authoritative so far as they go. But elsewhere, and especially in the last three chapters, where he deals in detail with Chinese family nomenclature, and with the views of previous writers on the subject, including also Morgan, McLennan, Westermarck, and Sir James Frazer, Mr Wilkinson is on his own ground, and discusses the technical and rather bewildering variety of relationship by blood and marriage with the sureness of personal and firsthand mastery of his facts He appends a most useful "Table of Kindred in Chinese Nomenclature", and an Index

I wish I had space to comment on the contents of these valuable chapters. One point only can be mentioned, the origin of Chinese exogamy.

It is the considered judgment of Mr. Wilkinson that this is due to an ancient and widespread "avoidance of blood", pre-eminently of blood shed by the defloration of one who is of near kin, and to the dire consequences not only to the guilty individual, but to his whole kindred, that primitive people believed must follow. The story of Ts'ui (not "Ts'ang") Wu-tzŭ, cited from the *Tso Chuan*, appears strongly to confirm this. L. C. HOPKINS

RELATION DU PREMIER VOYAGE DES FRANÇOIS À LA CHINE FAIT EN 1698, 1699 ET 1700 SUR LE VAISSEAU L'AMPHITRITE. Par François Froger. Herausgegeben von E. A. VORETZSCH. 10 × 6½, xvi + 187. Verlag der Asia Major: Leipzig, 1926.

The editor has been most painstaking and most helpful. His work has consisted in discovering Froger's MS. in the library of Ajuda Castle at Lisbon, in preparing an Index

(7½ pages) of geographical names, in adding some notes, and in writing an Introduction of eight pages, thus leaving 179 pages for Froger's text. The editor has shown a commendable modesty and self-restraint; and yet, in his short Introduction, he has given us all the ascertainable facts on the Relation, the identification of the writer, and the situation in France after the treaty of Ryswijk which induced the government of Louis XIV to encourage this venture into Far Eastern seas

Our previous knowledge of this voyage was derived from two sources: 1° Relazione di un viaggio fatto alla China nel 1698 da Giovanni Gherardini Pittore Bolognese, published at Bologna in 1854; 2° A Journal of the First French Embassy to China 1698–1700, translated from an unpublished manuscript by Saxe Bannister, London, 1759.

Bannister's book (which is noted as selten—rare) was retranslated into French and published in Paris in 1860, and again in Madrolle's collection in 1901. Its original was evidently a copy of Froger's Relation, but from point to point it notes additional facts, all of which the present editor adds as foot-notes to his text; but it is evident that we gain greatly in having the primary source, and in no longer relying on secondary sources.

The *Amphitrite*, a frigate of 500 tons, armed with thirty guns and having a crew of 150 men, left La Rochelle on 6th March, 1698, under the command of "Monsieur de la Roque, Capitaine de Frégate legere Cheualier de l'Ordre militaire de St. Louis". She also carried as Seconds Capitaines Messieurs Geraldin, Saliot, and la Rigaudiere (who elsewhere signs la Rigaudière-Froger, and occasionally refers to himself as Froger), besides two Lieutenants and four Ensigns. Le sieur Benac was the first Directeur du Commerce (supercargo), under whom were three other supercargoes, a secretary, two clerks and eight workmen. The cost of equipment and stock was "506,948 Liures, 11 Francs [? Sols], 4 Deniers", 41,000 livres were on the ship in specie.

But Louis XIV, to atône for the frivolities of his youth, was very devout in his more mature years (in 1698 he was in his 60th year) and subordinated all other interests to propagating the Faith; and on the *Amphitrite* were a group of men, not concerned with the commercial objects of the voyage. Their leader was Father Bouvet, who had spent some years in China as a missionary, had attained high rank at the court of Kanghi, had come back to his native land, and was now to return to China as Ambassador from the French King to the Chinese Emperor; but besides this

Le Reuerend Pere Bouuet emmenoit auec luy sept Jesuites Missionaires, les Peres . . . le Frere Belleuille, et vn Peintre Italien nommé Gherardini qui auoit demeuré longtempts chez Mr. le Duc de Neuers

It is easy to read between the lines in the Relation and to see that in the after-cabin there were four divergent interests, which were often in conflict and which sometimes clashed. They were (1) the navigating officers who had been seconded from the French Royal Navy, proud of their Service and jealous of their authority; (2) the supercargoes who had charge of the commercial interests of the merchants who had equipped the ship and had provided her lading (including the presents from King to Emperor); (3) Père Bouvet, who subordinated to his position as Ambassador all interests except (4) nine missionaries who had the double duty of propagating the Faith and extending the influence of the Church by their scientific attainments. In matters of religion, although the *Amphitrite* came from La Rochelle, no dispute was allowed on board:

Le 26 [Oct. 1698, anchored off Macao] au matin nous jettames a la mer vn Matelot qui étoit de la Religion [Huguenot]; il eut le bonheur auant mourir d'abjurer et de receuoir les Sacremens.

The *Amphitrite* anchored in the Road of Macao on 22nd October, being seven months and seventeen days from La Rochelle. She went to Whampoa on 2nd November, 1698,

and remained there until 27th January, 1700, a stay of fourteen months and twenty-five days. On the return voyage she arrived at Bellisle on 31st July, six months and four days; but she returned through the Strait of Sunda, while in going out she fell to leeward of Java Head, had to go to north-west the whole length of Sumatra, and finally enter the China Sea by the Strait of Malacca.

The friction was first manifested on the second day out, when the Sieur Benac produced the first of his six secret letters of instructions and proceeded to open it. Captain De la Roque protested and claimed the custody of all the owners' instructions as his right; this was conceded in full council, consisting of the commandant, three second captains, two lieutenants, four supercargoes and eight reverend Fathers. The friction continued from time to time during the voyage, and was especially manifested during the long stay at Canton, when Père Bouvet was insistent on maintaining his rights as a royal ambassador. He thereby caused much confusion in the minds of the Chinese officials, who were doubtful how they should treat him and whether the *Amphitrite* should have the status of a tribute ship; and he no less impeded the operations of the supercargoes. On the whole, however, the ship benefited by this assumption of an official status, and her supercargoes fared much better than did those of the English Company's ship *Macclesfield*, which was at Canton in the same year.

The Relation was an official report, and it contains but few of those instances of friction. Most of them come from Bannister's translation of the more candid MS. in his possession. One example of the extreme discretion of Froger's Relation may be given. The English Company's *Macclesfield* arrived at Macao 26th August, 1699; after some time spent in bargaining about the ship's measurement, her chief supercargo went to Canton, starting on 14th September and arriving the 19th; among other visits he paid one on that day to "M. Bonac the French agent". The ship left Macao on

3rd October and arrived at Whampoa on the 8th. On 9th October as the captain, two mates, and four sailors of the *Macclesfield* were on shore to pitch a tent—

The French sent several boats against them containing near eighty men, some of whom were armed, who beat them most unmercifully . . . the French Captain Delaroque stood in the stern galley of his ship and called to his men to beat them more . . . to kill the dogs if they resisted . . Mr Douglas complained to the Hoppo, who . . forced Captain Delaroque to apologize , but the friction continued, manifested chiefly by struggles for precedence [1]

The only reference to the *Macclesfield* in Froger's Relation is the following :—

Le 9 [Sept. 1699] nous aprimes qu'il étoit arriué a Macao vn vaisseau de la nouuelle Compagnie d'Angleterre venant d'Europe Le 12 Mr. De la Roque y enuoya sa Chaloupe faire compliment au Capitaine Anglois et luy offrir ses seruices ; elle en fut de retour le 20.

And so met at Canton the first French ship direct from France and the first English ship direct from England.

Limitations of space forbid any reference to the numerous points of ethnographic interest, but there is one that cannot be omitted. Writing of the currency of Canton—

Vn Tael contient 10 Mas, vn Mas 10 Condarins, et vn Condarin 10 Caches Or pour trouuer le a [*sic*] raport de ces pois auec nôtre monnoye je fais valoir nos Ecus 72 Sol comme ils valoient encore lorsque nous partimes de France ; et sur ce pied il est tres facil d'en auoir vne juste proportion parce qu'ils pesent exactement 72 Condarins Chinois. D'ou on voit aisément qu'vn Taël est 100 Sols, vn Mas 10 Sols, vn Condarin 1 Sol, et le Cache a peu pres nôtre denier.

H. B. MORSE.

RAFFLES, 1781-1826. By R. COUPLAND. 9 × 5¾, 134 pp. Oxford University Press, 1926

Professor Coupland has rendered good service in giving us this record of the brief life of a great man ; for he was a great

[1] *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, vol. i, p. 91

man, and the fact is emphasized by the brevity of the title page There has been but one Raffles—Thomas Stamford Raffles—and the resident in Singapore, or the visitor there, might expect to see its founder's epitaph in the words *Si monumentum quaeris circumspice* But this is a half truth, and carries to Raffles' credit the unearned increment of a century's development. We are all too prone to judge the acts and thoughts of men of a hundred years ago by the conditions of the twentieth century; we overlook the changes of the nineteenth century, the opening of the Suez Canal and the substitution of the steamer for the sailing vessel, and we credit Raffles with having foreseen in 1819 all the developments since that date By laying stress on these false claims his real claims to greatness are obscured.

In a country governed by an aristocracy he, a plebeian, emerged from the throng and forced the aristocracy to recognize his merits, in an age which admitted slavery he was one of the early champions of emancipation; in the service of a monopolistic corporation he wrote to his protectionist employers: "I have declared that the port of Singapore is a free port and the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, equally and alike to all" But with all these virtues, in the opinion of his contemporaries, uneasy lay the head that had a Raffles

His father a tramp merchant skipper, impoverished and constantly in debt, young Raffles was taken on at the age of fourteen as a supernumerary clerk (read office boy) at India House (1795). During five years he educated himself out of hours, and was so efficient in office hours that he was taken on to the regular establishment (1800), being then by extra work enabled to earn as much as £100 a year; but even then he had not attained the rank of Writer It was only after he was appointed to Penang (1805) that he emerged from the humdrum life of a mere clerk. When Lord Minto sent to London Raffles' memorial protesting against the dismantling and evacuation of Malacca (1808) his arguments

were so cogent that its author was not reprimanded for stepping outside his functions, but on the contrary was highly commended—"You will communicate to that gentleman that we entertain a favourable sense of the talents he has evinced on that occasion"—not guilty this time, but he is not to do it again From the time of his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Java (1811) he was constantly in hot water—partly because he was half a century ahead of his time, whereas the good statesman looks only half a year ahead; partly because he frequently committed his masters to expenditure which they could ill afford, while they had many calls on their treasury which they could not ignore; partly because he acted (usually very wisely) without previous sanction and without preparing the way with masters who were jealous of their authority and who had to guide their team with tight reins The Governor-General was repeatedly reminded, in connexion with Java, with Sumatra, with Singapore, that Raffles must not conclude treaties, that it was "to your Lordship in Council and not to the subordinate functionary at Fort Marlborough that the care of British interests in the Eastern seas is committed", that Raffles was "merely a commercial agent and not . . . authorized to act politically in any manner whatsoever", and so on. Even in the matter of the rendition of Java, which so embittered Raffles, Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues thought that Holland was sufficiently punished for her compelled alliance with France by the permanent loss of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, without adding thereto Java and the Moluccas. Before Raffles' death Mr. Canning, then Foreign Secretary, expressed the amended judgment of his countrymen—"I cannot deny that your extreme activity in stirring difficult questions and the freedom with which you committed your Government, without their knowledge or authority, to measures which might have brought a war upon them unprepared, did at one time oblige me to speak my mind to you in instructions [as President of the Board

of Control] of no very mild reprehension. But I was not the less anxious to retain those points of your policy which appeared to me really worth preserving, and I have long forgotten every particular of your conduct in the Eastern Seas except the zeal and ability by which it was distinguished."

Readers will find in Professor Coupland's book—125 pages of concise and picturesque narrative—an adequate account of Raffles' career. The volume is embellished by an outline map and an excellent reproduction from the bust in the possession of the Zoological Society of London, of which he was the first President; but it lacks an index, there is no table of contents, and the chapters are not headed or dated.

H. B. Morse.

The Travels of Marco Polo [the Venetian] Revised from Marsden's translation and edited with Introduction by Manuel Komroff. 9 × 6, xxxii + 370 pp New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926

The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian. With an Introduction by John Masefield. Fully illustrated with twenty drawings in pen and ink by Adrian de Friston and eleven photogravure plates 8 × 5½, xviii, 461 pp. London: J M Dent and Sons, 1926.

Marco Polo is the fashion, and Mr Komroff's volume provides the general reader with a handy, well-printed text which should prove very popular It is a reprint, with corrections and with some additions from "the French version", of Marsden's translation of Ramusio's Italian. Thus Book II, ch. 16, which is not in Marsden, is copied with omissions and with some slight changes from Yule.

But the book is not meant for students. The end-papers are a map of "Marco Polo's Route" on which Africa, India, and one or two other countries may be seen, but no towns are marked except Venice and Acre. In the text, we are told on p. 29, "the old names have been kept throughout, but

occasionally, where possible, the modern equivalent has been inserted after the original name " Shangtu, Peking, Nanking, Hang-chau, Soochow, Burma, seem almost to exhaust the list of modern equivalents which it was possible to insert! Even the most general imaginable reader of " the entire spectacular travel narrative " might be glad of fuller guidance than this in following Marco Polo's route The correction of Marsden's errors amounts, as far as has been noted, to very little. On p 20 he is followed exactly when he translates *anni ventisei* by " so many years ", but on p 232, when he has " without their masts " for *senz' albero*, he is " corrected " to " with their masts ", and so on.

The editor's imperfect understanding of the textual problems of Marco Polo is shown by the fact that though he is printing a version of Ramusio's Italian he inserts this curious note on p 157 · " This chapter [on Achmath the Bailo] is not contained in the French manuscript, but is found in an early Italian version probably taken from a Latin manuscript and known as the Ramusio text "

And for some reason he here forsakes Marsden and copies Yule almost exactly, keeping even his spelling of Chenchu and Vanchu instead of Marsden's more correct *Chen-ku* and *Van-ku* It is possible that we should print *Uan-* or *Wan-ku*, for Ramusio used V for U (as in Qvando, FRIVLI, Vua, etc.) These two names may tell us something about the unknown source of this chapter, showing that it must very probably have been a manuscript old enough to retain the archaic Tuscan aspirate (*chu* for *cu*) And though this is said to be an uncertain criterion of date, it is a fact that a book printed at Venice in 1474 seems to have no such *h* except in *anchora*, a book from Florence c. 1490, and a manuscript dated 1454, have *chomo* and *chosi*, but no *cha* or *chu*, while a manuscript of about 1300 gives *cha*, *gha*, *cho*, *gho*, *chu*, *ghu* with few exceptions. An inventory of Marco Polo's goods dated 1366 has such forms as *scachado*, and gives *catai* and *chatai* on consecutive lines. And, secondly, the description of two men

by their Chinese titles only will rarely, if ever, be found in undoubtedly genuine passages, and may prove to be some small evidence against Marco's authorship of this chapter. Yule was led by the likeness of Vanchu to Wang Chu, the actual name of one of the conspirators, to regard it and Cenchu as *names*. But can there be much doubt that "Cenchu who had under him a thousand men" is the title 千戶 *Ch'ien hu*, or that "Vanchu who was master of ten thousand" is 萬戶 *Wan hu*? The I-tu *ch'ien hu* Wang Chu in the *Yuan shih* takes the part assigned by Polo to Cenchu as originator of the plot and actual perpetrator of the murder. The difficulty is that the Chinese story does not mention the title *Wan hu* But this is not the only discrepancy between the chapter and the Chinese story Nor is it really a discrepancy, for while the three longer native versions known to me all make Wang Chu the originator of the plot, none of them gives the name or title of the person who played the part of the Prince which in the Italian is assigned to Vanchu Whether it comes from Marco Polo himself or not, the chapter is true and also early, for it can scarcely have been brought to Europe in so pure a form at any time between, say, 1350 and Ramusio's date.

The second volume is a reprint in enlarged form and with a useful map and attractive illustrations of the "Everyman" edition of 1907. John Masefield reckons Marco Polo as the last of the five "wonderful travellers" who alone in the world's history have seen wonders, and values his book chiefly for its romance. To others the chief interest of Marco's sometimes undeniably dull narrative is the growing proof of its extraordinary veracity.

The source of the text is not stated, but it is a careful reprint of Thomas Wright's 1854 edition of Marsden. Marsden's version of Ramusio's interesting but quite abnormal Italian text is well worth reprinting, but the reproduction of a large number of his notes is of more doubtful utility. Why should we be told in 1926 that Marco Polo was probably mistaken in saying that camphor was used with betel for chewing,

when four explicit confirmations of the statement were printed by Yule as long ago as 1871 ? The only correction of Marsden that has been noticed is the same unfortunate one which has been mentioned above—" with their masts " To a Venetian, the fact that under the majority of the hundred or so bridges of Quinsai quite large boats with high poops and deck houses could pass *without their masts* must have been sufficiently remarkable ; and there were no bridges in the city then under which a boat of any size could pass with mast erect.

Both books are admirably suited to their popular purpose, the American being better in its print, the English perhaps preferable for its more definite text and fuller map.

A C. MOULE

A MONGOLIAN GRAMMAR. Outlining the *Khalkha* Mongolian with Notes on the *Buriat*, *Kalmuck* and *Ordoss* Mongolian By A. N. J WHYMANT $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 75 pp. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co , Ltd , 1926

This, as the author states, is the first Mongol Grammar in English , it is greatly to be regretted that it is no better. The author appears to consider it a matter for self-congratulation that, although a number of books have been published on Mongol in various European languages and are mentioned in his bibliography, he has made little or no use of them The arrangement of the Grammar is confused and unsatisfactory, and the transliteration not altogether consistent. Brief though the book is, eighteen pages are completely wasted on a worthless little vocabulary, English-Mongol-Russian-Chinese [without the tones !]-Japanese. Mr. Whymant's practice of using the dignified titles " Ph D , Litt D." to describe academic qualifications bestowed by obscure places of learning in remote parts of Asia is to be deprecated.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

KITĀB AL-INTIṢĀR WA'R-RADD 'ALĀ IBNI'R-RAWANDĪ AL-MULḤID. By ABŪ'L-HUSAIN 'ABDU'R-RAḤĪM IBN MUHAMMAD IBN 'UTHMAN AL-KHAYYĀT AL-MU'TAZILI. Edited with an Introduction by DR H. S. NYBERG. 8¼ × 5¼, 66 + 202 pp. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1925

The rarity of books written by members of the Mu'tazilite sect, or heresy, is notorious and the Cairo National Library are fortunate in having obtained a copy of a work by so well-known and distinguished a member of the Sect as al-Khayyāt. The MS appears to have been preserved for some hundreds of years in a *waqf* library in Damascus, where it was retained as a valuable specimen of heretical theology for the exclusive use of approved divines of unimpeachable orthodoxy It appears to date from the first half of the fourth century A H, less than half a century after the death of the author.

Dr. Nyberg is to be congratulated on writing an excellent scientific introduction and notes to the work *in Arabic*, a remarkable feat.

G L. M. CLAUSON.

THE WORKS OF SULTAN BIBARS AT BUNDUQDÂRÍ IN EGYPT. By K. A. C. CRESWELL, attaché libre de l'Institut Français du Caire. 11 × 9, 63 pp., 10 figs. in text and 31 plates. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916.

In this publication Captain Creswell, after a short historical introduction referring to Bibars' origin, to the act of treachery by which he raised himself to power, to his many alliances and to his campaigns, describes in fuller detail than has yet been attempted what is left of the works of architecture produced in Egypt by the great founder of the Mamluke Empire. The consolidation, under Bibars, of Mamluke rule in Egypt and in Syria, the increased political unity between the two territories that followed his successes over both

Mongols and Crusaders, were events that could hardly fail to influence the course of architecture in Egypt. It is in tracing the northern derivation of important elements found in Egyptian work of this time that the chief interest of Captain Creswell's new work lies There is, for example, the beautiful device of covering the recess in which an entrance is set by a fluted niche supported by corbelled courses of stonework ornamented with stalactites. This form of entrance is referred to by Captain Creswell as "the stalactite portal". He gives a series of Syrian examples beginning as early as the last decade of the twelfth century and shows that the device did not come into general use in Egypt till the beginning of the fourteenth century, though it is interesting to note from a painting by David Roberts, R A , that it was used in the madrasa or school mosque (of which but a ruined corner now remains) built by Bibars in 1263

Of the great congregational mosque built to the north of Cairo by Bibars, Captain Creswell gives an interesting account His conclusion is that the mosque "represents an Egyptian type, strongly modified both in plan and decoration by influences from Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, due partly to the intimate connexion between this area and Egypt under the Ayyûlides, but chiefly to the vast number of refugees from these regions who had sought refuge in Cairo during the (Mongol) reign of terror"

Captain Creswell's account of Bibars' madrasa and mosque is admirably illustrated both by photographs taken by himself and by clearly dimensioned drawings.

E T RICHMOND.

MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE, 623 TO 1516: SOME CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES. By ERNEST TATHAM RICHMOND, F.R.I.B.A. (James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. III; Royal Asiatic Society, 1926). viii, 159 pp., with 57 illustrations.

This book contains the five lectures delivered under the

terms of the Forlong Bequest Fund in the spring of 1925 at the School of Oriental Studies, and there is no question that they well deserved publication in their present form. Mr. Richmond writes with the authority of one who served for many years in Cairo in superintendence of the great wealth of Saracenic buildings remaining in that city, and later became "Consulting Architect to the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem", a high-sounding but very responsible charge This long experience on the spot gives him an advantage over others whose acquaintance with the subject is less intimate, but it has perhaps inclined him to write for the trained student rather than for the man in the street, and the original lectures (like the present book) bristled with technical terms and Arabic names that must have bewildered some of the amateur members of his audience. However, the subject of Moslem architecture is, and probably will remain, caviare to the general, so that an author need not feel bound to play to a gallery that hardly exists.

In his choice of a title Mr Richmond, like Rivoira before him, suggests that the whole field of Moslem architecture is his theme, whereas he is mainly concerned with the religious monuments of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, only alluding to Muhammadan work in other countries so far as is necessary to prove his points and make clear the progressive stages of development But, unlike Rivoira, he is not a propagandist; and he has no pet theory to force upon his readers. This is all to the good, but one could wish that some English writer would forsake this now well-tilled corner of the field of Moslem architecture to give us a general survey of its development in all the Islamic countries, as Diez has done in German. Nevertheless, it must not be thought that Mr. Richmond has merely traversed hackneyed ground. On the contrary his book will come as a surprise and a stimulus even to those who think that they already know a good deal about his subject. It is full of fresh ideas, clear thinking and common sense Here and there are patches of pure history, which

sometimes appear irrelevant to his theme, but in nearly every case he has justified their inclusion by tracing an architectural result to a political or social cause Thus conquests and invasions, only too frequent in these ancient battle-grounds of the human race, led to movements of craftsmen and architects, either as captives or as refugees. The stone-builders of Syria and Armenia, the brick-builders of Persia and Mesopotamia, met in the streets of Cairo The Crusaders learned many things from the Saracens, but conversely the Saracens borrowed Gothic features from Europe in return The lovely portal from a Christian church at Acre that was brought by an "infidel" conqueror to adorn a Cairo mosque may be regarded as military loot, but ideas were borrowed too The influence of Armenian architecture has long been admitted, Mr Richmond goes a step further and suggests that craftsmen of that unhappy nation also left their mark on Europe The effect of ritual and religious requirements on design is very well treated The first mosque (Al Aqsa) at Jerusalem has its axis aligned with the sacred rock which gave its name to the great Dome erected a few years later; Saladin's rebuilding of the Citadel at Cairo, and his foundation of numerous madrasas or schools for teaching the orthodox were the direct outcome of an intensive campaign against Fatimide heresy; and the author even hazards the opinion that the "stalactite" ornament that is so characteristic of Moslem architecture may have been introduced into Egypt for politico-religious purposes. The gradual development of the mosque to meet the simple ritual needs of Islam is traced throughout with admirable lucidity and thoroughness. In the later chapters the author makes use of Mr. Creswell's recent researches into the origins of the cruciform madrasa plan, culminating in the beautiful mosque of Qaïtbāī but seen at its grandest in the huge madrasa of Sultan Hasan. By far the most startling statement in the book is this: "In architecture there is usually—probably, indeed, always—an origin of a practical kind for every feature

that relates to the structure itself, and of a magical or religious kind for everything that relates to the decoration" (p. 140).

The influence of climate on mosque-planning is also noted. Domestic and military architecture are not treated in any detail, but the chief religious monuments are analysed very fully Among good examples of this analytical treatment may be mentioned the descriptions of the Dome of the Rock, of the Great Mosque at Damascus, and of the Mausoleum of Sultan Qalāūn. The space devoted to the first of these three buildings may seem disproportionate, but its importance is great, and Mr Richmond knows it intimately, as all fortunate possessors of his fine monograph on the Dome of the Rock will realize

Though he advances no very striking new theories, several of his conclusions may be mentioned here. He does not regard the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn as being of purely Mesopotamian type nor its pointed arches as the first of their kind; he considers that Persian influence in architecture was supreme in the eighth and ninth centuries; he points out that at Sāmarrā there was no miḥrāb; he offers a new view of the plan of the mosque of Al Azhar; and he makes much of the various methods of increasing the internal height of mosque walls. He also explains, more clearly than previous writers have done, the meaning of the terms "sabīl" and "kuttāb", and uses the word "iwān" in preference to the corruption "liwān".

His treatment of constructional details is practical and sound. Thus he notes the difficulty of replacing decayed wall-ties, explains how glass is fixed in plaster tracery, and tells us why flat wooden roofs eventually replaced vaulting in the madrasa-mosques. He deals briefly but adequately with the Mamluke period in Cairo, which was, as he says, "the most famous period of Moslem architecture." His statements are supported by frequent quotations from contemporary Arab writers, especially for the early centuries of which only written records survive. There are adequate

references and a good index. The illustrations are sufficient in general to illustrate the text, but here and there one feels the need of more, e g in the account of the mosque at Damascus, and in the remarks on the origin of tracery in the intersection of multifoil arches (p. 72) The plans of mosques would have been more easily read if all had been orientated Thus the mosques at Jerusalem have the qiblah facing approximately south, in Cairo the direction is south-east, and it is confusing to find the miḥrāb (indicating the qiblah) at the *top* of the plans in this book, when naturally it should be at the bottom. Books on Gothic architecture usually print church-plans with the east end on the right, for the same reason, which applies with equal force to Mr. Richmond's plan of the Haram ash-Sharīf at Jerusalem.

The system of transliteration of Arabic adopted here reminds one that uniformity in this matter is not yet achieved, but Mr. Richmond takes a reasonable view when he uses anglicized forms like "Moslem" and "Mamluke" for more precise, but undoubtedly pedantic, renderings. Except for a few printer's errors (e g. p. 40, l 21; p. 84, l 12; p. 108, l. 16), the production of this book is excellent throughout

MARTIN S. BRIGGS.

SYRIA AND THE SYRIANS (SURIYYA W-AL-SURIYYUN) By PHILIP K. HITTI, Ph D. pp. ١٠٧, 9 in × 5¾ in. New York: The Syrian-American Press.

This book, which is in Arabic, contains the text of a series of lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Syrian Educational Society, Brooklyn, N Y. The lectures, which are three in number, relate to

(1) The origin, from an ethnological point of view, of the present population of Syria and the Lebanon;

(2) The cultural influence of the East on the West, particularly during the Crusades; and

(3) Syria at the height of its power during the rule of the Umaiyads.

The author marshals his facts well and makes his subjects interesting; he shows a good acquaintance with his authorities, and his conclusions will on the whole commend themselves to scholars, though the public which he is addressing is not, of course, primarily the scholarly world

On the first subject his thesis that the original Syrian stock has on the whole been dominant throughout history and that the traces which have been left on the ethnology of the country by foreign invaders are slight and negligible will probably command general agreement; but it is perhaps more questionable whether he is right in stating that that original stock was purely Semitic Evidence of a pre-Semitic population of Syria and Palestine is slowly accumulating; and if the Semitics are themselves invaders it is possible that, apart from language, they too exercised only a limited influence on the original stock

In the second lecture the influence of the Crusades appears on the whole to be overstated, and the author goes a little too far in claiming that various things in the West have a purely Eastern origin. Gothic architecture, for instance, is certainly not purely Eastern in origin, and the interchange of architectural ideas between the East and West goes a long way further back than the Crusades

These points, however, are comparatively unimportant and do not detract much from the merits of the book.

One interesting feature is the influence of the West on Dr Hitti's own language A sentence like

تقلد الصليبيون العرب ليس فقط فى باء البيوت بل فى تاثيثها وفرشها

could surely not have been written in the Umaiyad period ?

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

BEDOUIN JUSTICE. By AUSTIN KENNETT, sometime Administrative Officer in the Libyan Desert and in Sinai. Cambridge University Press, 1926. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

Mr. Kennett's work forms a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Bedouin life. As Administrative Officer, he had

good opportunities of studying it, and of these he has made admirable use. The tribes whose customs he explains are clearly more civilized than those of the Arabian Peninsula with whom the works of Doughty and Count Landberg have familiarized us, and perhaps somewhat more than those of whom Jaussen has given an admirable account in his treatise on Moab The sheikhs to whom Mr Kennett introduces us figure as men of sound sense, anxious to terminate disputes in a manner which will satisfy all parties, and we find little of the intense revengefulness which appears to characterize the Arabs of the Peninsula The distinction which is made between Moslem law and Bedouin law and the difference between the practice of the two communities are highly instructive In studying earlier Islamic documents it is possible to trace the process whereby the *sunnah*, originally the practice of the community, comes to mean the practice authorized by the Prophet; it is evident that the law of these communities is made up of strata belonging to different periods, both before and after the promulgation of the Qur'an Even the law of inheritance, the most detailed piece of legislation which that volume contains, exhibits some modifications as applied in these regions. The price of blood would seem to be somewhat lower than that assigned by the great Moslem jurists; the latter make it a hundred camels, whereas in the Libyan Desert it is forty-one The graphic accounts given by Mr. Kennett of actual trials, the modes whereby compensation for injuries is computed, and payment actually made, form most entertaining reading. Some excellent photographs add further attraction to the work.

D. S. M.

LITERARY HISTORY OF HEBREW GRAMMARIANS AND LEXICOGRAPHERS, accompanied by Unpublished Texts. By HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. Sm. 8vo, 109 pp Oxford University Press, 1926. 5s. net.

Within a very small compass Dr. Hirschfeld has succeeded in compressing a vast amount of material. He gives in twelve

chapters, some longer and some shorter, a complete survey of all the grammarians that have flourished from the tenth to the seventeenth century. He shows the gradual development of these studies, from their beginnings under Arabic influence, to their latest developments, of which some of the more prominent representatives are Elijah Levita and Abraham de Balmes With the latter this sketch practically concludes. Some unimportant names are added. In a brief introduction, Dr Hirschfeld refers to the activity of the Meturgeman and the importance of the Massorah · and he maintains his view of the priority of Niss-ib Noah against the arguments of the late Dr. Poznanski, adducing new proofs for his contention In this brief sketch Dr Hirschfeld shows a complete grasp of his subject, and has thereby earned the thanks of all those interested in this branch of literature An appendix containing four abstracts, two in Arabic and two in Hebrew, complete this valuable work An Index or a complete Table of Contents would facilitate the work of the student, and thus increase our indebtedness to the scholarly author.

M. Gaster.

Papyri Osloenses Fasc 1. Magical Papyri. Edited by S. Eitrem. With thirteen plates. 4to, 151 pp. Published by the Academy of Science and Letters of Oslo. Oslo: 1925. On commission by Jacob Dybwad.

Professor Eitrem, who has already published some important studies on the Magical Papyri of Berlin, London, and Paris, has now by the present publication considerably enriched our knowledge of that literature. He was lucky enough to acquire in Egypt about four years ago some Magical Papyri which have now passed into the possession of the Oslo Library. Of these he publishes, for the time being, one complete, and five mere fragments. From a palæographic point of view they may be ascribed to the fourth century A.D. The date of writing, however, is not the date of the original compilation. The recipes, nineteen in number, are unquestionably of higher

antiquity. The Greek in which they are written is also a peculiar form of Greek. It, as well as the contents, reflects the popular mind, and the lower grade of civilization in which this literature flourished But though many centuries have passed, this magic literature has survived both in a literary form as well as in oral incantations and charms in spite of all persecutions This magic literature appeals to the student of religion as well as to the philologist. It is the most perfect type of that syncretism which ignores differences of race, faith, or language, and accepts indiscriminately whatever is believed to be useful and beneficial. It is the repository of the demonology and angelology of Egypt, Judea, and to a certain extent Babylon, not forgetting the Chthonic deities of Greek mythology It is therefore found among nations of diverse race and faith, and this makes the comparative study so important and fascinating The Greek text has been somewhat damaged, the papyrus having been folded instead of rolled; and Professor Eitrem has endeavoured with great ingenuity to restore the damaged lines Happily only a few lines seem to be beyond repair, notably in the first and longest text, consisting of 371 lines. This is also the most important and it has therefore been translated by the editor. The recipes are mostly of an erotic character, and the translation is as faithful as can be. The text and translation cover barely twenty-five pages. The rest, however, from p. 31 to p. 139, close upon 110 pages, is devoted to the commentary. Here the author shows complete mastery of the subject and consummate scholarship Every word and phrase is subjected to searching examination, and the pages abound with references to the entire literature which has grown up round the ancient magic text. The author is at home among Classics, as well as among modern investigators, and thus his commentary is a mine of information, which will be highly appreciated by the students of these papyri. The syncretistic character of the documents demanded wide reading for a satisfactory elucidation of all the elements found in these

incantations, and here Professor Eitrem had the willing assistance of many scholars, especially those versed in the lore of Egypt The Septuagint also exercised throughout a very deep influence Here we find e g. the story of Sodom and Gommorah, in ll 295 ff and the commentary, p. 108 ff. So also did the pseudepigraphic literature, which has furnished a large number of names of angels and demons The attempt of their interpretation, probably due to Professor Beer, is not very fortunate. Schwab's "Angelologie" is a scientific aberration Space does not allow me to enter here into details. *Rabhalu*, which seems to puzzle the Professor, is *Rab Helu*, the "Master of Power", an appellation of God very frequent in Samaritan use. A full list of such names, together with curious parallels to the Greek text, could be found in the Hebrew magical book *The Sword of Moses*, published by me in the pages of this *Journal* as far back as 1896 Valuable indexes, together with thirteen plates in which the text has been reproduced, complete a book of exceptionable value by which the author has placed scholars under a deep debt of gratitude. Great credit is due also to the beautiful typographical execution of the book, which has been published by the Academy of Science and Letters of Oslo.

M. GASTER.

ISRAEL, ITS LIFE AND CULTURE, I–II By JOHS. PEDERSEN. 9½ × 6; x + 518 pp. London and Copenhagen, 1926.

This volume contains a comprehensive survey of the history and institutions of ancient Israel, together with a description of its origin and development into a nation from constituent tribes. It discusses the psychological aspects of life, laws, and ethical code, as well as its conception of sin and atonement, and its ideas of the universe and all that is therein. It begins with an outline of the political and social conditions of the land of Canaan prior to the immigration of the people of Israel. It describes how the Israelitic tribes spread over the land, and gradually took possession of it. Although the author

says that there are no details to show the proceedings, he has no doubts about the facts, but he impugns the validity of the biblical account of the exodus, the wanderings of the people in the desert, and the conquest of the land under Joshua, which he calls an artificial story. On the other hand, he admits that the material cannot be pure fiction, and that old traditions must be behind them. As to the traditions relating to the immigration, the narratives of the sojourn in Egypt and at Sinai, he says that it is clear that they must reflect historical events This is rather vague, and largely guesswork The description of the change from nomadic habits to those of a settled people with fixed dwellings also leaves room for criticism. The difference which the author finds in *ohel* (tent) and *bayith* (house) is not so pronounced as he seems to assume, and allows no definite conclusions to be drawn The latter word originally means a place to spend the night in. Even so late as the time of Samuel the defeated Israelites flee *to their tents* (1 Sam iv, 10, and other places), so both words are merely synonyms in biblical usage. One must, however, agree with the author that the sources available are very scant. In his discussion of the earlier period, he relies entirely upon the documentary theory, while discarding the modern and growing movement away from it He ignores Dr Kegel's *Los von Wellhausen*, as well as the writings of König, Lohr, Wiener, Dahse, and others, not to speak of the results of archæology. It is hardly enough to say "that the analysis of the documents is on the whole correct". Opinions still differ widely, and no less than four different theories have lately been advanced by prominent scholars concerning the origin and date of Deuteronomy. The author's conception of *ba'al* also requires modification. He upholds the meaning of the word as *owner* or *master*, while there can be no doubt that the original meaning is *husband*, and hence master of the house and family. This can be proved by many passages in the Old Testament. Ba'al is the male element, the fertilizer of nature by rain. Hence even in talmudical times rain is called

the *ba'al* of the earth, and *ba'al's land* is land sated by moisture in contradistinction to land irrigated artificially. The author can hardly maintain his assertion that there is no object in raising the question as to which is the original meaning, since this goes down deep into ancient Semitic life, and had a powerful influence on its aspect of nature, religious views, and family life. The biblical laws against incest do not exclusively serve to maintain the moral conduct of the people, but are largely concerned with *ba'al* worship, as both were intimately connected. A large portion of the book is devoted to the soul, its powers and functions. This is all very readable Into the paragraphs dealing with the formation of ideas the author inserts a kind of dissertation of the characteristics of the Hebrew language, but it is a moot point whether biblical Hebrew has maintained its primitive character. As to dreams, about which the author writes much that is interesting, it might be remarked that the Arabs who produced a large literature on their interpretation, placed them in the chapter on medicine. The author goes through nearly every item of the conditions of life in ancient Israel, much of it also applies to other Semitic nations. There is much instruction to be gained from the study rather than mere perusal of the book. Not everything can pass unchallenged. This is not to be expected considering the enormous difficulties presented by so abstruse a controversial subject. The indexes are full and really helpful.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Editor E. O. WINSTEDT, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford.

Vol IV continues the series of Welsh Gipsy Folk Tales by John Sampson (Nos. 24 to 27). Dr. Sampson's recent work on the grammar of the Welsh Gipsies will greatly add to the interest of these stories. In Part 2 F. G. Ackerley and the editor give specimens of Finnish Romani. There are also two Romani songs. In Part 3 Gilliat-Smith has *The Song of*

the Bridge, as sung by an old blind gipsy in Ruschuk. Another article is entitled "Anglo-Romani Gleanings from Hampshire". It has a vocabulary of 270 words. Part 4 gives us Irvine's Vocabulary of Gypsy words and reviews the Rev. C. P. Capes's "Prisoners Released", a delightful story of missionary work among Indian outcasts. Vol. V, Parts 1 and 2, give three more Welsh Gypsy Folk Tales by John Sampson and an article edited by him, "The Dialect of the Derbyshire Gypsies by the Rev. Samuel Fox, 1832-3."

T. Grahame Bailey.

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Vol. I for 1919–20. Edited by Charles C Torrey Vols. II and III for 1921–2. Edited by Warren J Moulton 92 pp. + 77 pl.; 128 pp + 28 pl. and numerous illustrations American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Sales Agents: Yale University Press. 1920–3

This new series contains studies by past and present directors and members of the American School at Jerusalem, and the diversity of the subjects dealt with is sufficient proof of the advantages such a school offers for research work. The first volume fittingly opens with a preliminary report by the first director of the School, Professor Torrey, of Yale, of the exploration of a series of Phœnician rock-tombs south-east of Sidon. The principal feature of this paper is a careful discussion of the new anthropoid sarcophagi found. An elaborate study of the modern wall of Jerusalem, by Professor Mitchell, is amply illustrated and will prove an invaluable aid to those interested in the local topography of Jerusalem and the problems in the Old Testament connected with it. Professor Paton compares some modern customs and beliefs with the primitive religion of the Canaanites as it can be deduced from the Hebrew writings; and Professor Moulton deals with some cup-markings a little south of Jerusalem, some new Palestinian

pyxes, a group of figurines, and a Greek inscription found near the Palestinian village of Caesarea. The second volume contains topographical studies by Dr. Albright, an interesting account of some Muslim shrines and an examination of some Greek inscriptions by Dr McCown, of a Latin by Professor Montgomery. Professor Torrey deals with some inscribed seals, and has an interesting note on "scored pebbles" from Sidon. He believes that they date from the "Phœnician period" (meaning thereby, perhaps, that they are not later than the fifth–fourth centuries), and that the markings, deliberately made and filled with paint, were of use for some game of an uncertain kind. There are also articles on sepulchral cup-marks, pools, and conduits near Jerusalem, and on a painted Christian tomb at Beit Jibrīn.

The volumes are a welcome addition to the study of Palestinian archæology. Here and there it is possible to note an error of commission or omission; but the volumes maintain a high level of scholarly accuracy and cover so much ground that they will prove indispensable for archæologists in other fields also.

S. S

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Edouard Naville

Professor Edouard Naville was born at Geneva in 1844 and died there, aged 82, on 17th October, 1926. Very tall, alert almost to the last in mind and body, and possessed of a strong and most attractive personality, he was one of the best known Egyptologists of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In England, of which he was a great lover, his reputation as a scholar and as an archæologist stood particularly high, on account of his long and intimate association with the Egypt Exploration Society. All his excavations were conducted on behalf of that Society, and of many of its publications he was the sole or principal author.

In 1883 he excavated at Tell el-Maskhūtah, which he regarded as the site of the ancient Pithom,[1] in 1885 at Saft el-Hennah,[2] between 1887 and 1890 at Bubastis and other sites in the Delta,[3] and in 1891 at Ehnāsiyeh el-Medīnah, where he uncovered the temple of Arsaphes.[4]

By far the most important of his archæological achievements was the excavation, conservation, and complete recording of the temple of the famous Queen Ḥatshepsut at Deir el-Baḥri during the seasons 1893–1896.[5] In this work he was fortunate enough to secure the assistance of that eminent architect, Mr. Somers Clarke, whose death last year meant to his many friends the disappearance of a much loved and venerated figure, and of that very capable artist, Mr. Howard

[1] E. Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1888; but see A. H. Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, v, pp 268 f.

[2] E. Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, London, 1887.

[3] E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias, Belbeis, Samanood, Abusir, Tukh el Karmus*, London, 1890; *Bubastis*, London, 1891, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, London, 1892.

[4] E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna)*, London, 1894.

[5] E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, in six parts, London, 1896–1908.

Carter, now world-famous as the discoverer of the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.

His two other most important excavations were the clearance of the funerary temple of Nebḥepetrē' Menthotpe, situated close to the above mentioned temple of Ḥatshepsūt,[1] and the partial clearance of the subterranean funerary temple of Sēthos I at Abydos, a work that was interrupted by the Great War and is now being most satisfactorily completed on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society by Mr. H. Frankfort. Professor Naville published an account of the excavation of the latter temple, and expressed his views on the nature and age of the building, in two articles, of which the one appeared in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 52, pp. 50 ff., and the other in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, i, pp. 159 ff.

In the controversy that has taken place over the order of the reigns of Ḥatshepsut, Tethmōsis II and Tethmōsis III, it is now generally acknowledged that Professor Naville's view is correct as against that of Professor Sethe, which however is still upheld by Professor Breasted in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, pp. 60 ff.

Professor Naville's most important contributions to the philological side of Egyptology are undoubtedly *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, Berlin, 1886, and *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, Geneva and Bâle, 1870. It must not be forgotten, either, that it was he who brought to light that interesting text in the tomb of Sēthos I, which he designated *La destruction des hommes par les dieux* and published, together with a translation and commentary, in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, iv, pp. 1 ff.

To the very end of his life Professor Naville strongly, at times bitterly, opposed the conclusions of the philologists belonging to what he called the "Berlin School of Egyptology",

[1] E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, in three parts, London, 1907–1913.

among whom, however, must be included all the English and American authorities on the Egyptian language. But if only he had lived to read Dr. A. H. Gardiner's recently published *Egyptian Grammar*, Professor Naville, conservative as he was in Egyptology and politics alike, would probably have been convinced that after all the "Berlin School" was advancing along the right path!

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

Mr. F. E. Pargiter

"Mr. Frederick Eden Pargiter was the second son of the Rev. Robert Pargiter, and was born in 1852. He was educated at Taunton Grammar School and Exeter College, Oxford, where he obtained a first-class in mathematics both in Moderations in 1871 and in the Finals in 1873. He was also Boden Sanscrit scholar in 1872. He passed into the Indian Civil Service and was allotted in 1875 to Bengal, where he served for thirty-one years, becoming Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1885, District and Sessions Judge in 1887, and Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, in 1904. He retired in 1906. During his Indian service he was author of the *Revenue History of the Sundarbans* (Delta of the Ganges) *from* 1765–1870, *Bengal Municipal Acts*, and a revised edition of a book, *Land Acquisition Acts*, written by his father-in-law, Mr. Beverley. He also devoted much of his spare time to the Bengal Asiatic Society, of which he was Secretary 1884–5, and President 1903–5. He became in 1905–6 a Fellow of the Calcutta University. He married Florence, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry Beverley, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and had one son, now a Major in the Royal Artillery, and one daughter, Mrs. A. R. Farmer, now in Canada. His wife's death in 1905 was one of the main reasons for his early retirement from the I.C.S. He settled down at Oxford, where he lived, at 12 Charlbury Road, until his death, on 18th February, 1927, in his 75th year. For a few years he took a part in municipal affairs and served on

the Oxford Municipal Council; but later he gave that up and devoted his time to his Oriental studies and to assisting in the organization of missionary work. During the war he spent most of his time as Treasurer to the Oxford War Pensions, doing invaluable work. During most of his life he was a sufferer from asthma, which prevented him from playing games or taking much exercise, but he was a keen gardener."

The above particulars, kindly supplied by a relative, leave scope for commemoration of that part of Mr. Pargiter's work which was connected with the objects of the Royal Asiatic Society. He belonged to a generation of Indian Civil Servants which could still participate largely in Oriental studies. He was a very conscientious Secretary and President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and he contributed to its *Journal* articles on the Chittagong dialect (1866), on *Ancient Cedi, Matsya and Karūṣa* (1895) and *Ancient Countries in Eastern Bengal* (1897). The first-named was, no doubt, inspired by locality, his service being largely in the east of the Province; but the two last were connected with the preparation of his excellent translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*, which began to appear (in *Bibliotheca India*) in 1888, and was completed in 1905. It was after his return to England that he was induced by the late Dr. Fleet to take up the study of old Indian inscriptions, especially those in the Kharoṣṭhī character. He published several papers in the *Indian Antiquary* (1910), *Epigraphia Indica* (xi–xii, 1911–14), and in this *Journal* (1912–14), the most important being editions of the Wardak and Māṇikiāla inscriptions. Although his readings manifested at some points an excessive scrupulosity in regard to certain peculiarities in the forms of letters, yet in each case he was able to establish new particulars in the interpretation. At the same time he continued his studies in Purāṇic geography and history and published in this *Journal*, to which he had contributed in 1894, numerous articles relating thereto—a list will be found in the *Centenary*

Volume. His *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), giving with a very elaborate critical apparatus the text, and also a translation and discussion, of the Purāṇic accounts of quasi-historical dynasties, shows the influence of his Kharoṣṭhī studies, since he was led to a theory of an original single version in that character. The culmination of his work upon the Purāṇas is to be seen in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922), containing a most methodical discussion of evidence for a genealogical tradition among the ruling caste of ancient India. From his sifting of the chaotic material, depraved in its oral and written transmission and contaminated from literary sources, some general outlines do emerge: and, in case some historical *points d'appui* should hereafter be furnished from other sources, his very careful and ingenious study will greatly help in extending the verification.

Mr. Pargiter lent much assistance to the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle in his important volume of *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in E. Turkestan* (Oxford, 1916), not only by a contribution under his name, but also by furnishing notes and translations in connexion with the work of others. He also published in this *Journal* (1923, pp. 151–8) a list of Dr Hoernle's papers deposited in the India Office Library. The *Centenary Volume* issued by the Society in 1923 was largely an outcome of his generous labour as compiler and editor.

Mr. Pargiter's first election as a member of the Council was in 1907. In 1916 he was chosen a Vice-President, in which capacity he acted as a dignified and agreeable representative of the Society at the Joint Session of 1920 in Paris. For the International Congress announced by the University of Oxford in 1924 he was appointed Secretary, as is recorded in the prospectus which was circulated.

F. W. T.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1927)

The Council regret to record the death of Dr. E. Hultzsch, the distinguished Indian Epigraphist and Honorary Member of the Society.

The Society has also lost by death an old and valued member, Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who served on the Council for many years, Mr. A. Waley, and Mr. D. Paton.

The following resignations have been received :—

Mr. M. P. Bhola.
Mrs Longworth Dames
Mr. C St John Ives.
Mr. A. Sefi.
The Rev. E. J. Thompson.

Mrs R. W. Frazer has been appointed Secretary to the Society.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

11th January, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Sasadhar Banerji, B.A.
Mr. H. S. Bonsor, B.Sc.
Lieut. S. S. Santosh K.S. Gujral, B.Sc., LL.B.
Mr. Ind Siraj-ul-Islam, M.A.
Syed Mohammad Kazim, B.A.
Mr. C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliar.
Mr. Herbert Vander Vord Noone.
Mr L. Raya Ram Sekhri, M.A.
Mr. M. Rashid.
Mr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A.
Mr. Walaili Ram Tanan.

An abstract of the paper read by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey was published in the January Journal.

8th February, 1927

The President in the Chair

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Professor Benigne Ferrario.
Mr. M. Basheer Hossain, M.A
Mr. Maheshey Ram Lal.
Rai Bahadur Promatha Nath Mullick.
Mr. Hridayranjan Sen
Mr Inder Singh.
Maulavi S. Yar, Khan Sahib.

Thirteen names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

Mr. Penzer read a paper on "The Study of Folk-tale *Motifs*".

After stating briefly the scope and application of the word "*motif*" as used in the study of folk-tales, the lecturer proceeded to give examples of the more familiar types common to the folk-lore of the world.

As examples of this he mentioned the "water of life", "overhearing", "self-sacrifice", "magical conflict", "external soul", "forbidden chamber", and other equally familiar *motifs*. Most of these, he pointed out, were the common heritage of the primitive mind throughout the world There were, however, other *motifs* which at once betrayed their land of origin. They would exhibit some custom, or animal, or character, which not only would assign the *motif* to a particular country but would limit its expansion elsewhere. As examples of this kind of *motif* could be quoted the "Dohada", "poison-damsel", "language of signs", and "sybarite". Where such *motifs* did migrate they showed signs of uneasiness in their new environment. The luxury and exaggeration of the East would not fit comfortably into Western *märchen*. The poison of the cobra would dwindle to the sting of an adder; the elephant would become a bear; with the restrictions of the harem removed the language of signs would no longer be a necessity—and so on.

The lecturer then discussed in rather more detail certain *motifs* found in Sanskrit literature, and, after explaining their

meaning and mode of occurrence, proceeded to show their method and direction of migration. In order to demonstrate this more clearly he selected the well-known "swan-maiden" cycle, which presented considerable difficulty as far as its origin was concerned owing to the fact that, apart from existing in early Sanskrit literature, traces of it were also found in the early Icelandic *Eddas* of Scandinavian Europe. After briefly sketching the history of the *motif* in India, he resumed inquiries in Europe, and showed that there was a curious lack of the *motif* in classical mythology, which fact led to unsolved queries far beyond the scope of the paper.

In conclusion, the lecturer appealed for a closer *liaison* between folk-lore and linguistic scholars of the East with those of the West, if any definite steps were to be taken in the tabulating, indexing, and general study of the correlation of the earliest strata of the formation of the world's literature.

Dr. Gaster and Mr. G. Willoughby-Meade spoke at the conclusion of the lecture, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Penzer.

8th March, 1927

The President in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. C. D. H. Ball.
Mr. Sardar Gopal Singh Bhalowalia
Pandit Gajadhar Prasad Bhargava.
Mr. Madan Lal Jain.
Mr. S. N. P. Arunuga Kaviraj
Mr. Praphulla Chandra Lahiri
Rev. Dr. L. D. van Leeuwen.
Mr. Reuben Levy, M.A.
Mr. G. A. Pasquier.
Shastri Mahendra Pratap, M.A.
Mr. Bahwant Rai.
Syed Rahman.
Mr. Lalit Kumar Shah, M.A.

Six names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

Lady Hosie read a paper on "The Making of a Map of China", of which the following is a short résumé:—

My husband ought to have read this lecture. His was the brain, mine only the scribe's hand, that "transmitted"

the information on his map of China. As Commercial Attaché, his interest was in China's economic products. He believed that we had much to learn from China, agriculturally particularly; that, by the interchange of methods and seeds, our Indian Empire and our Colonies might profit. He instanced Robert Fortune, sent by the Indian Government, to study the tea plant of China. Conversely, for instance, he deplored China's loss of her tea trade, due to diseased plants and unhygienic crude methods of manufacture, realizing that the West might help her to regain this lost wealth, so important to a country whose peasants toil in inverse proportion to their wage He himself, on all his journeys, constantly sent plants to Hong-Kong, Singapore, Kew, and Cambridge, some of which have proved of great value economically.

After his travels as Opium Commissioner, undertaken when we were stopping sending opium to India, the Government of India, to show their appreciation of his toil and his endurance of many hardships, presented him with the nine volumes of Sir George Watts' magnificent and monumental *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*. Having done something of the same sort for the Province of Szechwan, he was fired with the desire to give the world a similar work on China's economic products, and his experience as Commercial Attaché had given him the requisite foundation. He did a certain amount towards this Dictionary after his retirement from the Service; then, for his own clarity, took a large map of China and printed thereon the products of China as he knew them. While doing this, he became aware of certain inaccuracies and omissions, as must be the case in any map of a country not scientifically surveyed. Finally, after a visit to China, he found himself driven to making a new map of China altogether; not an easy task, and one which it took two years to accomplish.

At the end of the Manchu dynasty, many of the two thousand odd cities of China had had their names changed.

The courses of rivers had to be verified; and he was interested in the extent of navigation possible on them, China's railway communications being still in their infancy. China's remarkable modern industrial development has also been given a place on the map. And into the handbook. which was a short résumé, he compressed much of the information he had intended for his dictionary. He died before he could accomplish this huge piece of work which he had set before him. If his map helps another to accomplish it, he would rejoice.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Morse, Mr. Hopkins, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Colonel Tebbutts, and Sir J. Stewart Lockhart took part, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

The Society wishes to purchase a second-hand copy of *Minerva* and would be glad to hear of any copy offered at a reasonable price.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works, of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. x, pt. 2.

Ceylon Notes and Queries, pts. iii, iv, v, and any published after pt. vi, 1914–15–16.

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v–vii, 1855–9.

El-Beladori's Kitab futûh el-buldan, nach de Goeje's Ed. (Leyden, 1866) ins Deutsche übersetzt von O. Rescher. Lief 1. Stutgart, 1923.

Griffith, *Rámáyan of Válmíki*, tr., vol. iv, 1870.

Journal Indian Archipelago, vol. i, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Le Strange, "*Mesopotamia* and *Persia* in fourteenth century A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Kulûb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi": *As. Soc. Monographs*, 1903.

Le Muséon, vol. xv, Nouvelle *sér.*, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to end of the series, about 1915.

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6; vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; vol. iv, 1884, all parts; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Orientalische Bibliographie, Bd. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1888–91.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, vol i, pt. iv; vol. ii, pt. iv.

Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, vol. i, 1883.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1; vol. vi, Nos. 3, 4.

Toyo-Gakuho, vol. xiii, No. 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. ii, pts. ii–iv; vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

An Account of the last Battle of Panipat and of the Events Leading to it. Written in Persian by Casi Raja Pundit, tr by Lieut.-Col. J. Brown, 1791, and now ed. with introduction, etc., by H. G. Rawlinson London, Bombay, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Allahabad University Studies Vol. iii. Allahabad, 1927. *From the Vice-Chancellor.*

Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, das Artha-çāstra des Kautilya aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt u mit Einleitung u. Anmerkungen versehen, von J. J. Meyer. 6te Schlusslieferung Leipzig, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Ancient Indian Tribes, by Bimala Churn Law, Punjab Oriental Sanskrit Series, No 12 Lahore, 1926 *From the Author.*

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Vol. vi, 1924–5. Ed. by B. W. Bacon. New Haven, London, 1926 *From the Publishers.*

Antiquities of Indian Tibet, by A. H. Francke. Pt. ii. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, texts and tr. with notes and maps. Ed. with foreword by F. W. Thomas. Arch. Survey of India, New Imperial Ser. Vol. 50. Calcutta, 1926. *From the High Commissioner.*

Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries. Vol. lxxv. Oxford, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Archæological Survey, India, Memoirs. No. 21. The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah, by Hirananda Shastri. No. 29. Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archæology, by Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan. No. 31. The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period, by Ramaprasad Chanda, Rai Bahadur. Calcutta, 1925, 1926.
From the Government of India.

Ārhata-mata-prabhākara. No. 1. Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā, by Hemacandra, ed. with notes by Mōtīlāl Lādhājī. No. 3. Anya-yōga-vyavacchēdikā, by Hemacandra, with Malliṣeṇa's commentary Syād-vāda-mānjarī, ed. with notes by Mōtīlāl Lādhājī. Poona, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

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Au Japon, promenades aux sanctuaires de l'art, par G Migeon. Nouvelle éd., 40 planches Paris, 1926 *From the Author.*

Aus der kaukasischen Welt von O. G. von Wesendonk. Abbildungen von M. v. Wesendonk. Berlin
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The Autobiography of a Chinese Dog, ed by his Missuss (F. Ayscough), with writing-brush sketches by S. Douglass. London. *From the Editor.*

Bihari Ratnakar, a commentary on the Bihari Satsai, by Jagannath Das Ratnakar. *From the Author.*

The British Museum Quarterly, No. 3. London, 1926.
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Bulletin Bibliographique, 1920–6, supplément au dictionnaire bibliographique arabe en préparation, par J E. Sarkis. Le Caire

Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great, by I. Abrahams. The British Academy, The Schweich Lectures, 1922. London, 1927 *From the Publishers*

Catalogue of Books on Arts and Sciences Extract of General Catalogue of Publications, corrected to December, 1925. Calcutta. *From the Government of India*

Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS, Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal Nagpur, 1926.
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Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts. Pt. v. Rājput Painting, by Ananda K Coomaraswamy. Cambridge, U.S A., 1926 *From the Trustees.*

A Catalogue of the late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by R C. Thompson London, 1927.
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Catalogue of the Library of the India Office Vol i. Accessions 13. London, 1926. *From the India Office.*

Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce, des influences classiques dans la civilisation de l'Inde, par le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. Nouvelle éd. Paris, 1926. *From the Publishers*

Chinese Paintings in English Collections, by L Binyon. The French ed. of this book forms pt ix of Ars Asiatica, ed by V. Goloubew. Paris, 1927. *From the Publishers.*

Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Pt. iv, by S. Smith. London, 1927.
From the Trustees.

The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism, by J P. Brown, ed. with introduction and notes by H. A. Rose. London, 1927.
From the Publishers.

The Derivation of some Kakiemon Designs on Porcelaine, by K. Dingwall. London, 1926. *From the Author.*

Documents pour servir a l'étude d'Ajanta, les peintures de la première grotte, par V Goloubew. Ars Asiatica, x. Paris, 1927. *From the Publishers.*

Downfall of Hindu India, c. A.D. 1000 to 1200. History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. iii, by C. V. Vaidya. Bombay, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Eastern Bengal Ballads. Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures, 1924–6. Vol. ii, pt. i. Compiled and ed. by Dineschandra Sen Calcutta University, 1926. *From the Registrar.*

L'écriture égyptienne, essai sur l'origine et la formation de l'une des premières écritures méditerranéennes. Paris, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, a conversation grammar, by W. H. T. Gairdner, 2nd ed. revised and mostly re-written. London, 1926 *From the Publishers.*

Egyptian Grammar, being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs, by A. H. Gardiner. Oxford, 1927. *From the Publishers.*

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. Hastings and others. Vols i–xii. Index volume Edinburgh, 1925–6. *Bought.*

Die Entwicklung des Osmanischen Verfassungsstaates von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, von G. Jäschke. Berlin, 1917. *Bought.*

Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras, l'homme et l'oeuvre, par R. Guilland. Paris, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Further Dialogues of the Buddha, tr. from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikāya by Lord Chalmers, Vol. ii. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. v. London, 1927. *From the Publishers.*

Gaekwad's Oriental Series. No. 30, 31. Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the Commentary of Kamalaśīla. Ed. with introduction by Embar Krishnamacharya, vol. i, ii. Foreword by the Gen. Editor, Benoytosh Bhattacharya. Baroda, 1926. *From H.H. The Gaekwar.*

Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, door N. J. Krom. 's-Gravenhage, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

History of Ancient Armenian Costume, by V. Hatsouni. In modern Armenian. Venice, 1924. *Bought.*

Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings. Vol. viii. Meeting held at Lahore, 1925. Calcutta, 1926. *From the High Commissioner.*

Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Fouilles, Rapports préliminaires, T. 3me. Deir el Médineh, par B. Bruyère,

3me partie. Médamoud, 1ère partie, par F. Bisson de la Roque, 2me partie, par E Drioton. Le Caire, 1926.
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Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des 15e et 16e siècles, reproduits, traduits et annotés par G Ferrand. T. 2. Sulaymān al-Mahrī et Ibn Mājid, texte arabe. Paris, 1925. *From the Publishers.*

Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811–12. Ed. with notes and introduction by V H. Jackson Patna, 1925 *From the High Commissioner.*

Kalidasa's Śakuntala, an ancient Hindu Drama critically edited in the original Sanskrit and Prakrit of the Bengali recension by R. Pischel, 2nd ed. Harvard Or. Ser., vol xvi Cambridge, U.S.A., London, 1922 *From Mr. H. Milford.*

The Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra, with extracts from three Commentaries, an Appendix, and Indexes, ed. by W Caland Lahore, 1925. *From the Editor*

Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stamboul, herausgegeben v. d. Direktion. Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarīje, von J. Lewy Konstantinopel, 1926 *From the Publishers*

Das Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb des Abū 'Abdallāh Muh. ibn 'Abdūs al-Gahšiyārī. In Faksimile herausgegeben, mit Einleitung, Inhaltsangabe u Register von H v Mžik. Bibliothek Arabischer Historiker u. Geographen. Bd. 1. Leipzig, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

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The Lady of the Lotus, Rup Mati Queen of Māndu. A Strange Tale of Faithfulness by Āhmad-ul-Umri, tr with introduction, etc., together with twenty-six poems attributed to Queen Rup Mati done into verse by L. M. Crump London, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

The Life of Lieut.-Gen. H.H. Sir Pratap Singh, by R. B. van Wart. London, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

Mahā: an Oriental love story in verse, by Ahmad Zakī Abu Shādī. Arabic. Cairo, 1926.

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Mandaean Studies, by S. A. Pallis. 2nd and revised ed. 1926. Tr. from the Danish by E. H. Pallis, 1919. London, Copenhagen

Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus. 11. Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit u. Tibetischen, von M Walleser. 12 Indische Strömungen in der islamischen Mystik. Zur Geschichte u. Kritik, von M. Horten. Heidelberg, 1926, 1927. *From Dr. Walleser.*

Mediaeval Hebrew Minstrelsy, songs for the Bride Queen's feast. Sixteen Zemiroth arranged according to the traditional harmonies by R. L. Henriques Illustrated by B. Hirschfeld and translated by H. Loewe. Foreword by the Chief Rabbi. London, 5687–1926. *From the Publishers.*

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Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales, par M. J. de Goeje. 3 parts, 2nd ed. Leide, 1886, 1900, 1903. *Bought.*

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The Official Report of Remains of Han Period in South Corea. Published by the Governor-General of Corea. Vol. ii. 1922. *From the Governor-General.*

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Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra with the text of Mayaśāstra, by Phanindra Nath Bose. foreword by J H Cousens Punjab Oriental Sanskrit Series, No. 11. Lahore, 1926 *From the Publishers.*
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Samantapāsādikā, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, ed by J Takakusu, assisted by M. Nagai Vol ii. Pali Text Society London, 1927 *Exchange.*
Sammati-tarka, by Siddhasēna Divākara, with Abhayadēva's commentary. No. 16 Gujarat-purā-tattva-mandira-granthāvalī. Ahmadabad, 1926. *From the Principal.*
Satī-dāha, by Śivasahāya Caturvēdī. Allahabad, 1926. *From the Author.*
The Schweich Lectures, The British Academy Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine, en Égypte aux 6e et 5e siècles av. J.-C. par A. van Hoonacker 1914.
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Israel's Settlement in Canaan, the Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background, by Rev C. F. Burney. 1917.
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London, 1910–18. *Bought.*
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Sri Mulam Malayalam Ser. No. 15. Bhâshâ Râmayana Champu, Balakanda. No. 16. Parvatee Panigrahaṇam. Aruvrittom, No. 17. Praishom with commentary, ed. with introduction, etc., by Sankara Menon. Trivandrum, 1926, 1927. *From the Government of Travancore.*
Studies in Hindu Political Thought, by Ajit Kumar Sen. Calcutta, 1926. *From the Author.*
A Study of Shintō, the Religion of the Japanese Nation, by Genchi Katō. Tōkyō, 1926. *From the Meiji Japan Society.*
Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British

Museum, compiled by A. S. Fulton and A. G. Ellis. London, 1926. *From the Trustees.*

Über den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Jurakssamojedischen, von T. Lehtisalo. Helsinki, 1927. *From the Author.*

The Writing of History, notes on historical methodology for Indian students, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Studies in Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. No. 1. Madras, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

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Dacca University Bulletin. No. 6. Absorbtion of the Vratyas, by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri.

No. 12. The Meaning of Art, by Rabindranath Tagore. The Idealistic School in Buddhism. Meditative and Active India, by C. Formichi. London, Bombay, 1926. *From the Publishers.*

1. Dādhimata Brahmans, Report compiled by Gōvindanārāyaṇa Śarmā and others. *From the Publishers.*
2. Dadhīci-nāṭaka, a mythological drama by Gōvindanārāyaṇa Śarmā. Jodhpur, 1926. *From the Author.*

Dr. Aiyangar on the Vakatakas, by Y. R. Gupte. Journal of Indian History. Vol. v. 1926. *From the Author.*

1. Due scoli filosofici attribuiti a Sergio di Teodosiopoli (Rēš'aynā). *Aegyptus, Anno 7.*
2. La filosofia nel Libro degli Scoli di Teodoro bar Kēwānāy. Giornale Soc. Asiatica Italiana. N.S., vol. i.
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

JULY, 1927

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1927

PART III.—JULY

The "Ahurian" and "Daevian" Vocabularies in the Avesta

By LOUIS H GRAY

WITHIN the last quarter of a century two serious attempts have been made to explain the fact that the Avesta uses one set of words for beings belonging to the creation of Ahura Mazda and another for those formed by Aŋra Mainyu. The former of these theories was advanced by Leo Frachtenberg ("Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian Words in Avestan," in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 269–89), and the latter by Hermann Güntert ("Ueber die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrucke im Avesta, eine semasiologische Studie," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1914, Abhandlung 13).

The general thesis of Frachtenberg was that the words applied in Avesta to evil beings were originally used of animals, as when we speak of a man's "nose", but of a hog's "snout", giving the latter term to a human being only in derogation. Güntert (p. 19) summarizes his theory thus: "The word chosen for the Daēva from several synonyms is always that which combines the most negative exponent of feeling (*Gefühlsexponent*) with the least favourable connotation, and which, therefore, evokes the most disagreeable impression";

and regarding unspecialized synonyms he further says (p. 31): "None of these synonymous terms possessed a concomitant impression (*Begleitsgefuhl*) sufficiently definite either positively or negatively for it to be restricted exclusively to beings of either of the two classes of creation"

Guntert's theory is manifestly true so far as the actual facts of the Avesta are concerned, but it is equally evident that he substitutes the result for the cause, which he seems to ignore; and as to Frachtenberg's thesis, it is sufficient to say that it is not sustained by the conditions really found, and that it has been amply refuted by Güntert. The real question is that of the origin of this double vocabulary: *Why* were certain Avesta words regarded as good and others as evil?

The Daēvian words are found in the following passages of the Avesta: Yasna, viii, 8, ix, 8, 18, 29, 31, x, 16; xix, 15; lii, 8, lvii, 10, 15, 18, 25, 31–3; lxviii, 13, 19; Srōš Vāč, 3; Nyāišn, i, 13, 15, Yašt, i, 10–11, 27, iii, 7–9, 11–12, 14–15, 17, iv, 3; v, 29, 34, 54, 57, 113; vi, 5; viii, 21, 44, 54, 56, 59–61; ix, 4, 14, x, 8, 26, 38, 47–8, 52, 93, 97, 109, 113, 128–32, 134; xi, 2, 4–6; xiii, 57, 89, 129, 136; xiv, 40, 48, 51–3, 63; xv, 19, 24, 50–1, xvii, 19, 25, 54, 57–8; xix, 12, 41, 43–4, 47, 49–50, 54, 57–8, 60–1, 63, 80, 82; Vīdēvdāt, i, 2–19; iii, 7, 20, 32–3; iv, 49; v, 35–8; vii, 53–5, 58–9; viii, 21, 31–3, ix, 27, 49; x, 20, xi, 12; xiii, 3, 42–3; xv, 14; xvii, 3; xviii, 10, 12, 16, 24, 30–1, 34, 37–8, 40, 43–4, 46, 49–50, 54–5, 57, 59, 65; xix, 1–3, 6, 8, 15, 41, 43–4, 47; xx, 3, 6, 9, 14; xxi, 1, 3; xxii, 2, 9.

Yet a term applied to an Ahurian being was not necessarily restricted to the good creation, nor was one used of Daēvian beings inherently evil in connotation; the words were, therefore, neither "good" nor "bad" *per se*. This is clearly shown by their use in compounds. Thus *dōiθra-* is the Ahurian word for "eye", but it is employed of an evil being in the compound *duž-dōiθra-* ("possessing an evil eye") in Yt. iii, 15; on the other hand, *aš-* is the corresponding Daēvian

term, but refers to good beings in the verb *aiwyāxš-* ("supervise") in Ys. lviii, 4; Yt. 1, 19, etc., and appears in Modern Persian *yāv-aš* "seed-cucumber" (cf. Sanskrit *gavākṣī*). The Daēvian word for "ear" is *karəna-*, corresponding to the Ahurian *uš-*, but is itself Ahurian in the compound *gaokarəna-* ("ox-ear", the name of a sacred mythic tree) in Yt. i, 30; Sīr. 1, 7; ii, 7; Vd xx, 4); while another term for "ear", *gaoša-*, is used of Ahurian beings everywhere except in the compounds *kaurvō-gaoša-* ("bald-eared"), applied to the drought-deity Apaoša in his horse-form (Yt. viii, 21), and *asrut-gaoša-* ("possessing an unhearing ear"), used of a deaf man (Nīrāngistān, 14) Certain words, moreover, as Guntert notes (p 31), occur as non-specialized synonyms, notably *vaēna-* and *nāh-* "nose", *bāzu-* and *arəma-* "arm", and *ərəzu-* and *angušta-* "finger".

Since neither of the two principal theories thus far advanced seems free from serious objection, another attempt may be made on the basis of an examination of the geographical distribution of the Ahurian and Daēvian words respectively, the material being tabulated, before drawing any conclusions, in two contrasting lists, and the data being taken from the usual authoritative works on Indo-Iranian and Indo-European linguistics. An effort has been made to be as complete as possible for Indo-Iranian, though it has seemed sufficient to take only one example from each dialect-group; in other Indo-European divisions but a single word has been cited from each where such is available. It is possible, of course, that hitherto unknown cognates of the Avesta words in question may yet be found in Middle and Modern Iranian dialects, for knowledge of their vocabulary is still far from complete, but it is scarcely likely that such new material will essentially modify the results already attained.

We may now turn to our lists. The abbreviations employed are self-evident, and the antithetical words for each term are placed after it in parentheses and are numbered. Words inherently "good", and so naturally Ahurian, such as *darəiti-*

"young woman" (Sariqolī *čor* "strong young man", and perhaps Old High German *helid* "hero"), call for no discussion in the present connexion, and the same is true of terms intrinsically "bad", which are as obviously Daēvian, like *raod-* "howl", *marək-* "kill", and *t̰baēš* "hate". Certain words considered by Frachtenberg scarcely come within the scope of this study, such as *ātar-* "attacker, oppressor" (*tar-* is once used of a Daēvian attack, Yt xiii, 77) or *āfrītay-* "blessing": *āfrīta* "curse" (the latter in a sarcastic sense, like the English "I'll bless you for that"); and it is unsafe to assert, from its single occurrence (Vd. vii, 59), that *aošta-* "lip" was used only of Daēvians.

I "Ahurian" Words

1. Av. *ay-* "go" (*dvar-*, 41), O. Pers. *paiti-ay-*, Turf. *'adîd*, Mod. Pers *āyad*, Casp. (Māz.) *īna*, Cent. (Gab.) *āye*, Pāmir (Waxī) *ni-yit*, Kurd *ēt*, Bal *āyag*, Skt. *i-*, Kaśm *yi*, Gk *εἶμι*, Lat *eo*, Mid. Ir. *ethaim*, Goth *iddja*, Lith *eĩti*, O. Ch Slav. *iti*.

2. Av. *āh-* "mouth" (*zafar-*, 48), Kuč. *āś*, Ved. *ās-*, Kaśm. *òs*, Lat. *ōs*, O. Ir *á*, Lith. *ùstà*, O Ch. Slav. *usta*.

3. Av *uruθwan-* "belly" (*maršū-*, 44), Mod. Pers. *rūda*, Cent. (Kāš.) *rūvé*, Kurd *rūwi*, Bal *rōθ*.

4 Av. *uš-* "ear" (*karəna-*, 32), Mod. Pers. *hōš*, Arm. *unkn*, Gk. *οὖς*, Lat. *aus-culto*, O. Ir *au*, O. H. Ger. *ōra*, Lith. *ausìs*, O. Ch. Slav. *ucho*

5 Av. *gam-* "go" (*dvar-*, 41), O Pers., Turf. *gam-*, Mod. Pers. *āmad*, Casp. (Tāt) *āmārum*, Cent. (Kuhr.) *būmūdan*, Skt, Mid. Ind. *gam-*, Sing. *dāmgum*, Arm. *ekn*, Gk. *βαίνω*, Lat. *venio*, O. Ir. *-benat*, Goth. *qiman*.

6 Av. *čar-* "go" (*pat-*, 42), Pām *čar*, Osset. *carun*, Kurd. *čarin*, Afγ. *carēdal*, Bal. *čarag*, Skt., Mod. Ind. *car-*, Gk. *πέλω*, Lat *colo*, O. Norse *hvel*, O. Prus. *kelan*, O. Ch. Slav. *kolo*.

7. Av. *tak-* "walk" (*zbar-*, 49), Mod Pers. *tāxtan*, Pām. (Waxī) *tāčam*, Osset. *t'ǟjin*, Afγ. *tašal*, Bal. *tačag*, Skt. *tac-*, Alb. *ndjek* (?), O. Ir. *techim*, Goth. *þius*, Lith. *tekù*, O. Ch. Slav. *tečetŭ*.

8 Av *θwarəš-* "create" (*karət-*, 31), Gk *σάρξ*.

9 Av. *dəmāna-*, *nmāna-* "house" (*gərəδa-*, 36), O. Pers. *māniya-*, Turf *mān-bēd*, Mod. Pers *mān*, Skt. *dáma-*, Arm. *tun*, Gk. *δόμος*, Lat. *domus*, O Norse *topt*, O. Ch. Slav. *domŭ*.

10 Av. *dōiθra-* "eye" (*aš-*, 29), O Pers. *di-*, Mod. Pers. *dīdan*, Pām. (Waxī) *didigam*, Kurd *dītin*, Afγ. *līdal*, Bal. *dīd*, Goth. *-deisei*.

11. Av. *nāirikā* "woman" (*ǰahī-*, 38), Mod Pers. *nar*, Pām. (Sang.) *narak*, Osset. *nale*, Kurd., Afγ, Bal *nar*, Skt. *nārī-*, Mar. *nār*, Arm. *air*, Gk. *ἀνήρ*, Lat. *ner-iosus*, O Ir. *nert*.

12 Av. *paitištāna-* "leg" (*zangra-*, 47), no known cognates.

13. Av *puθra-* "son" (*hunav-*, 51), O Pers. *puθ^ra-*, Turf. *pūs*, Mod. Pers *pus(r)*, Cent. (Kāš.) *pur*, *pūr*, Pām. (Sarıq) *pòc*, Osset *furt*, Kurd. *pisir*, Bal *p'sag*, Skt *putrá-*, Mid Ind. *putta-*, Hındī *put*, Gk *παῖς*, Lat. *putus*, O. Ir. *uaithne*, Lıth *putýkis*, O Ch Slav. *pŭta*.

14 Av *baoδay-* "perfume" (*gantay-*, 33), Mod Pers. *bōi*, Cent (Gab) *būd*, Pām (Sarıq.) *bảo*, Osset *bud*, Afγ. *bū*, Bal *bōd* Gk. *πεύθομαι*, O Ir *buide*, O. H Ger. *biotan*, Lith. *budéti*, O. Ch Slav. *buditi*

15. Av *manaoθrī-* "neck" (*grīvā-*, 37), Skt. *mányā-*, Gyp. *men*, Lat *monīle*, O Ir. *muin*, O H. Ger *mana*, O Ch Slav. *monisto*

16 Av. *mrav-* "say" (*dav-*, 39), Skt. *bru-*, O. Ir. *-bruth* (?), O Ch Slav. *mlŭviti*

17. Av *raēθ-* "die" (*mar-*, 43), Mod. Ind. (Paš) *lēim*, Goth. *leiþan*.

18. Av. *vaγδana-* "head" (*kamərəδa-*, 30), no known cognates, and etymology quite uncertain. A connexion with the Hesychian gloss *ἄγδος· ἄγγος Κρητικόν* (for the semantics cf. Fr *tête* < Lat. *testa*) might be suggested, but the resemblance is probably only fortuitous.

19 Av. *varəz-* "do" (*fra-varəz-*, 45), O. Pers. *Σατιβαρζάνης*, Mid Pers. *varz*, Mod. Pers. *varz*, *barz*, Arm. *gorc*, Gk. *ἔργον*, Goth. *waúrkjan*.

20. Av. *vaš-* "say" (*dav-*, 39), Bal. *gvašag*, Ōrm. *γwacī*.

21. Av. *staman-*, "mouth" (*zafar-*, 48), Gk. *στόμα*, Mid. Bret *staffn*, Goth. *stibna*

22 Av. *spāδa-* "army" (*haēnā-*, 52), O Pers. *-spāda*, Mod Pers *sipāh*, Osset *afsad*, Arm (borrowed) *spah*.

23 Av *sraonay-* "buttock" (*zaδah-*, 46), Mod Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Pām (Waxī) *šunǰ*, Bal. *sarēn*, Skt *śróṇi-*, Gk *κλονίς*, Lat *clūnis*, Welsh *clūn*, O Norse *hlaun*, Lith. *šlaunìs*

24 Av. *zan-* "be born" (*hav-*, 50), O. Pers. *-zana*, Mod Pers. *zādan*, Pām (Sariq) *zayam*, Osset. *zānāg*, Kurd *zāin*, Afγ. *zēž*, Bal *zāyag*, Skt. *jana-*, Mid Ind. *jana-*, Mar *jan*, Gk. *γένος*, Lat *genus*, O Ir *-genar*, Goth *kuni*

25. Av. *zanga-* "leg" (*zangra-*, 47), Osset. *zāngā*, Afγ. *zanγūn*, Skt *jánghā-*, Panj. *jamgh*, Arm *cung*, Goth. *gagga*, Lith. *žengiù*

26. Av. *zasta-* "hand" (*gav-*, 34), O. Pers. *dasta-*, Mod. Pers *dast*, Cent (Yid.) *last*, Pām. (Veron) *lust*, Afγ. *lās*, Skt. *hásta-*, Mid Ind *hattha-*, Sindhī *hathu*, Lith *pa-zastìs*.

27 Av *ni-had-* "sit down" (*ni-dvar-*, 41), Turf. *nišîyând*, Mod Pers. *nišastan*, Cent (Yidg) *ni-astah*, Pām (Waxī) *na-zdam*, Bal *nindag*, Skt, Mid Ind *sad-*, Sing. *(h)imdīnavā*, Gk *ἕζομαι*, Lat. *sedeo*, Mid. Ir. *saidim*, Goth. *sitan*, Lith. *sėdeti*, O Ch Slav *sěděti*

28 Av. *x^var-* "eat" (*gah-*, 35), O. Pers. *μαρτι-χόρα*, Mod Pers. *x^vardan*, Cent (Kaš) *xurtān*, Pām. (Sariq.) *xóram*, Osset. *x^vārun*, Kurd *xurin*, Afγ. *x^varal*, Bal. *varag*, Zab *xaram*, Arm (borrowed) *xortik-k'*, O. Norse *svelgja*.

II. "DAĒVIAN" WORDS

29. Av. *aš-* "eye" (*dōiθra-*, 10), Mid. and Mod. Pers *γāv-āš*, Pām. (Waxī) *ačē*, Skt. *akṣī-*, Mid Ind *akkhi-*, *acchi-*, Hindī *ą̄kh*, Arm *akn*, Gk *ὄκταλλος*, Lat. *oculus*, Lith. *akìs*, O. Ch. Slav. *oči*

30 Av *kamərəδa-*, "head" (*vaγδana-*, 18), no certain cognates (for a possible interpretation as **ka-mərəδa-* "wretched head, pate" see Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 440).

31. Av. *karət-* "create" (*θwarəš-*, 8), Osset. *k'ardum*, Afγ. *skaṇam*, Skt. *kart-*, Mid. Ind *katt-*, Hindī *kāṭnā*, Arm. *k'ert'em*, Alb. *kéθ*, O. Ir. *scrissid*, Lith. *kertù*, O. Ch Slav. *črěsti*

32. Av. *karəna-* "ear" (*uš-*, 4), Skt *kárṇa-*, Mid Ind. *kanna-*, Hindī *kān*.

33. Av *gantay-* "stench" (*baoδay-*, 14), Mod. Pers *gand*, Afγ *gandal*, Skt. *gandhá-*, Hindī *gamdh*.

34. *gav-* "hand" (*zasta-*, 26), Arm. *kalum* (?), Gk. *ἐγ-γύη*, Lat *vola*, O. Ir *gúalu*, O. Norse *kúla*, Lith *gautí*

35 Av. *gah-*, "eat" (*x^var-*, 28), Pām. (Waxī) *γāš*, Skt. *ghas-*, Hindī *ghās*

36. Av *gərəδa-* "house" (*dəmāna-*, *nmāna-*, 9), Mid Pers. *gihstak* (?), Skt. *gṛhá-*, Mid Ind *geha-*, *g(h)ara-*, Hindī *ghaṛ*.

37. Av. *grīvā-* "neck" (*manaoθrī-*, 15), Mod. Pers *girē*, Afγ. *girē-van*, Skt *grīvá-*, Arm *grapan*, Gk. *δέρη*, Let. *grīva*, O. Ch. Slav. *griva*

38. Av. *jahī-* "harlot" (*nāirikā-*, 11), Skt *hasrá-*.

39. Av. *dav-* "speak" (*mrav-*, *vaš-*, 16, 20), Skt. *dhúni*, O. Norse *dynr* (Pām [Sariq] *warδauam* "talk in one's sleep", usually connected with this group, seems, rather, to be cognate with Lesb. *δαύω* "sleep")

40 Av *drav-* "run", Skt. *drav-*, Hindī *daur*, Gaul. *Druentia*, O. Ir. *drúth*, Goth *trudan*

41. Av. *dvar-* "go" (*ay-*, *gam-*, 1, 5), Lith *durmas*.

42. *pat-* "go" (*čar-*, 6), O Pers *pat-*, Skt *pat-*, Hindī *paḍ-*, Gk. *πέτομαι*, Lat. *penna*, O. Ir. *én*, O H. Ger *fedara*.

43. Av *mar-* "die" (*raēθ-*, 17), O. Pers *mar-*, Mod. Pers. *murdan*, Casp. (Māz.) *mardeni*, Cent (Gab) *martmun*, Pām. (Waxī) *mariam*, Osset. *mälin*, Kurd. *merin*, Afγ. *mṛal*, Bal. *mirag*, Skt., Mid., and Mod Ind. *mar-*, Arm. *meranim*, Gk. *βροτός*, Lat. *morior*, O. Ir *marb*, O. H. Ger. *mord*, Lith. *mirtis*, O. Ch. Slav. *mrěti*.

44. Av. *maršū-*, "belly" (*uruθwan-*, 3), Gk. *μάρσιπος*, Goth. *smarnō*, Lith. *smarsas*.

45. Av. *fra-varez-* "do" (*varəz-*, 19), Goth. *frawaúrkjan*.

46 Av *zaδah-* "buttock" (*sraonay-*, 23), Skt. *had-*, Arm. *jet*, Gk χέζω, Alb δjés, Mod. Ir *gead* (?), O Norse *gat* (?), O Ch Slav. *zadŭ* (?)

47. Av. *zangra-* "leg" (*paitištāna-*, *zanga-*, 12, 25), formed on *zanga-*

48 Av *zafar-* "mouth" (*āh-*, *staman-*, 2, 21), Mod Pers. *dahān*, Pām (Yaγ) *ǰav*, *žav*, Osset *zāmbin*, Bal. *dap*, *daf*, Skt. *jámbha-*, Arm *camen*, Gk. γόμφος, Alb δąm(p), O Ir. *gop*, O Norse *kambr*, Lith *žam̃bas*, O Ch Slav. *ząbŭ*

49 Av *zbar-* "walk" (*tak-*, 7), Skt *hvar-*, Lith *pa-žulnus*, O Ch Slav *zŭlŭ*

50 Av *hav-* "be born" (*zan-*, 24), Kuch *soyā*, Skt *sū-*, Arm. *ustr*, Gk υἱός, O Ir *suth*

51. Av. *hunav-* "son" (*puθra-*, 13), Skt. *sūnú-*, Goth. *sunus*, Lith *sūnùs*, O Ch Slav *synŭ*

52 Av. *haēnā-* "army" (*spāδa-*, 22), O. Pers *hainā-*, Skt. *sénā*, Sing *sen*, Arm (borrowed) *hēn*, O Ir *sín*, Lith *sėna*.

In connexion with these lists it should be noted that *ay-* (1) and *gam-* (5) are used of evil beings in Ys. viii, 6; Yt. xix, 12, as is *tak-* (7) in Yt x, 20, and to them may be added the Ahurian derivative *para-iristay-* "death" and the Daēvian *daoiθrī* "speech", *dvaraiθra-* "leg, foot", (*ava-*)*mərətay* "death", *zbaraθa-* "foot", and *haota-* "brood" (cf 17, 39, 41, 43, 49, 50).

It is obvious that all these antitheses cannot be explained in one and the same way. Nevertheless, a survey of the geographical distribution of the words under consideration seems to justify the conclusion that in the majority of cases the Ahurian terms find cognates in several Modern Iranian dialects, and often outside Iran as well; the Daēvian words, on the other hand, unless, like *kamərəδa-* and *ǰahī-* (30, 38), they are inherently bad, find cognates only outside the Modern Iranian area, except for a few in the Pāmir dialects. This explanation appears to hold good for the Ahurian terms *ay-*, *uruθwan-*, *uš-*, *gam-*, *čar-*, *tak-*, *dəmāna-*, *dōiθra-*, *nāirikā*, *puθra-*, *baoδay-*, *varəz-*, *vaš-*, *spāδa-*, *sraonay-*, *zan-*, *zanga-*,

zasta-, *ni-had-*, and *x^var-* (1, 3–7, 9–11, 13–14, 19–20, 22–8), and of the Daēvian *aš-*, *kamərəδa-*, *karəna-*, *gav-*, *gah-*, *gərəδa-*, *dav-*, *drav-*, *dvar-*, *pat-*, *maršū-*, *fra-varəz-*, *zaδah-*, *zangra-*, *zbar-*, *hav-*, *hunav-*, and *haēnā* (29–30, 32, 34–6, 39–42, 44–7, 49–52), i.e in 20 + 18 = 38 cases out of a total of 28 + 24 = 52. In other words, the majority of Daēvian terms were archaic, or at best obsolescent, and where they find cognates in the Modern Iranian area, these are chiefly in the Pāmir region (29, 35)

Occasionally, however, an archaism may be felt to lend dignity, as when *raēθ-* (17) is reserved for Ahurian beings, who "go (hence)", while the blunt *mar-* (43) is used of Daēvian creatures, who simply "die". Here, also, perhaps, belongs the antithesis between the archaic Ahurian *āh-* and *staman-* (2, 21) and the current Daēvian *zafar-* (48)

Sometimes, on the other hand, a neologism is regarded as more dignified, and so applicable to Ahurian beings, while its popular synonym, as less august, is used of Daēvians. In this category we may place *manaoθrī-* (15) as contrasted with *grīvā-* (37), and perhaps *paitištāna-* (12) as opposed to *zangra-* (47) Yet *zangra-* itself seems to have been a neologism formed from the Ahurian *zanga-* (25) expressly for Daēvian application and differentiation, so that Guntert's view (pp. 24–5) that its evil connotation came from its compounds would seem to reverse the actual development; *zangra-* was Daēvian *per se*, so that its compounds would necessarily be "bad". While he may be right (pp. 25–6) in explaining the contrast between *baoδay-* and *gantay-* (14, 33), as due to the compounds *hu-baoδay-* and *duž-gantay-* (Yt. v, 102, 130; x, 4; xvii, 6; HN. ii, 7, 25), it is at least equally possible that *gantay-*, like English *smell*, had become specialized in a bad sense, so that *baoδay-*, originally meaning "perception", was, in turn, specialized to replace it.

Certain words used only of Daēvian beings, though apparently not inherently bad in connotation, seem less dignified when compared with their Ahurian antitheses;

hence, of two synonyms, the higher is naturally given to Ahurians, and the lower to Daēvians. Here we must apparently reckon the antithetical terms for "create": Ahurian *θwarəš-* "fashion" and Daēvian *karət-* "cut" (8, 31), as well as *mrav-* and *vaš-* "speak" in contrast to *dav-* (16, 20, 39), particularly as the latter, judging from its cognates (Skt. *dhúni-*, *dhvan-*, O Norse *dynr*, Ang.-Sax. *dyne*, Eng. *din*), apparently meant "to speak noisily". The uncertain etymology of *vaγδana-* as opposed to the almost equally obscure *kamərəδa-* (18, 30), makes it impossible as yet to assign the word to any definite category.

At least two of the Daēvian terms, *pat-* and *haēnā-* (42, 52), had an evil connotation in the Iranian period, as is shown by their use in Avesta and in Old Persian alike (for the latter see Bh. i, 36, 38, etc.; Dar Pers. d, 16–17, 19) As the Avesta opposed *spāδa-* to *haēnā-*, so the Old Persian antithesis of *hainā-* was *kāra-*, meaning both "army" and "people" (cf Mod Pers. *kār-zār*, Mid. Ir. *cuire*, Goth. *harjis*, Lith. *kāras*, O. Ch. Slav *kara*).

As their etymologies show, the contrast between the Ahurian *tak-* and the Daēvian *zbar-* (7, 49) is that between a "flowing", dignified gait and one that is "reeling" and undignified. Similarly, *dram-* "run", appearing in *handramanā-* (cf. Skt. *dram-*, Gk. συν-δρομή) is Daēvian as opposed to *hanjamanā-* (Yt. xi, 4, 6; cf also the Daēvian *han-dvarəna-*), not because running is essentially evil, but because it is incompatible with the calm pace of an Ahurian being. As regards *gah-* and *dvar-* (35, 41), their cognates show that their meanings were inherently unpleasing.

It is evident, therefore, that more than one factor must be taken into account in explanation of the Ahurian and Daēvian vocabularies, and frequently a given term may be subject simultaneously to several influences. Occasionally the opposition is only apparent, as in Haδōxt Nask ii, 16, 34, where *bav-* is used of a good being, and *ah-* of the evil counterpart, not because the two verbs are antithetic, but merely for

metrical reasons. Similarly in Ys ix, 28 the Ahurian *uš-* (4) is used of Daēvian beings, a fact which Guntert (pp. 32–3), explains on the ground that Daēvian words are restricted to evil results, though it is much more probable that here again the choice is governed by considerations of metre (cf. also Yt i, 27).

Ahurian words may be compounded with *duš-* "bad" and may then be applied to Daēvians (*dus-x^{v}arəθa-, duž-dōiθra-, duž-varšta : hudōiθra-, hvaršta-*), but the reverse case of a Daēvian word compounded with *hu-* "good" seems not to occur

One other category deserves attention in the present connexion Four Ahurian and four Daēvian words—the latter used by "evil-speaking men"—are expressly mentioned in the Avesta (Yt viii, 51 ; Vd. xiii, 2–4, 6–7 , xviii, 15). What the pious call "bad year" (*dužyāiryā-*) "evil-speakers" call "good year" (*huyāiryā*), clearly referring to the fact that a year good for the agriculturist may be bad for the nomad The porcupine, a holy animal, is called by his common name *dužaka-* (Mod. Pers *žūža*) by "evil-speakers", but the righteous give him a fancy name *vaŋhāpara-*, of unknown meaning; and in similar fashion the cock is termed *kahrkatāt-* by "evil-speakers" (cf. Mod Pers. *kark*, Kurd. *kurk*, Afγ *čirg*, Osset *k'ark'*, Pām [Waxī] *körk*, Skt. *krka-vāku*, Gk. [Hesychios] κέρκος· ἀλεκτρυών, Mid Ir *çerc*), whereas the good call him *parō-dərəs-* "fore-seer". The Ahrimanian tortoise, whom Ahurians termed *zairimyaŋkura-* "he who keeps his members in a house", perhaps as a euphemism for the real word *kasyapa-* (Vd xiv, 5 ; Mod. Pers. *kašaf*), received from "evil-speakers" the hypocoristic appellation *zairimyāka-*.

By all odds the most important antithesis of the type under consideration is that between *ahura-* "lord" and *daēva-* "demon". The fact that the Sanskrit counterpart of the former, though still meaning "lord" in the Veda, comes to signify "demon" in the late Vedic and early Brāhmaṇic

period, while *devá-* means "god" throughout Sanskrit literature, has led to much discussion,[1] and formed the basis of Haug's well-known theory that "the Zoroastrian religion arose out of a vital struggle against the form which the Brahmanical religion had assumed at a certain early period".[2]

If, however, we study the distribution of these two words, we have the following results (*a*) Indo-European **asuro-*, Av *ahura-*, Skt *ásura-*, beyond which all is thus far conjecture; (*b*) Indo-European **deivo-*, Av *daēva-*, Mid and Mod. Pers. *dev*, Skt *dēvá-*, Gk *δῖος*, Lat *deus*, O. Ir. *dia*, O. Norse *Týr*, Lith *dēvas*. In other words, the group derived from **deivo-* seems to have become obsolete in Iran in the meaning of "god",[3] and that from **asuro-* to have become obsolete in India in the meaning of "lord".

A more detailed study of all the words here under consideration gives the following tabulation —

Mid and (or) Mod Iran, not Ind.	Ahur 3, 4, 10, 14, 19, 20, 22, 28	8
	Daēv.	0
Ind, not Mid and (or) Mod Iran	Ahur 15–17	3
	Daēv 30, 32, 36, 38–40, 42, 46, 49, 51–2	11
Both Mid and (or) Mod Iran and Ind	Ahur 1–2, 5–7, 9, 11, 13, 23–7 .	13
	Daēv 31, 33, 37, 43, 48 . .	5
Only outside both Iran and Ind	Ahur 8, 12, 18, 21 . . .	4
	Daēv 34, 41, 44–5, 47 . .	5
Outside Iran Plateau and Ind.	Ahur	0
	Daēv. 29, 35, 50 . . .	3
	Total . .	52

The cleavage between the Iranian and the Indian groups appears to have been one of linguistic evolution rather than of deliberate purpose, and a solution may possibly be sought in prehistoric migrations and conquests In an article entitled

[1] Cf. P. von Bradke, *Dyâus Asura, Ahura Mazdâ und die Asuras*, Halle, 1885, A Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1891–1902, iii, 430–44.

[2] *Essays on . . . the Parsis*, 3rd ed., London, 1884, pp. 287 seqq.

[3] Dēv occurs, however, in a good sense in the Osrūšanian proper names Dēvdās and Dēvdast as late as the ninth century A.D. (T. Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, ii [1923], 318).

"Blest, Abode of the (Persian)", in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii, 702–4 (Edinburgh, 1909), the present writer has suggested that the Avesta itself contains (Vd. ii, 4 seqq.) a reminiscence of a gradual Iranian conquest of the Plateau, and linguistic evidence now seems to him to support this view. He would, then, propose the following hypothesis. From Central Asia, through the open reaches east of the Caspian which have given access to the Iranian Plateau to conqueror after conqueror, there came at an undatable period an invasion (or a series of invasions) of a people who spoke an Indo-Iranian dialect which represented the Indo-European hard sibilant by *s*, and who termed their deities **deivos*. In their turn these invaders were gradually driven south by another invasion (or series of invasions) by a kindred people (or peoples) who had changed the hard sibilant *s* to *h*, who called their divinities **ahuros*, and who had, as kindred peoples often have, somewhat different vocabularies. These *h*-peoples (the later Iranians) gradually expelled the *s*-peoples until the latter finally made their way into India.

In their contacts the *h*-peoples adopted some of the words of their *s*-enemies, but since they already had corresponding terms of their own (e.g. *uš-* as contrasted with *kárna-*, *ahura-* as opposed to *devá-*, etc.), they had no need to add them to their vocabulary except as referring to their foes. Hence, these terms of the *s*-peoples, expelled or conquered, formed no real part of the vocabulary of the *h*-peoples, as they did of the word-stock of the *s*-peoples, and the former employed them only in a derogatory sense, applying them solely to beings, human or superhuman, whom they hated and despised as hostile and malign.

If this hypothesis be correct, the Ahurian and Daēvian vocabularies of the Avesta were due to historical and political factors of invasion, conquest, and expulsion, and are still traceable in geographic distribution; they were not caused by linguistic or even by religious considerations.

The categories into which it seems possible to classify these

two vocabularies (including the eight terms expressly ascribed to "evil-speakers" and "good-speakers") may be tabulated as follows :—

Ahurian words common in Iranian . .	18
Daēvian „ „ „ „ . .	4
Ahurian „ archaic „ „ . .	3
Daēvian „ „ „ „ . .	16
„ „ inherently bad . .	2
Ahurian neologisms	2
Daēvian „	1
Ahurian semantic developments .	1
Daēvian „ „ . .	1
Ahurian synonyms more dignified . .	4
Daēvian „ less „ . .	2
Ahurian word of unknown etymology .	1
„ fancy names	2
Daēvian hypocoristic	1
Divergent points of view . . .	2
Total . .	60

A particularly interesting parallel to the Avesta double vocabulary is found in Homer, where allusion is made several times to the difference between the language of gods and of men (Il. i, 403–4 ; ii, 813–14 ; xiv, 291 ; xx, 74 ; Od. x, 305 ; xii, 61 ; cf. also Hesiod, frag. 3 ; Pindar, frag. 87 ; Plato, *Phaedrus* 252 B ; Ovid, *Met.* xi, 640), the distinction being shown in the following table :—

Gods' Language	*Men's Language*	*Meaning*
Βριάρεως	*Αἰγαίων*	name of a man.
σῆμα Μυρίνης	*Βατίεια*	name of a hill.
χαλκίς	*κύμινδις*	name of a bird.
Ξάνθος	*Σκάμανδρος*	name of a river.
μῶλυ	?	name of an herb.
Πλαγκταί	?	name of certain rocks.
Icelos (* *Ἴκελος*)	Phobetor (* *Φωβήτωρ*)	son of Morpheus.

It would appear that, generally speaking, the gods substituted a Greek name for the aboriginal appellation bestowed by man, this being especially evident in the cases of *χαλκίς* and *Ξάνθος* for *κύμινδις* and *Σκάμανδρος*, whose -*νδ*- is almost certainly Asianic. The "human" name for *μῶλυ* is unknown, but its "divine" name is probably connected

with Skt. *múla-* "root" and is cognate with the Hesychian *μώλυγερ· τὰ ἄνοζα ξύλα* (cf. also *μώλυζα* "a pointed herb used in uterine disease").[1]

Double vocabularies are not infrequent, particularly in cases of language-mixture as a result of conquest. This is especially true of Britain, where English includes both Anglo-Saxon and Norman French elements, besides traces of Celtic, Scandinavian, etc.; and a marked tendency is shown, as in Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, and Iran, to adopt much of the vocabulary of the conquerers, be they Romans or Arabs. In one particularly notable instance in the Little Antilles, the language of the Carib conquerors survives as the speech of the men, while that of the Arawak conquered is used by women and young children.[2]

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[1] For an exhaustive study of this entire subject see H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle. 1921, though his underlying theory is not the one here favoured (cf. also G Ipsen, in *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, ix [1924], 34). For the Greek material see pp. 92–4, 104–11, 115–16, 118–19; for the interesting, though only superficial, parallel in the Icelandic *Alvíssmál*, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, see ib., pp. 130–5, and for Sanskrit parallels (especially *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, i, 4 [4]; X, iv, 1 [16]; vi, 4 [1]), ib. pp. 157–60.

[2] P. Rivet, in Meillet and Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, p. 642; L. Adam, *Du Parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe*, do, 1879.

[redacted]

Some New Notes on Babiism

By KHAN BAHADUR AGHA MIRZA MUHAMMAD, C.I.E.

(PLATE III)

IT has been my good fortune to secure the manuscript of a history of Persia, from the year 1212 (A.D. 1805) to 1286 (A.D. 1869), written in the *Shikasta* hand and consisting of 135 closely written foolscap pages, each page containing thirty-two lines. Most of the pages are annotated with copious notes. The author of this interesting volume is Ahmad ibn Abul Ḥasan Sharif of Shīrāz; and his style is terse and easy. It appears that he had secured the manuscript of a history ending at the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh and decided to complete that volume and bring it up to his own time. As to the identity of the author, I was informed by a friend, who was himself an inhabitant of Shīrāz, that the author was Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān Vaqāyi' Nigār. On referring to the *Fārs Nāma* of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Tabīb of Shīrāz, I find, however, that the Vaqāyi' Nigār was the second son of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Asad Allāh He is not, therefore, the writer of the manuscript in my possession, who seems to have closely studied the conditions existing in Persia at the time he wrote, and expresses frank opinions about the evils which attracted his notice. His criticisms, though moderate in tone, must have been too bold for those times. With regard to this book, he states :—

"In those times, I formed a resolution, despite my want of knowledge and information, and because of the mere fact that I can distinguish between black and white, to compose a history, to obtain matter as far as possible from different histories, and to correct and reduce to writing such important subjects as involve less controversy, from the time of His Holiness the Prophet's Flight to the present, in a manner which may give rise to no objection. It was my intention to record the chronicles of the Monarchs of Islām and of the Kingdom of Persia in the text, and to annotate the margins with the annals of foreign Powers and miscellaneous matters.

I took some pains and bore some trouble, searching different histories wherever possible, and selecting pieces from any source—which I composed and drafted. In the meanwhile, I learnt that Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī Mustawfī of Kāshān, whose *nom de plume* is Sipihr, had written and was writing a history on those lines and perhaps more complete and exhaustive, for, while this humble one intended to write from the time of the Flight, he has commenced from the Creation, and is writing of both ancient and modern monarchs, I said to myself: 'When a man so eloquent, erudite, learned and versatile, undertakes such a matter—and that too with the assistance of the Government and the patronage of the Shāh—it will be useless for me to take this trouble. First, it is not in this humble one's power to compete with him, in so far as composition and rhetoric are concerned, in a single line or word; and even if the annals recorded (by both of us) happen to be identical and agreeable, it is obvious that in view of the fame and credit obtained by his marvellous words and fine articles, no one will pay any attention to this humble one's nonsense and absurd trifles.' Therefore, I abandoned that intention, and threw my drafts into a corner. A long time passed, until recently, when a text containing the historical part of the book *Riyāḍ-ul-Janna* (An Orchard of Paradise), whose author is as yet unknown to me, fell into my hands; and, owing to its conciseness, I became desirous of copying it. When this was done, I felt a desire to add the remaining events of the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh up to this our time, in the same concise form. So I referred to my old drafts, and, in order to further verify facts, I referred also to the histories written by our contemporaries on the lives of the Qājār dynasty. I saw that the facts were as I have stated elsewhere, viz. though they are all contemporaries, they have invariably studied their own selfish ends, flattering their friends and defaming their enemies. So greatly have they extolled their contemporaries and excused their errors that the result might be more correctly styled a panegyric of the

Qājārs and a eulogy of their commanders than a history. For instance, we have been eyewitnesses of certain events, or have heard them from reliable sources; but on referring to the history we have found that it in no wise portrays the true facts. We have also seen that a historian has sent a part of his history to a Commander or a Governor whose non-existent virtues he has inserted therein, saying 'I wish to publish this detail about you in my book.' That personage, also, in order to perpetuate his good name, has sent a sum of money to him as a bribe, and expressed his gratitude, with the result that the book contains a deliberate falsehood. Despite this circumstance, I determined to narrate the events of the reigns of Fath 'Ali Shāh, Muhammad Shāh, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Shāh, and part of the history of Āqā Muḥammad Khān as correctly as I could from personal inquiry, and by avoiding such faults as those alluded to above, to provide readers with a true account of these matters. Although it is unlikely that I shall escape popular censure on this account, yet the pains which I had taken to prepare drafts, and an overwhelming desire to write the book forced me to disregard the view that I should be wasting my valuable hours on a very thankless task. I hearkened therefore to my mind's desire, but endeavoured to be as brief as possible, and did.

"It is necessary for me to state, before proceeding further, that what this humble one writes in this short manual falls under one of two categories. First, there are matters of which neither have I been an eyewitness, nor have I heard from reliable sources; but which I merely record on the strength of histories written by my contemporaries. In such matters I have summarized such matters as are agreed upon by all; and I cannot be held responsible for their truth or falsehood. I am here only an interpreter or copyist; all that I have done is to record the version which appears to me most reliable. The other category consists of facts which I have heard from trustworthy and impartial reporters or from eyewitnesses; and in some instances I myself witnessed the events described.

In these cases, I have paid no attention whatever to the accounts of historians, but have recorded the actual facts, which justifies readers in considering my narrative correct. For, as already stated, I have shown no partiality towards anyone; and, by the grace of God, I have no private interests to serve. Further, I have no intention, at present, of publishing this text in this country, and therefore of earning popular approval Such being the case, my history will, please God, be free from the blemish of lies."

This extract from the preface will, I hope, indicate the lines on which the author based his work. As his book contains important information about Babiism, I have deemed it desirable to publish such excerpts as relate to that movement.

Dealing with the year 1261 (A.D. 1845) the author states:—

"And also in this year, the episode of Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Bāb, which had begun in the previous year, occurred: and seeing that it was an important episode, and that it was in progress in Persia for a long time and still continues, we shall have to state its different sequels in their proper places. Here, I may venture to record his advent and his antecedents up to the time he proceeded to Iṣfahān. If my remarks happen to differ from those of all (other) historians, I trust that readers will not ascribe this to error on my part; for, as will be noticed from the trend of my statement, I am better informed on this subject than others."

As to his origin his forefathers belonged to the Sayyids of Herāt. They entered into matrimonial relations with the Sayyids of Shīrāz, who were traders. On arrival at the latter centre, Mīrzā Muḥammad Riḍā, his father, carried on a clothier's business, and married the sister of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Hasan 'Alī and Ḥājjī Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad and Ḥājjī Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī, all of them trustworthy merchants and reputed to be noble Sayyids. My relatives and dependents and I myself maintained and still maintain intimate relations with that family; and I have gathered, as a result of inquiries, that he was very quiet, modest and shy during his childhood, and that he

showed signs of piety on reaching the age of maturity and acquired great respect among his family and relatives. He used to attend his father's cloth-store, after his studies in the morning. On his father's death, his maternal uncles undertook his education, especially Ḥājjī Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī, who was reputed to be the most genial of the brothers. When he attained maturity, he was inclined to study Mathematics; and having moved to Abū Shahr (Bushire) as a trader with the object of earning a livelihood, he employed his leisure in studying Mathematics and mastering the science of the planets, particularly the sun. He also visited the Holy Places (Karbalā and Najaf) once or twice, and heard traditions expounded by Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī, the successor of the late Shaikh Aḥmad Ahsáī (of al-Hasá). He studied elementary subjects with some members of this cult and became, in fact, an adherent to the Shaikhī cause. On his occasional visits to Shīrāz he still retained his popularity by reason of his piety and honesty. No one suspected in him any ulterior or evil motive. On the death of Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim, some members of the sect alleged that the Sayyid had said —"The True One will appear after me." Some averred, however, that he used these words :—"Surely a leader will appear after me?" A crowd of the sectaries came from the Holy Places to Shīrāz, intending to proceed to Kirmān for the purpose of meeting Ḥājjī Muḥammad Karīm Khān. Amongst them was Mullā Ḥusain Bushrawayh, a man of parts and intelligence, who may be said to have been responsible for all the evils. As Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad was included in the Shaikh's sect, he met Mullā Ḥusain on the latter's arrival at Shīrāz; but what happened between them is a mystery. I record on the margin, however,[1]

[1] I met, in Khurāsān, one of the sect who had accompanied Mullā Ḥusain to Shīrāz from the Holy Places, had been with him as far as the Shaikh-i-Ṭabarsi fort, where they found themselves in distress, and who had come out to enlist assistance on behalf of Mullā Husain, while the latter's affair was disposed of in his absence. I had seen him at Shīrāz and knew him. I evinced friendliness towards him and, having assured him that I would not disclose

one of the events which I heard from one of them. What is obvious, however, is that after his arrival at Shīrāz and his meeting with Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad, Mullā Ḥusain resolved to stay, and commenced preaching in the Īl-Khānī mosque, commenting upon the words fallen from the late Shaikh Ahmad, and describing the virtues of the Family of the Prophet. Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad used to attend the assemblage, and each of them evinced the utmost respect for the other. On leaving the public gathering, they used to retire to a small mosque near Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad's house, and there

his belief, I asked him the reason for Mullā Husain's and his own adherence and loyalty to the Bāb. He observed, and he is responsible (for the statement): "Mullā Husain enjoyed the full confidence of the late Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī; and the latter had told him several times 'After my death, the True One will appear, and thou wilt surely enter his service and answer his call' We were a large body who accompanied Mullā Ḥusain everywhere, and it was our belief that, after the death of Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim, the leadership of the Shaikhī sect would vest in Mullā Ḥusain, because we did not know anyone in the tribe more pious than he. He was a hermit and ascetic in the mosque of Kūfa at the time of Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim's demise Two days later, one of the adherents arrived there and handed a letter to Mullā Ḥusain from the Sayyid We felt certain that the Sayyid had constituted him his successor and leader of the sect On reading it, Mullā Ḥusain decided to leave, despite the fact that the purpose for which he had stayed there had not been completed. We asked him the reason for his departure, and he said: 'I am ordered to undertake a journey and to go to the service of a great personage' We said: 'We presumed that this is your turn to be the leader' He burst into tears, saying: 'How far from me! Where am I, and where are these positions?' He, thereupon, prepared to go to Shīrāz, and used to tell me, en route. 'It has not been determined where I am to go; but I believe that I may go to Kirmān and see Ḥājjī Muḥammad Karīm Khān, as it may be that the Sayyid meant that I should enter the service of the Imām through him.' In this belief we came to Shīrāz; and on the day of our arrival we met a negro at Dukkān-i-Rīva, which is ½ *farsakh* from Shīrāz, who inquired which of us was named Mullā Ḥusain. We pointed him out, and the negro approached Mullā Ḥusain and stopped him, whispering certain words into his ears while he remained on his horse. We saw Mullā Ḥusain dismount, his attitude greatly changed. He made the negro walk ahead of him, he following in his wake. We asked what we should do; and the negro told us to go to the Gumruk (Customs) caravanserai. We followed, and on reaching the caravanserai, the same negro guided us to a room. We went in, and there saw Mullā Ḥusain sitting most reverently opposite a Sayyid. They were engaged in a discussion. A little later both got up and went to the Sayyid's house, giving us another residence. We could see that there was some difference between the Sayyid and Mullā Ḥusain; but at every subsequent

they busied themselves in composing and writing correspondence. No one at the time knew what they were doing, except one or two men who enjoyed their full confidence. Having spent some time in expounding obvious truths, Mullā Ḥusain began uttering incoherent remarks and publicly declared: 'O People! Know that the manifestation of His Grace the Proof is close at hand. Know that on His Grace's appearance, all these regulations and customs, which are in vogue amongst you, will be abolished; and he will bring

meeting Mullā Husain showed more respect and loyalty (to the Sayyid) than on the previous occasion After several days we became tired, and remonstrated with Mullā Husain, saying: 'We supposed that we should obey thee after the Sayyid and thou didst bring us away on a promise that we should go to Kirmān Thou madest such haste that thou didst not complete the days of seclusion. What means this stoppage at Shīrāz? If thou goest in quest of the True One, haste should be made.' Said he: 'I am stranded here. I was not ordered to Kirmān but to Fārs, and since I did not anticipate seeing anyone in Fārs, I presumed that my destination was Kirmān. But since the negro came and mentioned my name and gave me this Sayyid's message, and after the meetings of the last few days, I am inclined to think that this is the man whom the Sayyid (Kāẓim) mentioned to me in his prediction about the appearance of the True One. However, I have not satisfied my mind completely We must hold several other conversations, and I must obtain full discernment, for the matter of religion is a difficult one' They conversed with one another on several other occasions, and at length Mullā Ḥusain was won over and entrapped. He yielded to proofs which convinced us, and he assured us that this was in truth the very man whose appearance was promised. We also witnessed some of his miracles, and followed him" My own humble belief, however, is that even if this statement be true, and even if they did see anything, it must have been of the nature of the wonders which ascetics perform as a result of self-denial. For instance, a member of this sect, who bore relation to the Bāb and had followed him at first but seceded from him later, used to say. "Often certain views and predictions used to emanate from him, the actual fulfilment of which we witnessed later. He used to talk about places which we knew he had not visited in his lifetime, and of persons whom he had never met Those who had seen and visited (such places) confirmed his statements. But he sometimes made statements which were not fulfilled. For example, before his voyage to Mecca, he conferred upon me the governorship of Ādharbāyjān. When I asked him, on his return, to fulfil the promise he said: 'A hitch has occurred in that respect, but in lieu of this, such-and-such a sum will be received by thee from such-and-such a quarter within six months.' This also failed to happen. He frequently prophesied to us all that he would conquer all the Eastern and Western countries; but he was killed in that manner at Tabriz. This caused my disbelief in him." (No wonder that this man left the Bab!—M. M.)

a new Book and Tradition.' He used to give proofs and evidence in support of his remarks. After indulging for some time in these utterances, he went to Iṣfahān. I specially remember that I was present on the day of his departure, in response to a summons, and remonstrated with him saying: 'You have misguided and perplexed the people. You pretended that the True One has appeared and that these regulations will be abandoned. Now you are going; and neither has any True One appeared, nor has any sign of Him been seen. The people remain in doubt and astonishment' He answered: 'I was not commissioned by the Lawgiver to do more than this. He sent me to give the warning, as an act of grace to the people, and to inform them that the appearance of the True One draws near, so that when the manifestation actually happens, they may not oppose it and perish. Whatever I was not ordered to state will be make known by one named Mullā Ṣādiq, who will come two months after my departure.' When that meeting was over, I went forth in company with Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad, and asked him his opinion of Mullā Ḥusain, and how he could account for his words and to what traditions they could be compared. He said: 'Mullā Ḥusain is an honest and truthful man, and he is above making unfounded statements. Undoubtedly these words of his have a foundation.' I believed at that time that Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad was a pious devotee and ascetic; I did not realize that self-denial had affected his brain. The result of those two men's secret association and intercourse was this that they wove certain words together and considered them revelations. One of the obvious miracles they ascribed to him (the Bāb) was the composition of those words, and the other was his speed in writing, which, according to their statement, attained a rate of 1,000 verses every three hours. The subject-matter was considered by them to be a revelation, and the (mechanical work of) writing a miracle. In fact, he lived in an atmosphere of revelation; for while a single

revelation used to be made occasionally to His Grace the Seal of the Prophets, revelations were vouchsafed to him for three continuous hours every day. At first he styled himself the Gate of the Imām (*Bāb-i Imām*) and invited the people to regard him as such. Had he stopped there, the *'Ulamā* (learned men) might have explained his assumption (in some manner) and have kept quiet, but when his cause prospered, his followers considered him His Grace God's Proof, while some of them went so far as to ascribe to him the statement that those who first believed in him were Muhammad and 'Alī (the Prophet and his son-in-law).

When Mullā Ḥusain went to Iṣfahān, it was rumoured in the Persian provinces that His Grace the Proof would appear that year. Most students sold their books, purchased arms and hastened to 'Irāq-i-'Arab, so as to be present when the manifestation took place Mullā Ḥusain won over a large number of people to Iṣfahān and the situation became critical. Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad went to Mecca, promising his followers that he would proclaim his cause there; but he did not consider it advisable after all to do so, except to a few persons in secret, and postponed his declaration On the other hand, Mullā Ḥusain commenced his propaganda in Iṣfahān and 'Irāq-i-'Ajam and sent Mullā Ṣādiq to Shīrāz as he promised. Mullā Ṣādiq took to preaching and leading the prayers at the mosque of Āqā Qāsim, and when a crowd gathered around him, he openly added the formula 'I testify that 'Alī Muḥammad is the Gate of God', to the *adhān* (the call to prayer) after the testification to the succession (of 'Alī to the Prophet). I had the honour to visit God's House (Mecca) at that time, and when I reached Bushire on my return, I asked after the Bāb from his maternal uncle, Ḥājjī Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī, saying 'in what condition is Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad'. I saw that he considered it impolite on my part to mention his (Bāb's) name and that he was disgusted. He blamed me for mentioning his name and ordered me to be respectful; whereupon I inquired,

jokingly, whether he (the Bāb) had attained to the position of a Saint or Prophet. He said: 'He is more exalted than thou wottest of.' I asked whether I could meet him. He said: 'You can if he permits, otherwise no.' As I was on my travels, I proceeded to Shīrāz, paying scanty attention to the matter. Ḥusain Khān, Niẓām-ud-Dawla, had not arrived (at Shīrāz) from Tihrān, and the local 'Ulamā kept quiet in regard to Mullā Ṣādiq, owing to his absence. On his arrival, the 'Ulamā mentioned the situation to him and moved him to repress that sect. He summoned Mullā Ṣādiq, and on learning that Bāb Allāh meant Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad, he bastinadoed Mullā Ṣādiq and two of his companions, passed strings through their noses, disgraced them in several other ways and imprisoned them. He sent for the relatives of the Bāb, and inquired of his propensities from them. They disowned the statements and actions (which were attributed to him), stating that he suffered from a disorder of the brain. He imprisoned them likewise, sent an official to Bū Shahr (Bushire) and brought the Bāb to Shīrāz. At first he met him personally, and spoke mildly with him. Then after hearing some of his remarks, he summoned the local 'Ulamā to attend another meeting and to hold a discussion with him. Various matters were touched upon on that occasion; and the Bāb repeated some of his previous statements. It was not the intention of the Niẓām-ud-Dawla to harm him, and therefore he dissolved the meeting and sent the Bāb to his house, with the words: 'Sit thou in thine house, and do not indulge in foolishness. Otherwise thou shalt be slain.'

When the Bāb came home, the people of various places and the 'Ulamā of the provinces sent messengers or letters (against him). Some of the ignorant amongst his followers observed no caution, but babbled at meetings and applauded him, predicting that he would proclaim himself and obtain mastery over East and West. The 'Ulamā were again in revolt, and rose against the Niẓām-ud-Dawla. The latter

convened another meeting, at which he (the Bāb) held several conversations with the 'Ulamā. But, briefly, he neither denied (his mission) nor claimed religious supremacy. The 'Ulamā differed in their opinion of him. Some denounced him as a heretic, deserving of death, while others considered him insane and recommended that he be imprisoned and tortured. Owing to this divergence of opinion, the Niẓām-ud-Dawla handed him over to the Mayor of the city, and released his relatives, after fining and torturing them. During the period of his imprisonment at the house of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān, the Mayor, people from all parts used to visit him. When the Niẓām-ud-Dawla inquired about him from 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān, the latter reported that he (the Bāb), fasted throughout the day and spent the night in devotion; that his meal consisted of a little food, containing no meat or cooked victuals. In view of his being a Sayyid and of this circumstance, the Nizām-ud-Dawla was in doubt what to do with him. One day 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān, the Mayor, came to the house of my maternal grandfather, and described some of the Bāb's afflictions, saying: 'Do something to get this man out of my jail, because the Nizām-ud-Dawla is fickle, and I fear lest he may suddenly issue orders to put him (the Bāb) to death, and I may thus be implicated in shedding his blood. In view of these circumstances I am much afraid.' My maternal grandfather thereupon proceeded to find a remedy by reason of his friendship with his (the Bāb's) family and of the remarks made by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān. Several others also assisted him and enlisted the help of Shaikh Abū Turāb, the *Imām-i-Jum'a*. The latter said that this release depended on his disavowing and repenting of those statements (which he had made). The Niẓām-ud-Dawla likewise, agreed to this proposal. Therefore, on a Friday 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān brought the Bāb to the Vakīl mosque; and the *Imām-i-Jum'a*, after the sermon, gave a lengthy discourse on evils wrought by human devils and thus referred to the Sayyid (the Bāb): 'A dear Sayyid has been enticed

by a number of human (faced) devils and made to utter certain meaningless words. He is now present (here) and will disown those allegations and claims.' The Sayyid (Bab) ascended the pulpit, stood up and said: 'What has been attributed to me is a false accusation. Even if anything of the kind has emanated from me, I now repent and ask for (God's) pardon.' He admitted having erred, kissed the *Imām-i-Jum'a's* hand and descended from the pulpit. He then went to 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān's house. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān reported the proceedings to the Niẓām-ud-Dawla, and orders were issued for his release, on condition that he should not leave Shīrāz and should not cause mischief or talk wildly.

Meanwhile a serious cholera epidemic attacked Shīrāz; the people were feared for their lives, and no one paid any attention to him. On learning these facts, Mīnūchihr Khān, Mu'tamad-ud-Dawla, governor of Iṣfahān, became desirous of meeting the Bāb for certain reasons. During the epidemic his messengers and letters reached the Bāb, whom he invited to Iṣfahān. The Bāb went thither secretly, and spent his time in seclusion in the house of Mu'tamad-ud-Dawla. The rest of his story and the affairs of his disciples will be recounted in their proper places.

Regarding the tenets of his followers, they have, so far as I can gather, become divided into several sections. One section is in exactly the same condition as the heretics (*Malāḥida*, or assassins) and pays no attention whatever to devotions and (religious) duties. They state that after the manifestation of this Perfect One, all religions and faiths are abrogated and all duties are abolished. that what is to-day obligatory on believers is to love this Perfect One, who is the noblest of all creatures; and further that in the eyes of his law, no deed can be considered a sin. Some of this sect transgress rational thought still further by asserting that he is the Manifestation of the Creator and not of the Creature. They add that as he has established certain duties and provided

a Book for those who worship emblems or who are otherwise defective, it is only right to fulfil his commands. Another section, which observes his behests and orders (is also divided) into two parties, one of which repeats meaningless phrases and declares on the flimsiest grounds that this is the very 'Proof of God', who was promised in the *Imāmiyya* religion. He has appeared and brought a new book and new traditions, which supersede the *Qur'ān* and the doctrines of other faiths. A third section is more cautious. 'This is not He,' they say; 'He will surely appear in person in the manner described in the Prophet's traditions This one was merely an emanation of His Being, made manifest in due season.'

Dealing with the happenings of the year 1262 (A.D. 1846) he writes: "And it was during this year that Mīnūchihr Khān, Mu'tamad-ud-Dawla, Governor of Isfahān, departed this life. He had taken the Bāb from Shīrāz, hidden him in his house and kept him there presumably for some purpose of his own. From time to time he used to bring the 'Ulamā to hold discussions with him; in which he himself supported the Bāb. This fact was revealed on his death. His nephews detained the Bāb, communicated the circumstance to the Government and on receipt of orders sent him to Ādharbāyjān from Iṣfahān. There he was imprisoned in the Chihriq fort. In place of Mīnūchihr Khān, his nephew, Mīrzā Gūrgīn Khān, was appointed for several days. He could not manage (the government) and Mīrzā Mūsā Khān, Amīr-i-Dīwān, was made Governor of Iṣfahān."

In narrating the episodes of the year 1263 (A.D. 1847) he states: "The Valī 'Ahd summoned the Bāb from Chihriq and held a meeting (between him and) the 'Ulamā of Tabrīz. Discussion took place between them; and the 'Ulamā took exception to his statements and beliefs. As was the case in Shīrāz, some of them considered him insane, while others excommunicated him. He was sent back to imprisonment at Chihriq."

He then proceeds: "In the year 1265, Mullā Ḥusain

Bushrawayh, whose history has already been narrated, openly carried on propaganda for the Bāb and won over a large number of people. They meditated mischief and sedition. Hearing of this fact, the Ḥishmat-ed-Dawla had the Bāb arrested and brought to the Camp where he was imprisoned. Having been set free on the death of the late Shāh (Muḥammad Shāh), he was responsible for the trouble in Māzandarān."

The following remarks refer to the year 1266 (A.D. 1849–50): "One of the chief incidents of this year was the martyrdom of Ḥājjī Mullā Muḥammad Mujtahid Baraqánī of Qazwīn, called *Shahīd* or the third martyr. The tale of the murder is briefly as follows: A woman named Zarrīna Tāj, daughter of the late Ḥājjī Mullā Ṣāliḥ, brother of Ḥājjī Mullā Taqī, was married to Mullā Muḥammad, son of Ḥājjī Mullā Taqī. She was well-read and very beautiful. Having heard certain words of the Bāb, she embraced his doctrine, and wrote a letter to him from Qazwīn, asking certain questions. In the reply she was addressed as Qurrat-ul-'Ain (the light of the eye), and this became her nickname among the Bābī sect. There is, however, a tradition that, while in the Holy Places, she studied with Ḥājjī Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī and was by him named Qurrat-ul-'Ain. On this account she was so called by the Bāb and his disciples. Yet another story concerning her acceptance of the Bābī faith has been recorded by me in the *Ḥadīqat-ush-Shu'arā* (orchard of the poets) in the article on her life. Whatever be the truth, she commenced propaganda on behalf of the Bāb; whereupon Ḥājjī Mullā Muḥammad Taqī took steps to repress and expel some of her companions who had accepted the Bābī doctrine. Realizing that she could do nothing as long as her father-in-law was alive and was obeyed, she determined to kill him. He was martyred one morning by several assailants, while on his way to the mosque. Then finding that the people were furious and ready to retaliate, she publicly disavowed the crime, absconded from Qazwīn and joined the Bābī sect. As a number of Bābīs had been arrested, however, she bade

the real culprits confess their guilt in order to secure the release of their co-religionists. The fools did her bidding and were duly executed, while the others were released.

Another occurrence of this year was the departure of Mullā Ḥusain Bushrawayh from the Holy Land (Khurāsān). When disturbances broke out in Khurāsān, he escaped from Ḥishmat-ud-Dawla's jail and fled to Mashhad. As the 'Ulamā of that place repressed him, he departed to Sabzawār, where a few men joined his cause. Thence he journeyed to Miyāmai, where some of the inhabitants accepted and others rejected his summons. A fight ensued, in which several men were killed. Thence he came to the village of Ḥusainābād Shāhrūd, where he was joined by Mullā 'Alī Ḥusainābādī. The Qurrat-ul-'Ain also joined them from Qazwīn. They were also accompanied by Ḥājjī Muhammad 'Alī of Bārfurūsh, who had accepted the Bāb's faith during the journey to Mecca. At the risk of the latter and Qurrat-ul-'Ain they all set out for Māzandarān, Ḥājjī Muḥammad 'Alī and Qurrat-ul-'Ain being in advance of the rest of the party. While they were *en route*, the inhabitants of Hazār Jarīb rose against them. Ḥājjī Muḥammad 'Alī fled to Bārfurūsh, while Qurrat-ul-'Ain stayed in the neighbourhood. Mullā Husain also came after them to Māzandarān, accompanied by about three hundred men. The 'Ulamā of Māzandarān communicated these facts to the capital (Tihrān), but the matter was considered trivial (and no action was taken). After a visit to Sawād Kūh they returned to Bārfurūsh, whither 'Abbās Qulī Khān of Larijān sent three hundred riflemen to suppress them. They barricaded themselves in the Sar-i-Maidān caravanserai and prepared to fight. Thereupon 'Abbās Qulī Khān himself came to Bārfurūsh and made peace with them on condition that they (the Bābīs) should leave Māzandarān. Quitting the caravanserai, they were proceeding towards 'Aliābād, when Khusrav Beg 'Aliābādī, who coveted their belongings, intercepted them. In the struggle which ensued, Khusrav Beg was killed; and Mullā Ḥusain, abandoning the idea of

leaving Ādharbāyjān, hastened to the Tomb of Shaikh Tabarsī and quickly built a formidable fort, in which he collected abundant supplies and made himself secure. That done, he busied himself in carrying on the Bāb's propaganda and collecting disciples and followers "

He then proceeds: "During this year also Mīrzā Ahmad, Mujtahid of Tabrīz, issued a decree excommunicating the disciples and followers of Shaikh Aḥmad Lahsāī (of El-Hasa). As there were many Shaikhīs at Tabrīz, a fight ensued; but Prince Malik Qāsim Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, who had been posted there as governor by Nāsir-ud-Dīn Shāh, prior to his departure from Tabrīz, contrived to check the mischief and settle the matter amicably." After narrating certain matters which do not concern the Bābīs, he states: "To continue the experiences of Mullā Ḥusain Bushrawayh. After he built the fort at Ṭabarsī, orders were issued by the Government authorities to the notables of Māzandarān to demolish the fort and to annihilate its inmates. Āqā 'Abdullāh of Hazār Jarīb commenced by bringing up a force, digging trenches before the fort, and placing guards upon it. That done, he went to the village of Aqrā, intending to return and commence hostilities on the morrow. But that night Mullā Ḥusain attacked the besiegers, whereupon Āqā 'Abdullāh, who was only a short distance away and quickly heard the news, returned to help his men. In the course of the fighting Āqā 'Abdullāh was killed with a large number of men; while the rest fled, pursued by Mullā Ḥusain, who entered Aqrā, slew its inhabitants of both sexes, and then set fire to the village which was entirely destroyed. He then returned to the fort. All the inhabitants of Māzandarān were terrified at this occurrence, and thought more of protecting themselves than of suppressing the Bābīs. When this report reached the authorities, they sent Prince Mahdī Qulī Mīrzā, who had been appointed Governor-General of Māzandarān and was resident in Ṭihrān, to deal with the matter. Accompanying him were several leaders and notables

of Māzandarān. Proceeding via Sawād Kūh, he arrived at the village of Daskas, 'Alīābād, where through imprudence or ill-fate, he omitted to post any guards. Unfortunately, snow was falling heavily, and all his companions were hiding indoors. Mullā Ḥusain, who had spies and reporters everywhere, became aware of the prince's carelessness, and with three hundred of his devotees entered the village and killed everyone he met. Prince Mahdī Qulī Mīrzā, realizing the danger only when he found himself adrift in the sea of perdition, chose the path of safety, leaped from the roof of his house, and fled to the jungle The darkness and the denseness of the jungle ensured his escape. Great numbers of men were killed during the night, and Mullā Ḥusain returned to his quarters after committing murder, plunder, and arson in the fort.

Mahdī Qulī Mīrzā, who reached Sārī after great difficulty and hardship, began collecting tribesmen and mobilizing an army, and meanwhile ordered 'Abbās Qulī Khān of Larijān, with a considerable force, to suppress them. The Bābīs, who were mostly inhabitants of Māzandarān and afraid of 'Abbās Qulī Khān, resorted to guile and asked for quarter on the promise of quitting Māzandarān. 'Abbās Qulī Khān was so far deceived by their words that he neglected all precautions. On the night of the 10th Rabī'-el-Awwal (25th January, 1850) Mullā Ḥusain came forth with four hundred of his followers to launch a surprise attack. While he and a few of his companions stood apart and directed the operations, the Bābīs threw themselves upon the enemy. What an attack it was, defying description! The Māzandarān army fled, with the exception of Mīrzā Karīm Khān Ashrafī and Āqā Muḥammad Ḥasan Larijānī, who stood firm in their small trenches. Seeing that the enemy had fled, Mullā Ḥusain entered the battle-field, which was lit up by the glow of the camp fires. Mullā Ḥusain was wearing a green turban, as he considered himself His Holiness the Fifth of the people of the Cloak (*'abā*, i.e. Imām Ḥusain) and supposed, on the

strength of religious tradition that this was the appointed time for the return of the People of the Family (members of the Prophet's family). Mīrzā Karīm Khān, recognizing his features, fired a rifle at him, and hit him in the chest. Āqā Muḥammad Ḥusain wounded him in the stomach with another shot. Despite these two mortal wounds, he kept his seat in the saddle, and turned towards the fort, followed by his companions.[1] The dawn appeared at this moment, and Mīrzā Karīm Khān raised the call to prayer. 'Abbās Qulī Khān and some of the runaways, who happened to be near the battle-field, returned and dispatched a few Bābīs, who had failed to overtake Mullā Ḥusain, and having done this returned to their homes. On his arrival at the fort, Mullā Ḥusain, seeing that his wounds were mortal, chose Ḥājjī Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī as his successor, calling him the "manifestation of His Holiness the King of Succession" ('Alī, the Imām). He died shortly afterwards, and was buried by his men, together with his sword and arms, as is usual in the case of martyrs, in the foundation of the rampart wall Ḥājjī Muhammad 'Alī was accepted as leader Meanwhile Mahdī Qulī Mīrzā and 'Abbās Qulī Khān joined hands and laid siege to Shaikh Ṭabarsī fort, digging a zigzag tunnel towards it. The Bābīs thereupon made a sally and fought an engagement in which they killed Ṭahmāsb Qulī Khān, Ja'far Qulī Khān Māzandarānī and a number of others. Hostilities were so prolonged that the Government sent messages of remonstrance to the commanders, to which the latter replied by fervid promises and actually launched a sudden and unsuccessful attack. But at length food supplies in the fort gave out, while no sign appeared of the fulfilment of the promise given to the people by their leaders, viz. that

[1] 'Abbās Effendi, 'Abdul Bahā, in his book *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the episode of the Bab* (translated by Professor E G. Browne), states · "Abbas Quli Khan recognized him from the top of a tree afar off, and with his own hand discharged several bullets At the third shot he threw him from his feet He was borne by his followers to the fort and there they buried him."

one-quarter (of the inhabited globe) would shortly fall into their hands. Their belief was shaken. One of them named Āqā Rasūl asked for quarter and left the fort with thirty of his followers. A soldier killed Āqā Rasūl; and when some of his followers were also slain, the rest returned to the fort, where the people put them to death as apostates. At length, however, being faced by famine and forced to eat carcases—which were very scarce—they begged for quarter, which was granted. Ḥājjī Muḥammad 'Alī and two hundred and fourteen survivors then trooped forth. The former and some of the other leaders were put in irons; the rest were put to the sword, the fort was razed to the ground; and the army then returned to Bārfurūsh. At Bārfurūsh Ḥājjī Muhammad 'Alī and the others were also put to death.

Events Connected with the Sedition of Zanjān and the Bābīs of that Place

After the Bābī conflagration in Māzandarān had been extinguished, another outbreak occurred in the direction of Zanjān. The circumstances are these: Mullā Muhammad 'Alī, who was one of the learned men of Zanjān, perhaps their leader, acted in accordance with the precepts of the Doctors of the Traditionists (*Akhbārī*) and had acquired much influence. The *Uṣūlī* jurists denounced him as a preacher of error and schism, and sent complaints against him to the capital He went to Ṭihrān at the order of the late Muḥammad Shāh and stayed in the house of Maḥmūd Khān, the mayor. There he accepted the Bābī faith, as a result of correspondence and meetings with the Bābī propagandists, and was enrolled in that sect. During the rising in Māzandarān, he escaped *incognito* from Ṭihrān, and reached Zanjān, where he busied himself in carrying on the Bābī propaganda. Knowing that he was considered an authority and that he was possessed of great learning, the people in those parts placed much reliance upon him and regarded his words as revelations. They presumed that the Bāb was God's Viceregent, and that he

was "the successor", and therefore showed him obedience and fidelity, and within a short time he considerably enlarged the circle of his adherents. The Governor of Zanjān, finding the situation difficult, reported the facts to the capital, which ordered that he should be sent to Ṭihrān. This was beyond the power of Amir Aṣlán Khan (the governor). In the meantime, one of his followers was imprisoned for a crime. He interceded for him, but without avail, whereupon he used this incident as a handle for sedition, and collected his adherents together, numbering about two-thirds of the inhabitants of Zanjān. Amīr Aṣlān Khān prepared himself to fight; while a man named Ḥājjī Kāzim manufactured two iron guns and several small cannon for Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī. Forty men were killed on both sides on the first day of battle. On the second day the Bābīs fortified themselves in the fort situated in the middle of the town, known as 'Alī Mardān fort. At this juncture the Ṣadr-ud-Dawla, grandson of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Ṣadr, of Iṣfahān, who was the commander of the *Khamsa* cavalry, arrived at Zanjān from Sulṭāniyya. Government troops also marched there from different directions. The battle was waged from day to day with varying success on either side and with the loss of large numbers of men. Reinforcements of Government troops failed to secure a victory. In the meantime, orders were received from Ṭihrān, dismissing the Ṣadr-ud-Dawla and Sayyid 'Alī Khān from their posts for being laggard in attack. This served as a warning to others. Farrukh Khān, who had been appointed in place of Sayyid 'Alī Khān, burned to perform conspicuous service and boldly entered the Bābīs' trenches, where he and his companions were cut to pieces. When this was reported at Ṭihrān, further reinforcements were dispatched, and with their assistance the Government troops obtained an advantage and were enabled to surround the Bābīs' fort *en masse*. It was the Karrus and Tabrīz regiments which actually reduced the 'Alī Mardān fort. The Bābīs sought shelter in a caravanserai near the fort,

which they barricaded. Several men were killed that day; and of the Bābīs twenty were taken prisoners, and many became fugitives. The position of the Bābīs became more and more critical, and a few trivial sorties which they made failed of effect. Most of their leaders were killed; and Mullā Muhammad 'Alī was wounded in the arm by a bullet, while his house was destroyed by cannon-ball and shells. He succumbed to his injuries, and was buried, with his arms, at the foot of a wall. On his death, the rest begged for quarter, which was granted; but one hundred of them, who were of some importance, were riddled with lance-wounds on the following day. The rest departed. On receipt of this report at the capital, the chiefs of the army were granted promotion, and the family of Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī with his minor son, who survived him, was taken to Ṭihrān and there ordered to stay at Shīrāz. His three daughters were married at Shīrāz, and his son, who has now attained his majority, is employed by the Mushīr-ul-Mulk, the Pīshkār (Chief Adviser) of Fārs."

Narrative of the Execution of the Bāb

"Seeing that a commotion was taking place daily in every quarter and that Government and the army were constantly faced with disturbances, Mīrzā Taqī Khān decided that the interests of the country required the annihilation of the Bāb. He therefore appointed Sulaimān Khān Afshār (for the purpose); who proceeded to Tabrīz. The Ḥishmat-ud-Dawla having summoned the Bāb from the fort at Chihriq, desired the 'Ulamā to hold a debate with him. The 'Ulamā said: 'We have heard about his behaviour and have issued orders that he be put to death. What benefit can be derived from hearing his useless words?' He was accordingly produced before Ḥamza Mīrzā. The latter and others who were present conversed with him *for a while;* and in the morning they ordered him *to be* taken round *the town* in company with one Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī, who was

one of his most respected and loyal followers. They were also taken to the houses of certain 'Ulamā, who issued further decrees for his execution Both of them were brought to the Square in Tabrīz, whither the Bahādur regiment, composed of men who had formerly been Christians, was summoned and ordered to shoot them. Mullā Muhammad 'Alī was riddled with bullets at the first volley, and a shot hit the rope which bound the Bāb's hands The rope snapped, the Bāb fell forward and ran away. He was arrested again and shot."

"In this year the governor-generalship of Yazd was conferred upon Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, Sardār Erivānī; but, as he was loth to leave the capital, he sent Āqā Khān, one of his relatives, to Yazd as his deputy.[1] Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, who was circumspect in his actions, had sought refuge in the house of Ḥājjī Muhammad Karīm Khān, who had come to Yazd after the rising in Kirmān. The deputy-governor executed one of the riff-raff on the day following his arrival. Muhammad 'Abdullāh thereupon rebelled, left Ḥājjī Muhammad Karīm Khān's house, and collected the rabble around him. The tumult continued for several days, until the nobles of Yazd rose against Muhammad, declaring that he wished to ruin their country and to expose them to the wrath of the Shāh. Muhammad was obliged to fly to Dihshīr, whither Āqā Khān sent a party of men in pursuit of him. Some of his companions were taken prisoners and some killed, while he himself fled secretly and went into hiding in Yazd. In the meanwhile, Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā appeared on the scene with the Bāb's propaganda, and was joined by Muḥammad and the rabble. They fought against Āqā Khān for several days, and at last Muḥammad was wounded by a bullet and was forced to hide himself again. Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā, who was no match for Āqā Khān, was defeated and fled to Fars."

[1] He seems to have been a thorn in the side of the local government at Yazd.

Reviewing the events of the year 1266 (1849–50) the author writes: "Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā was the son of the late Āqā Sayyid Ja'far, who hailed originally from Baḥrain but was born in the Dārāb village of Fārs. In his youth he went to Astahbānāt from Dārāb and there studied and married a wife, and was, therefore, sometimes called Astahbānātī. He also paid visits to Būrūjird and Yazd, in each of which places he had a wife. As he was a man of knowledge and was wont to express his own opinion on certain questions on which the 'Ulamā or Doctors differed, he was in the habit of saying: 'Such has been disclosed by me.' He was therefore known as Āqā Sayyid Ja'far Kashfī (the Discloser) He frequently remarked: 'The *Qur'ān* consists of seventy wombs according to the traditions of the Imāms; and through the graces of my holy grandfathers, I am conversant with seven wombs thereof.' The so-called 'Ulamā, who could not claim to know one of its "wombs", could not compete with him I have described his life, with some detail, in the *Akhbār-el-Yazd.* His works are now well known I have myself heard from reliable reporters that even during the childhood of Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā, who was borne by his Yazdī wife, he (Sayyid Ja'far) always remarked: 'Sayyid Yaḥyā's eyes indicate mischief. May God cause his affairs to end well.' During the last journey, when Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā resolved to go Astahbānāt from Nīrīz, his relatives there reported Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā's behaviour to him (Sayyid Ja'far), and he forbade them to communicate or converse with Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā, and also wrote to his acquaintances, urging them not to admit him to their houses. Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā had intimate relations at Yazd with the Bāb's relatives and dependents, who used to journey to Shīrāz from Yazd and some of whom resided at the latter centre. Whenever he passed through Shīrāz, he used to lodge at their houses. It so chanced that he was at Shīrāz, when the Bāb proclaimed himself; but he did not openly declare himself.

"When the Bāb proceeded to Iṣfahān, Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā

went to Ṭihrān and entered into friendly relations with the Government authorities. In addition to the fact that he was well known as the son of Āqā Sayyid Ja'far, he himself was not devoid of knowledge, erudition, conversational powers and eloquence. When the Bāb was to be taken to Ṭihrān from Iṣfahān, he moved the Government to abandon the idea of taking him to Ṭihrān, and it was arranged that he should be taken to Mākū. Subsequently, Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā, either by order of the Bāb or inspired by his own motives, came to Yazd to obtain the leadership and contemplated some mischief. He did not, however, succeed; and so moved to Fasā in the year 1266, where he commenced preaching and propaganda. The inhabitants of Fasā reported the facts to Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, who prohibited him by letter from making such statements. In reply he apologized, observing that the remarks attributed to him were false and that he had never made them. He proceeded thence with a party of his followers to Nīrīz, the governor of which, Ḥājjī Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān, had been afraid of him for some time. A quarrel occurred between him and the people at Nīrīz, and fearing that Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā might support his opponents, he decided to expel him from Nīrīz. Messages were exchanged between them at first, which occupied some time, during which Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā won the people over to his side The inhabitants of Nīrīz decided to obey him in opposition to the Governor. These poor, people knew nothing about the Bāb and his propaganda; but by degrees, owing to the tyranny exercised upon them by the troops, their fear for their lives, and the statements of Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā, some of them became Bābīs.

"Ḥājjī Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān decided at first htat he (Sayyid Yaḥyā) was the cause of mischief and strife and should not stay in a town under his governorship. Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā's position being not yet fully established, he took up his abode in a ruined fort outside Nīrīz with a party of his companions, and employed himself in strengthening the fort. Zain-ul-

'Ābidīn Khān, who was afraid of the villagers, together with his relatives and dependents, stayed outside Nīrīz and reported the facts to the Nasīr-ul-Mulk. Bahrām Mīrzā (Governor-General of Fārs) had then been dismissed and had left Shīrāz; and Fīrūz Mīrzā was appointed in his place with the title of Nusrat-ud-Dawla. But as he had not yet arrived there, the people submitted their affairs to the Nasīr-ul-Mulk Pīshkār (Chief Adviser) of the province. Thereupon the Naṣīr-ul-Mulk wrote a letter of promises and threats to him, observing. 'Such undesirable deeds do not become one like thee.' He (Sayyid Yaḥyā) replied: 'I intend to come and visit you in Shīrāz Here, however, a party of men, who are afraid of Hājjī Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān, have assembled around me and will not allow me to leave. I myself am suspicious of their movements. If you will send a party of men to save me from these people, I will come to Shīrāz and remain quiet.' Having sent back the Naṣīr-ul-Mulk's messenger, he attacked Nīrīz the same night, killing 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, elder brother of Hājjī Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān, taking his sons prisoners and putting a number of Hājjī Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's followers to death. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn fled and communicated the incident to the Naṣīr-ul-Mulk. The Sayyid, however, obtained control over Nīrīz, took possession of the properties of 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, Hājjī Zain-ul-'Abidīn Khān and the other persons who had been killed, and distributed the same amongst his disciples. This news reached the Nuṣrat-ud-Dawla while he was between Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, and he sent an order that Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, son of Shukr-Allāh Khān Nūrī and nephew of Mīrzā Āqā Khān I'timād-ud-Dawla, should proceed to Nīrīz with his cavalry, and that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān should collect all the riflemen he could from the neighbourhood and join him. Infantry, batteries, and artillery were also dispatched. When the affair reached this stage, Āqā Sayyid Yaḥyā betook himself to the fort. The officials endeavoured for some time to send messengers and to convey assurances to the Sayyid; but these

proved of no avail Āqā Sayyid Yahyā launched a sudden attack against the army one night, and although he gave them considerable trouble, the troops resisted stubbornly, and the fight lasted till morning The Sayyid then retired to the fort, having lost a party of his men He attacked on the following night but achieved no success The troops increased every day, while their antagonists grew fewer, but the latter (the Bābīs) fought manfully. Muṣtafā Qulī Khān, the Sartīp (General), again resorted to messages and communications, expressing a desire to obey the Sayyid, if he was properly informed of their (Bābīs') beliefs and if he considered them right. Some time was spent in these communications, and Āqā Sayyid Yahyā's situation became almost critical, owing to the losses sustained by his side. He was obliged therefore to agree to visit Muṣtafā Qulī Khān at the latter's residence and to exchange views with him. He dismissed the few men who remained with him and came in person to the Sartīp's residence. The Sartīp at first showed him respect, but later handed him over to the sons of 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, who killed him in revenge for the death of their father His two sons and some of his disciples were taken prisoners and brought to Shīrāz. The Nuṣrat-ud-Dawla set his sons free, in consideration of their youth and of their being Sayyids, and executed the rest."

In his chronicle of the year 1267, he writes: "And during the deputy governorships of Chirāgh 'Alī Khān at Iṣfahān, the Bābī sect convened an assembly, elected twelve amongst themselves and called them the Twelve Imāms. The general public were in an uproar, but before the mischief came to a head, Chirāgh 'Alī Khān, who had learnt (the facts), arrested them and produced them before the 'Ulamā. The latter called upon them to recant; but they refused. Therefore, orders were issued for their execution, and this was carried out in the Naqsh-i-Jahān Square of Iṣfahān."

In describing the events of the year 1268 (1852) he writes: "One of the strange events of this year was the audacious

behaviour of the Bābīs. Mullā Shaikh 'Alī, one of their propagandists, had previously come to Ṭihrān with a number of followers. He arranged with his disciples to go to the mosque on a Friday, put the Imām Jum'a to death, and then proceed to the Arg, the citadel, and take possession of it. The Amīr Mīrzā Taqī Khān, who was very well informed of all that happened in the country, naturally heard of this matter and took action. One or two of his (Mullā Shaikh 'Alī's) followers were arrested and executed. Mullā Shaikh 'Alī fled and only returned when the Amir was dismissed. He took up his abode at the house of Ḥājjī Sulaimān Khān, son of Yahyā Khān Tabrīzī, who belonged to that sect and informed his followers of his arrival. A number of them collected there, and held a conference, at which they resolved to cause injury to the Shāh. Four of them, named Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Fatḥullāh of Qum, Bāqir of Najafābād and 'Abdul Wahhāb of Shīrāz, undertook the task and came to the Nirjawaran village of Shimrān, where they awaited their opportunity. The Shāh of Persia was at that time at Nirjawaran, as was his wont, owing to the heat of Ṭihrān. On the morning of the 28th Shawwāl of that year (15th August, 1852), the Shāh rode out on a hunting expedition. By the will of God, who favoured not their plot, they left at an untimely hour. The Shāh had not gone far from the town, and the footmen preceding him had not been dismissed, when three of them appeared in the guise of complainants. One of them rushed forward; the servants in front (of the Shāh) ordered him to remain at a respectful distance; whereupon he fired a pistol at the Shāh from that spot. The shot flew wide; a tumult ensued. His companion fired another shot; while the third rushed at the Shāh, caught him by the collar, and, dragging him from his horse, inflicted a wound on him. This, however, did not prove fatal. The fourth conspirator fired another pistol. A tumult like the day of judgment arose; but God's protection preserved the Shāh. Some of the *farrāshes* (peons) who stood between them and

the Shāh were wounded in several places. The footmen in attendance then surrounded them, caught them after half-killing them, and cut them to pieces."

Pages 97–8 of this manuscript, which must have contained interesting accounts of the measures taken by Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Shāh against the Bābīs, are unfortunately missing. It is noteworthy that the author does not mention the act of treachery attributed to Mahdī Qulī Mīrzā, who is said to have killed some of the Bābīs, whom he assured of safety, while they were partaking of food supplied to them by the Prince. (*Vide* page 39 of *A Traveller's Narrative* and page 13 of the booklet, *Bahaism*, by Canon Sell.)

On the Date of the Subhasitavali

By S K DE

PETERSON, in his edition of the *Subhāṣitâvali*, wrote in 1886[1] : " Of the compiler [of the anthology] all we can say is that he cannot have flourished before Jainollābhadīna [i.e Zain ul-'Ābidīn], whose date is given by Cunningham as A.D. 1417–67." Aufrecht places Vallabhadeva, the compiler of this important Sanskrit anthology, in the sixteenth century A.D., on the ground that Vallabhadeva has laid the *Śārngadhara-paddhati* under contribution in compiling his anthology.[2] With this view Winternitz seems to agree [3]

The reference to Vallabhadeva and his *Subhāṣitâvali*, however, by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvânanda in his *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* on the lexicon of Amara[4] appears to conflict with the date conjectured by Peterson and Aufrecht. Commenting on the alternative forms *javā* and *japā*, Sarvânanda points out[5] that a pun based on the possibility of these two forms is to be found in a verse in the *Subhāṣitâvali* of the Kāśmīra-Vallabhadeva : *kāśmīra-vallabhadeva-racita-subhāṣitâvalyām api pakārânta-śleṣah, tathā ca*

madanam avalokya niṣphalam anityatām api [*ca*] *bandhu-jīvānāṃ* |
vanam upagamya bhramaraḥ samprati jāto japâsaktaḥ ||

This verse actually occurs anonymously as No. 726 of the *Subhāṣitâvali*,[6] and there can be hardly any doubt as to the correctness of the attribution. It is clear, therefore, that this anthology was known to Sarvânanda, and his date should

[1] Introduction, p. 114.

[2] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 555*a*. This date is not justifiable in itself, as the *Śārngadhara-paddhati* was compiled about A D. 1363

[3] *Geschichte der ind. Lit.*, iii, p. 158.

[4] Ed. Trivandrum Sansk. Ser. 1914–17.

[5] Pt. ii, kāṇḍa ii, varga 4, p. 130.

[6] The reading slightly varies. In the second *pāda* there is, before *bandhu*°, a *ca*, which is required by the metre (as restored by us). In the third *pāda*, instead of *vanam*, the reading in the anthology is *guruṃ*.

give us the lower terminus to its date. Sarvânanda himself gives us a clue as to the time when his commentary was actually composed. Commenting on the passage *daive yuga-sahasre dve brāhmah*,[1] he states: *idānīṃ caikâśiti-varṣâdhika-sahasraika-paryantena śakâbda-kālena ṣaṣṭi-varṣâdhika-dvicatvârimśacchatāni kali-sandhyāyā bhūtāni* In other words, the *Śaka*-year 1081 and the *Kali*-year 4260 had passed away at the moment he was writing.[2] This would give us A D. 1160 as the date of Sarvânanda's commentary [3]

[1] Kāla-varga, *śl* 21 (Pt i, kāṇḍa i, varga 4, pp 90–1)

[2] In the copy of Sarvânanda's commentary noticed by Seshagiri Sastri (*Report*, 1893–4, No 2, p. 26), this reference to *Kāśmīra-Vallabhadeva-racita-Subhāṣitâvali* also occurs; but relying on Peterson's date, Seshagiri Sastri places Sarvânanda between A.D. 1417 and 1431, the last date being obtained by the latter's priority to Rāyamukuṭa (p 24) But the learned Śāstrī appears to have overlooked this passage bearing on the date of the commentary. The other Vallabha cited by Sarvânanda (Pt ii, pp. 23, 350) is obviously the well-known scholiast Vallabha, who belonged to the first half of the tenth century and wrote commentaries on the standard *mahâkâvyas*, for Sarvânanda's citations contain a reference to his commentaries on *Śiśupāla°* and *Kumāra°*.

[3] No fact has yet come to light which would make us doubt or dispute the authenticity of this date given by Sarvânanda himself He appears to quote no author who is known to be of a later date than the middle of the twelfth century This date may be corroborated by another fact. Sarvânanda calls himself *vandyaghaṭīyârtihara-putra* The word *vandyaghaṭi* is well known in Bengal as connected with the name of the village from which Vandya or Vandyaghaṭīya Brahmans take their name. We need not take the explanation of Mm Haraprasād Śāstrī (appended in a note to Seshagiri's *Report* cited above) that it denotes a person who has married a girl of superior status, for it is probably here a proper name, Sarvânanda describing himself as the son of one Ārtihara. The name actually occurs in the form of Atihara or Ātihara in the genealogical table of Vandyaghaṭi Brahmans given in Hari Miśra's *Kārikā* (quoted in Nagendranāth Vasu's *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, p. 138). It must also be noted that Ātihara's brother's son Vāmana received (according to these *Kula-pañjikās*) *kula-maryādā* from Ballālasena (op cit, p. 142, f.n), one of whose known dates is A.D 1160 This date coincides happily with that given by Sarvânanda. It is curious, however, that the name of Ātihara's son is not recorded in these genealogical accounts. This is somewhat puzzling; but possibly it may be explained by the not unlikely supposition that as Sarvânanda left Bengal for the distant South (where alone his work has been preserved, and not in Bengal), no account either of him or his family was known or kept in the genealogical books compiled in Bengal for purposes of social reference. Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu, however, makes a mistake (op. cit, p. 198, f n) when he identifies our author with a much later and better known Sarvânanda, whose father's name is given as Digambara.

Vallabhadeva's anthology, therefore, must be presumed to have been either contemporaneous with or composed before this date

Let us now see if there is anything in the data furnished by the *Subhāṣitâvali* itself which would conflict with this conclusion. Of a large number of authors cited in this anthology, we possess no authentic information, but those about whom our knowledge is more definite can be grouped into three classes: (1) Those who flourished before the date proposed by us, i.e., before, say, A.D. 1150 : (2) those who were contemporaneous with this date; and (3) those who may be supposed to have lived after this date. We need not consider the first of these groups. Of the second group, i.e., of those authors who are known or conjectured to have lived about the middle of the twelfth century, the names of Jayadeva, Maṅkha, Śrīharṣa, Kalhaṇa, Hemâcārya, Jenduka, and Kalyānadatta are notable. The four verses of Jayadeva in this anthology are taken from his *Gīta-govinda*; of the thirty-three verses of Mankha, about thirty can be traced in his *Śrīkantha-carita*; and almost all of the seventy-seven verses of Śrīharṣa, who is generally cited with the designation *naiṣadhakartṛ*, are found in his well-known poem. In the same way, almost all the verses of Kalhaṇa in this anthology are traceable in his *Rāja-taranginī*.[1] There is, therefore, no doubt as to the identity of these authors. It is not clear, however, if Hemâcārya is the famous Jaina teacher and versatile writer Hemacandra; for only one verse of this author is quoted, and it is difficult to locate it in the voluminous writings of the industrious Jaina polygrapher. The case is much the same with Jenduka and Kalyāṇadatta, for it is not clear if they are identical with the poets of the same name[2] mentioned by Maṅkha as his contemporaries. While

[1] Peterson identifies most of these citations No. 1517, which is not found in *Naiṣadha*, occurs anonymously in *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* as No 206 and is probably wrongly attributed to Śrīharṣa.

[2] Mankha (*Śrīkaṇṭha*° xxv, 71–2) calls him Jinduka.

one verse of each of these poets (not traceable anywhere) is given in this anthology, we possess no information about them (except what Maṅkha tells us) which would help us in supporting this suggested identification Even if these identifications of Peterson be presumed, the resulting conclusion would not make any difference. The citation of contemporary authors need not by itself present any chronological difficulty; for it is not unreasonable to assume that in compiling an anthology Vallabhadeva aimed at being up to date by including quotations from contemporary poets, most of whom were perhaps already famous and some of whom were undoubtedly Kashmirians.[1]

The third group of poets cited, i e., those who may be supposed to have lived considerably later than the twelfth century, may again be classed into two groups: (*a*) those whose identity cannot be taken as clearly established, and (*b*) those who can be identified with some amount of certainty. In the first of these groups fall Amrtadatta (with the honorific title *bhāgavata*) and Arjunadeva. Peterson suggests that Amrtadatta was a court-poet of Shihāb ud-Dīn, whom he places, on the authority of Cunningham, in A.D. 1335; while he proposes to identify Arjunadeva with the Paramāra Prince Arjunavarmadeva, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century and wrote a commentary[2] on the *Amaru-śataka*, in which he refers to Muñja Vākpatirāja as his predecessor. It is difficult to accept these identifications in the absence

[1] Contemporary quotations are not unusual in anthologies, as instances of it are not rare in *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* and *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* The probability or fact that some of these authors lived beyond the middle of the twelfth century into another decade or two is of no serious consequence to our conclusion. Sarvānanda's reference to a contemporary anthology, again, need not be taken as unusual in a technical treatise. Thus Ruyyaka quotes in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (ed. Kāvyamālā, 35, p. 93) from Kalhaṇa (*Rāja-tara*°, iv, 441), which work was not completed till A D 1150, as well as from *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* of his own pupil Maṅkha, written about A.D. 1145. In a lexicon, as in a work on poetics or grammar, such utilization of "modern" works is not out of place but really admirable.

[2] Ed. Kāvyamālā 18, Bombay, 1916.

of sufficient data. The verse No. 609 in the *Subhāṣitâvali*, attributed to Amrtadatta, is explained in the verse which immediately precedes it (No. 608) as Shihāb ud-Dīn's challenge to an intending invader of Kashmir. From this Peterson concludes that Amṛtadatta was one of the court-poets of Shihāb ud-Dīn. But no work of Amrtadatta, except a few verses in the anthologies, is known to exist; and the evidence of the anthologies and later citations is not consistent, but points to an earlier date One of Amrtadatta's verses cited in the *Subhāṣitâvali* (No. 43) is also given anonymously in the *Kavîndra-vacana-samuccaya* (No. 31), but this latter anthology quotes no other poet who is known to be of a later date than A D. 1000 [1] Amrtadatta has, again, a verse in *Sadukti-karnâmṛta* (ed. *Bibl. Ind*, p. 147) in which he extols the beauty of the ladies of Uttarāpatha. The date of this anthology is known to be A.D 1206 It is also noteworthy that the verse No. 43 of Amrtadatta is cited anonymously by Mammata, who himself is quoted by Vallabhadeva and who cannot be placed later than the end of the eleventh century [2] All these facts would throw doubt on the identification proposed by Peterson and render a revision of Amrtadatta's date necessary. Of Arjunadeva, only one verse (No 1822) is quoted in the *Subhāṣitâvali*, and it cannot be traced in the only known commentary of Arjunavarmadeva, with whom Peterson seeks to identify him. There are hardly any available data which would justify this identification, which must still be regarded as a mere conjecture.

Greater difficulty is presented by those authors who can be identified with some amount of probability or certainty with authors who are known to have lived after the twelfth century. These are Rājānaka Jonarāja and Śrī-Baka-paṇḍita. The title *rājānaka* of the former would indicate that Jonarāja was probably a Kashmirian; but there is

[1] Thomas, Introduction, p. 16.

[2] See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, pp. 158 f.

no other evidence [1] which would enable us to identify him definitely with Jonarāja who is known to have continued the *Rāja-tarangiṇī* and lived in Kashmir in the reign of Zain ul-'Ābidīn in the beginning of the fifteenth century. One Śrī-Baka is mentioned in Śrīvara's continuation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, and is known to have flourished in the reign of the prince named above. The verse No 2633 of the *Subhāṣitâvali* explains that No. 2632 was composed by Śrī-Baka for the delectation of Zain ul-'Ābidīn This somewhat pedestrian verse, however, is composed in the ordinary *anuṣṭubh*-metre, and is couched in a strange form which introduces the poet in the first person ·

śrī-jainollābhadīnârthaṃ śloko'yam cātu-miśritah |
śrī-bakena mayâkāri vāride hima-vârṣiṇi ||.

The genuineness of these references to historical personages cannot be doubted, but it is not clear if these verses have not found their way into the anthology at some later time. If we are to rely on Sarvânanda's date and his citation of the anthology and its compiler, there is no other alternative but to regard these verses as later interpolations into the work. From Peterson's own account in the Preface, it is evident that the *Subhāsitâvali* was much studied in Kashmir; and the first MS of the work, which he received from Pandit Durgāprasād, is described by him as being the one which the Pandit "had himself used when a pupil in Kashmir". In an anthology which was in current use, it could not have been difficult to interpolate at a later time verses of contemporary authors relating to well-known princes. This may be suspected from the fact that Peterson's manuscript *C* interpolates verses which are not found in *A*, *B*, and *D*, and which Peterson himself believes to be inconsistent with what he considers to have been the original text. This suspicion gains support also from the readings of the South Indian

[1] None of the three verses attributed to Jonarāja by Vallabhadeva are traceable in Jonarāja's continuation of the *Rāja-tara°*.

MS. of the *Subhāṣitāvali* referred to by Ramakrishna Kavi,[1] which gives verses and names not traceable, or ascribed to different authors, in the printed edition of the text.

We may now summarize what we have tried to discuss above in this way :—

(1) Peterson had good reasons to assign the *Subhāṣitāvali* to a date not earlier than the fifteenth century from the reference in one of the verses to Zain ul-'Ābidīn, and from the probability that some of the poets included were contemporaneous with that prince.

(2) But Sarvânanda undoubtedly knew this anthology, which he cites and quotes from, along with the name of the compiler.

(3) Sarvânanda gives the date of his commentary (in which this citation occurs) as A.D. 1160.

(4) There is no reason (apart from the conflict with the accepted date of the *Subhāṣitāvali*) to doubt or dispute this date given by Sarvânanda of his own commentary.

(5) If we are to accept the limit supplied by Sarvânanda's date, we must consider all references to or verses of later authors or personages in the anthology as interpolations.

(6) Sarvânanda's reference in A.D. 1160 to the *Subhāṣitāvali* and its author, and his quotation from it, supply the lower limit to its date, and do not justify such a late date for the anthology as the fifteenth century assigned by Peterson.

(7) The quotation in this anthology from poets who lived about A.D 1150 makes it probable that it could not have been compiled very far from this date.

[1] Preface to *Avantisundarī-kathā*, p. 4; Preface to *Caturbhāṇī*, pp. ii, iv. The MS. copy of the *Subhāṣitāvali* mentioned in the *Report of the Working of the Peripatetic Party of the Govt Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, during* 1916–19 (p. 40), does not contain the name of the compiler, and appears to be a different work.

1st March, 1927.

Islam and the Protected Religions

By A. S. TRITTON

IN Muslim countries adherents of the protected religions had to put up with certain restrictions on their public life. It was held that this was sanctioned by the Ḳur'ān, "Until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled."[1] This humiliation is often mentioned in the early treaties.[2]

It is generally said that 'Umar I was the author of these restrictions. They are embodied in a document which pretends to contain the conditions imposed on themselves by the Christians, either of a nameless town in Syria, of Damascus, or of the whole province. This "covenant of 'Umar" is often mentioned by historians. The document occurs in several forms, differing slightly from each other.[3] Some of the conditions presuppose a state of affairs much later than 'Umar I. It might be argued that this is a case of legislation for the future. The reply is that all early Muslim legislation was for the present; 'Umar and his advisers did not see far into the future. The most striking example of this is the tribute. The laws about it were made when no one dreamed that Arabs might buy tribute land or Christians turn Muslim. Caetani regards the covenant as spurious.[4] His chief argument is that it is part of Saif's narrative and therefore suspect; for whenever a document was wanted, Saif produced one, often of his own invention.

Is it possible to fix the date at which any of the terms of the covenant came into being? If we can, and if the date is later than 'Umar I, then the attribution of them to him is wrong.

In this discussion it is convenient to speak of Christians, the most important adherents of the protected religions, only

[1] Kur'ān, 9, 29.

[2] e.g. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ ul Buldān* 201 (Tiflis).

[3] *Mustaṭraf*, 1, 124. Ibn 'Asākir, 1, 149, 178.

[4] Caetani, vol. iii, 2, year 17, 173.

mentioning Jews and Magians, when special rules applied to them. We will take dress first.

Dress

The object of the rules about dress was to distinguish the Christian from the Arab; this is said in so many words by Abu Yūsuf Ya'kūb and Ibn 'Abd ul Ḥakam,[1] two of the earliest historians whose works have come down to us. At the time of the conquest there was no need to command the Christians to dress differently from the Arabs, they did so It was only later as the Arabs grew civilized that there was any temptation for Christians to imitate their costume.

Several caliphs issued edicts about dress, the stringency always increasing. It is best to work backwards. The first edict of any length is that of Mutawakkil, A.H. 235[2]; it runs as follows: Christians had to wear honey-coloured, i.e yellow, cloaks, and two buttons on their caps, which differed in colour from those worn by Muslims. They might use only wooden stirrups and saddles marked by two balls behind. Their slaves[3] had to wear two patches on the outer garment, one in front and one behind, of a different colour from the rest of the garment The patches were yellow and four fingers square. Hence the Christians were called "spotted".[4] If anyone wore a turban it had to be yellow. They also had to wear the *zunnār*, which is elsewhere described as a twisted cord, round the waist. Makrīzī adds that a woman had to wear a yellow wrapper when she went out of doors The *mintak*, presumably a waistband of cloth, was forbidden. Four years later[5] the caliph ordered the Christians to wear two yellow *durrā'a* over the *durrā'a* or *kubā*, and forbade them to ride horses (The *durrā'a* is a long coat of wool, open in front; the *ḳubā* is a short jacket.)

[1] Ibn 'Abd ul Ḥakam, 151. Abū Yūsuf Ya'kūb, 72.

[2] Tabarī, iii, 1,389 Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2, 494. Bar Hebraeus, 155.

[3] Tab. and B.H. read "slaves", Maḳ. reads "men".

[4] Al Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1, 41 (Cairo, A H. 1313).

[5] Tab. iii, 1,419.

Not all of these rules are original. In A.H. 191 Hārūn ur Rashīd forbade the Christians in Baghdād to be like the Muslims in dress and manner of riding.[1] It was to him that Abū Yūsuf addressed his book on the Tribute. In it he mentions some rules of dress as matters of common custom.[2] Christians had to wear the *zunnār*, the tall cap (*kalansuwa*), shoes unlike those of the Muslims, twisted shoe-strings, and balls like pomegranates behind the saddle. Women were forbidden to use riding saddles on camels. Such rules are next heard of in the reign of ‘Umar II. There are several accounts of his edict or edicts. According to that in the ‘*Ikd ul Farīd*[3] he ordered all non-Muslims to lay aside the turban and forbade them to be like the Muslims at all in dress. Bar Hebraeus[4] says that he forbade the Christians to wear the dress of soldiers, i e. Arabs. Another Syriac author[5] says that he forbade them to use riding saddles on horses. Abū Yūsuf gives the rule about pack-saddles and adds that women might not use the riding saddle on camels. The *kubā*, a special kind of cloak (عَصْب), and silk clothes were forbidden. ‘Umar complained that Christians wore turbans, let their hair grow long, and neglected to wear the girdle (*mintak*).[6] According to Ibn ‘Asākir[7] he forbade them to appear in public unless they had cut the forelock and wore girdles of leather. He forbade them the *kubā*, the *tailasān* (either a cloak or a veil worn over the turban), trousers of some particular variety, sandals with straps, and riding saddles. It is recorded[8] that the Banu Tha‘laba came to him, said they were Christians, and asked what they were to do. He sent for a barber, cut the hair on their foreheads, cut strips from their mantles, to

[1] Tab. iii, 713.
[2] Abū Yūsuf, 72
[3] Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, ‘*Iḳd ul Farīd*, 2, 339.
[4] Bar Hebraeus, 117.
[5] Syr. Anon. (CSCO 14) 1, 307.
[6] Abū Yūsuf, 73.
[7] Ibn ‘Asākir, 1, 180.
[8] *Mustaṭraf*, 1, 125.

make girdles, and told them to use only pack-saddles and to ride sideways. It is to be noticed that Abū Yūsuf, in reporting 'Umar's ordinance, and Ibn 'Abd ul Ḥakam do not use the word *zunnār*, they use the word *mintak*. Mutawakkil forbade a garment called by this name. Abū Yusūf uses the plural *zunnārāt*, not the broken plural which afterwards became common. The word is Greek, came into Arabic through Aramaic, and came into popular favour only gradually. Finally it was so identified with the non-Muslim that in modern Arabic the Jew's lovelocks—the corners of the head, which he is forbidden to shave—are called *zunnār*.

Further, the treaties quoted by Tabarī and Balādhurī do not mention dress. If these treaties do not belong to the time of 'Umar I but are later fabrications, this strengthens the argument that all such laws are later than the conquest. That Ibn 'Abd ul Ḥakam attributes some of them to him, does not carry much weight in face of all the evidence to the contrary. Before he wrote there was plenty of time for a legend to grow up. It might be argued that laws of 'Umar I fell into disuse and later legislation renewed them This contention is disproved by the increasing severity of the rules. The conclusion is that 'Umar II forbade Christians to imitate Arab dress, commanded them to wear a special girdle, to cut the front hair short, and to use only pack-saddles in riding. Some other restrictions came in later. Rashīd commanded them to differ from the Muslims in dress, and Mutawakkil gave precise orders as to what they should wear. That the first to issue laws about dress was named 'Umar will have helped the ascription of them to 'Umar I, the traditional organizer of the Muslim state.

In A.H. 271 or 272 the inhabitants of Baghdād made a riot against the Christians because they rode on horses.[1]

Christian dress is next heard of in the reign of the mad caliph of Egypt, al Ḥākim. He ordered non-Muslims to wear black; probably because it was the colour of the 'Abbāsids. He ordered Christians to wear crosses and the Jews bulls' heads in memory

[1] Elias Nisibenus, 68.

of that they had worshipped in the wilderness. Their saddles had to be plain (according to another version, of sycamore wood), with reins of black leather. They might not wear rings on the right hand. If they transgressed any of these rules they were punished with banishment. Some denied their faith, many went into exile. Those who remained in Egypt and true to their religion wore crosses of gold or silver and made themselves saddles with rich coloured trappings. Then al Ḥākim ordered the crosses to be of wood five rotls in weight and made the Jews wear billets of wood of the same weight shaped like the clapper of a bell. When they went to the baths the Christians had to wear their crosses and the Jews bells.[1] These laws of Ḥākim's remained in force for nine years.[2] The general laws were never repealed, but were often disregarded unless the zeal of some ruler or an outburst of popular feeling caused them to be put in force again. In A.H. 682 in Egypt the wearing of the zunnār was again enforced[3] In addition no Christian was permitted to wear red[4] clothes. A pedestrian might not speak to a mounted Muslim and Christians had to use donkeys for riding. In A.H. 700 they were forced to wear blue turbans and the Jews yellow. They were bidden to observe the treaty of 'Umar. On this occasion[5] the edict was due to the action of a visitor to Egypt, who was disgusted by the pomp displayed by a Christian. He rode on horseback with footmen in front and attendants behind, while poor Muslims crowded round and kissed his feet. Indeed, we may say that many outbreaks of popular feeling were due to the lack of restraint shown by Christians when they gained wealth and power. Many were too proud to wear the blue turban and tried to get the protections of the amīrs. So public proclamation was made that any Christian wearing a white turban was to forfeit property and life. In another place it is

[1] Mak. 2, 495. Bar Hebraeus, 204. Abu 'l Maḥāsin, 2, 64. Ibn Iyās, 1, 52.
[2] Abū Ṣāliḥ, Churches of Egypt, 142 (translation).
[3] Mak 2, 497.
[4] Either "red" or "made of fine cloth", L.A. 13, 404.
[5] Maḳ. 2, 498.

said that the wearing of Muslim dress was forbidden under the same penalties. So strong was feeling that he who wanted to go abroad borrowed a yellow turban from a Jew.

The school of Shāfi'ī held that [1] "The non-Muslims must differ from the Muslims in dress, wearing red caps, girdles round the waist, seals of copper or lead round the neck, or a bell when they go to the bath. They must not wear turbans or long coats. Women must wear girdles under (some say over) the skirt, a seal round the neck when they go to the bath, one shoe black and one white. On horses, mules, and donkeys they may use only pack-saddles, riding sideways. Riding saddles were forbidden."

In Persia a few years back the Zoroastrians dressed in yellow and were not permitted to wear socks.[2]

[1] *Mustaṭraf*, 1, 125

[2] Browne, *Year among the Persians* (ed. 1), 370.

The Hindu Sháhiya Kingdom of Ohind

By MUHAMMED NAZIM

WITH the exception of a very brief notice in Albírúní (Sachau's transl., vol. ii, p. 13) and a few references in the Táríkh-i-Yamíní of al-'Utbí, and the Rajataranginí of Kalhana, there is scarcely any mention of the Hindu Sháhiya dynasty of Ohind (Udabhanda of Rajataranginí and Waihand of Muslim histories), the successors of the Turki Sháhiya dynasty of Kushan Cunningham (*Coins of Mediæval India*, pp 55 *et seq.*) advances the conjecture that after a period of usurpation by Kallar (the Brahman wazir of the last of the Turki Sháhiya dynasty) and his descendants, the Turki Sháhiya dynasty was revived by the enthronement of Jaipál, the contemporary of Sultán Maḥmúd and the ruler of Ohind and the northern Punjab ; i e., Jaipál and his successors, according to Cunningham, were not the descendants of the Brahman Kallar, but of Kánishka and therefore Turks or Rajputs This view is contradicted by V. A. Smith, and by the passage quoted below, in which Jaipál is definitely called a Brahman.

But V. A. Smith, too, in the *Early History of India*, has made some inaccurate and contradictory statements which have escaped the notice of the learned editor of the 4th edition On p. 388 he says that the capital of the Sháhiya dynasty was at Ohind, on the left bank of the River Indus, a little above Attock ; but on p. 396 he shifts their capital to Bathinda, in Patiala state, south of the River Sutlej, and makes their kingdom comprise " the upper valley of the Indus and most of the Punjab to the north of Sindh, extending westward to the mountains and eastwards to the Hakra river ". The kingdom of Jaipál never attained such wide dimensions. 'Utbí (Elliot and Dowson, vol. ii, pp. 28, 32) definitely mentions that the province of Multán was under a

Muslim ruler and that Bhátia, somewhere near Multán, was the capital of another independent kingdom under a Hindu Raja named Bájí Ráy. From the passage quoted below it is evident that the kingdom of Jaipál, at the time of the accession of Sultán Mahmúd to the throne, i.e in A.H. 388 (A.D. 998), and most probably sixty or seventy years before that, did not extend to the east of the River Chinab; and that it was only in the year A.H. 389 (A.D. 999) that Jaipál conquered the land between the River Chinab and the Bias.

The *Ádáb ul Mulúk wa Kifáyat ul Mamlúk*[1] (Ind. Office MS. No. 647), foll. 89*b*–90*b*, says[2]:—

و در تاریخ چنین آمده است که [۱] حج بن بهدرا که والئی
لهور بود و بنای لهور او نهاده است و او گذشته شده است۔
پسرے بود اورا [۲] بترب نام مردے عاقل روزگارے آرمیده
داشت ودر لهور آنجا که مسجد [۳] خشتی است بتخانه کرد
صورتی ازسنگ فرمود تابترا شید ند وآنرا آفتاب نام کرده
بود ومذهب آفتاب پرستی بود وعمرے درازیافته بود
نود وسه سال ازانجا (sic) هفتاد وپنج سال امیر لوهور
بود چون اوبسیار زیست پسرے داشت [٤] بهرت نام
اومردے بود متهور وبد کردار۔ پدرخویش را گرفت

[1] It is a treatise on the art of war, etc., and was composed by Muḥammad b. Manṣúr in the time of Sulṭán Iltutmish (1210–1236). The only other MS. of this work is in the Br. Mus. Add. 16853.

[2] So far as I know, this passage has never been published. It also throws light on a very obscure portion of the history of the Punjab.

Note.—The variants in footnotes are given from the British Museum MS.

۱ حج بن بهندرا ۲ نبرت ۳ حبشی ٤ تهنرت

در قلعت [1] کهلور موقوف داشت ملک لوهور فرود گرفت۔
[2] تهترت مرد خویشتن بین بود وبه لشکر غره گشته بود
ودر شهر لوهور آنجا که محلت عرب است قلعتے کرد
[3] تهینور نام و دیه تهنبور برلب آب بیاه او کرده است
هوسے در سر کرد و قصد قلعه بند نکرد (نندنه کرد)
وخواست که آن نواحی تمام فروگیرد و نمک نندنه و نواحی
جیلم وتاکیشر ازشاه جیپال بستاند۔لشکر جمع کرد
و قصد تاکیشر کرد۔شحنگان شاه در کیشه (تاکیشر)
جمع آمدند ونامها نوشتند که تهنرت والی لوهور قصد
تاکیشر وجیلم کرد۔شاه جیپال پسر خویش اندپال را
بالشکر گران بجنگ تهنرت فرستاد و آنروز که تهنرت از
آب چندراهه بگذشت وبتاکیشر رسید اندپال هم نیم‌شب
در رسید بنزدیک لشکر خویش آمد سپیده دم— دهل
شادی وشاهی بلشکرگاه اوبزدند وآن دهل مخصوص
بود به شاه جیپال که شاه برهمنان بود وآنرا [4] سنکه نام
گفتند۔ یعنی شیر بانگ۔چون انگشت بدهل

۱ لوهور ۲ تهنرت ۳ تهبور ٤ سنکه ناد

فردو آوردند لشکر لوهور بترسید گفتند که شاه
درر سید ومردم حشری رو بهزیمت نهادند ولشکر لوهور
دل شکسته شد چون خواستگاه (چا شتگاه)
هردومصاف برابرشدند بیشتر (لشکر) لوهور بگریخته
بود۔ انندبال تهنرت بگرفت وازآب چندراهه بگذشت
وبلهورآمد۔ بستهان لوهور درمیان شدند وبر تهنرت
مواضعتی نهادند۔ آنچه داشت بداد وباقی ازمردمان
ورعیت لوهور بستد۔ وتهنرت رامطیع خویش کرد۔
وخلعت داد و ولایت لهور اورا فرمود وباز گشت۔ این
[1]حسدرت نام چون پدر خویش بدکردار (بود)۔ چون
انندبال بازگشت اس [2]حندرت پسر (پدر should be)
خویش را بگرفت وبند کرد چنا نکه او با پدر خویش
کرده بود وگفت تو دیوانه شدی ملک را نشائ۔ چرا قصد
ولایت شاه کردی تاآبروئ خویش بردی۔ پس
حسدرت والی لوهور شد۔ دیهی کرد نبام خویش گذاره
آب بیاه درجوار قلعت [3]بلور وان را جندر بتور نام کرد۔

۱ جنیدرت ۲ حیندرت پدر خویش ۳ بلور وآن را چندر بتور

مردے ظالم وبے رحم بود۔شاہ جیپال پرشور خبر این
حنیدرت بشنید که پدر خویش را بگرفت و موقوف کرد
تنگدل شد وپسر خود انندبال را فرمود تالشکررا ساخته
کن تا بروی آن ظالم بدکردار رابگیری اگراین
باربرو [1]فروز آئ برو مبخشائ واورا بکش و ولایت
لهور ضبط کن و کسان خویش گمار که این بد کرداران
ملک رانشایند۔ برپدران خویش بیرون می آیند۔انندبال
لشکرجمع کرد و بلوهوررفت وبدیه ساموتله فرود آمد۔
[2]جنسیدرت از لوهور بیرون رفت با لشکر ساخته ورسول
فرستاد سوئے انندبال که بچه دلیری بدین ولایت آمدی۔
پند اشتی که من هم چو پدر خود دیوانه شدم تادر ولایت
بیگانه رفت تالشکر اورا بگذا شتند و بگریختند تا او
بدست تو اسیر شد۔انندپال جواب داد که من باآن
دلیری آمدم که من پدر خویش رامطیع وفرمانبردارم
نه چون تو که برپدر خویش بیرون آمدی وعاصی شدی
وپدرتو نیز باپدر خویش بیرون آمده بود۔ بدین خدائ

۱ پیروزگردی ۲ جنددت

تعالی جل جلاله مرا نصرت داو وبرتو نصرت دهد وترا مخذول گرداند۔ وکردار بد شما درشما خواهد رسید۔ [1]حسدرت بجندی رسید بشکار بیرون (رفت) واز لشکراانند بال پانصد پو شیده بطلایه بیرون آمده بودند و دربیشه کمین کرده [2]جیبدرت از یشان غافل دردم شکار می تاختند تا نماز پیشین واسپان را مانده کردند۔ ازاسپ فرودآمد وبر پیل نشت۔ سواران لشکر انند بال کمین کشادند وبر [3]جنسیدرت زدند وگرد پیل درآمدند۔ [4]حنیدرت را اسیر کردند۔ پسران [5]حسدرت همه بگریختند وبجانب جالندر و بسامه کوره رائ جالندر شدند۔ جنیدرت نه سال والیٔ لوهور بود۔ پس انندبال ولایت لوهور فرودگرفت واز دست اولاد [6]حح بیرون کرد وشاه جیپال امیر لوهور شد بتاریخ سنه تسع و ثمانین و ثلثمائه۔ ودرهمین سال امیر المومنین یمین الدوله سلطان محمود غازی را خلعت ولوا فرستاد

۱ چون چندرت بجندی رسید ۲ حیندرت ۳ حنندرت
۴ حپندرت ۵ چنددت ۶ حجح

و عراق و خوارزم و نیمروز و خراسان و سند و هند
بد و داد۔

English translation of the passage :—

It is related that Ḥah (Chach ?) b. Bhadrá, who was the founder of the town of Lohúr, and was ruler of the kingdom of Lohúr, was a just ruler under whose benevolent administration people enjoyed peace. He worshipped the sun and ordered a temple to be made (on the site of which now stands the Brick mosque) in which he placed an idol and named it "the sun". He ruled Lohúr for seventy-five years and lived to the advanced age of 93 years. His son Bharat, tired of waiting for the death of his father, took him (Ḥaḥ) prisoner, confined him in the fort of Kahlúr (?) and usurped the throne. Bharat was an arrogant man and was proud of the strength of his army. He built a fort in the town of Lohúr, the site of which is now occupied by the Arab quarters, and gave to it the name of Thínúr (?). He also founded a village of the same name (Thínúr or Thanbúr) on the bank of the River Biyáh. He was very ambitious and tried to conquer the salt mines of Nanduna and the districts of Jhelum and Tákeshar from Jaipál. He therefore collected an army and marched on Tákeshar. When the Sháh got information of this attack, he sent his son Anandpál at the head of a large army to repel the invader. Bharat crossed the River Chandráhah and reached Tákeshar where he was met by Anandpál. On the evening of Anandpál's arrival there, his soldiers beat the drum which was beaten only when Jaipál himself was present. The followers of Bharat therefore thought that Jaipál, king of the Brahmans, had personally marched against them. This drum was called the Sankhnád, which means "the Lion's Roar". At the sound of this drum, the fresh recruits in the army of Bharat took to flight, while the regular troops were so disheartened that when they met Anandpál's army in battle the following morning, they also fled. Deserted

by his soldiers, Bharat fell a prisoner into the hands of Anandpál who crossed the Chandráhah and marched in triumph to Lohúr. The Bistháns (?) of Lohúr pleaded for Bharat and induced Anandpál to release him on payment of a large sum of money. Anandpál gave a *khil'at* to Bharat and allowed him to rule as a feudatory prince in his former kingdom.

But when Anandpál returned to his country, Ḥandrat (?), son of Bharat, dethroned him and placed him in confinement as Bharat had done to his own father, and said to him, "You have lost your reason and are not fit to rule. Why did you fight against the Sháh? It has brought so much disgrace on you" Ḥandrat now ascended the throne He founded a village on the other side of the Biyáh, in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bilúr (Philur ?), and named it Chandar Batúr He was very cruel. When Sháh Jaipál of Purshúr heard that Bharat had dethroned his own father, he became very angry and commanded his son Anandpál to march on Lohúr, put Bharat to death and annex his kingdom Anandpál advanced on Lohúr at the head of a large army, and encamped at a village named Sámútalah (?). Ḥandrat made great preparations and advanced from Lohúr to meet the invader. He then sent an ambassador to Anandpál with this message: "What imprudence has brought you to my kingdom? Did you think that I had lost my reason like my father who had foolishly attacked your kingdom, and was consequently deserted by his soldiers and taken prisoner by you?" Anandpál replied: "My boldness in coming to your kingdom is due to the fact that unlike you who have risen against your own father and deposed him, I am obedient to my father. Your father had behaved to his father as you have behaved towards him; and it was for this reason that God granted me an easy victory over him, and for the same reason He will help me to vanquish you."

Ḥandrat about this time went out hunting. He followed the quarry till he reached a dense forest where he got down

from his horse and mounted an elephant. But unsuspected by him, 500 troops of Anandpál's advance guard had laid an ambush there. They now rushed out, surrounded his elephant, and made him prisoner. The sons of Ḥandrat escaped and took refuge with Sámah Kora Ráy of Jálandar.

Ḥandrat had ruled for nine years. The kingdom of Lohúr now passed from the descendants of Ḥaḥ and became a part of the dominions of Jaipál in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999), the same year in which the Caliph bestowed on Yamín ud Dawlah Maḥmúd a *khil'at* and the patent of the sovereignty of 'Iráq, Khwárizm, Khurásán, Nímrúz, Sindh and Hind.

There is another fact connected with the history of Jaipál of the Sháhiya dynasty which has escaped the notice of all scholars. It is stated in the Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí (Raverty's translation, p. 82) that when Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna defeated Jaipál of the Sháhiya dynasty on the plains of Peshawar on the 8th Muharram, 392 (27–11–1001 A.D.), and took him prisoner, he sent him to a place named Man-Yazíd in Khurásán, where he was sold as a slave for 80 dirhams. This statement is confirmed by 'Unṣurí, the court-poet of Sultán Maḥmúd, who, in one of his *qaṣídas*,[1] says :

شنیدهٔ خبرشاه هندوان جیپال

که برسپهر برینش همی بسود افسر

فزون زلشکر او برفلك ستاره بنود

حجر بنود بروئ زمین برو نه مدر (؟)

خدایگان خراسان بدشت پرشاور

به حلهٔ بپر اگند جمع آن محشر

[1] Asiatic Society Bengal MS and Br. Mus. Or. 2843.

فروختند بمیرند[1] شاه هندو را

به پیش خیمهٔ شاهنشه رهی پرور

"Have you heard anything about Jaipál, the Sháh of the Hindús, who grazed his diadem against the high sky ?

"His army was more numerous than the stars on the sky, or the pebbles on the earth.

"The lord of Khurásán (Mahmúd) on the plain of Purshâwar, scattered his army in one attack

"They sold the Sháh of the Hindus at Mírand (?) in front of the camp of the Sháhinsháh, the benefactor of his slaves."

Again, the *Futúh us Salátín* (Ind. Office MS. No. 3089), a metrical history of the kings of Dehli from Subuktigín to the time of the Tughlaqs, says, fol. 32*a*–32*b* :—

بیک حمله افواج هندو شکست

فتادش همان رایٔ جیپال دست

مراو را باقصایٔ غزنین ببرد

بدلال بازار برده سپرد

شنیدم بفرمان فرمانروا

بهشتاد دینار جیپال را

مقیمان بازار بفروختند

بهازیش بخازن در اندوختند

[1] A.S.B MS ; Br Mus. MS. reads همی زنده which is absurd.

"He (Maḥmúd) scattered the army of the Hindus in one attack, and took Ráy Jaipál prisoner.

"He carried him to the distant part of the kingdom of Ghazna, and delivered him to an agent of the slave-market.

"I heard that at the command of the king (Maḥmúd) they sold Jaipál as a slave for 80 dinars, and deposited the money realized by the sale in the treasury."

After this humiliation Jaipál was however set free on his promising to deliver fifty elephants, but he did not long survive this disgrace, and soon after his arrival in the Punjab, he burnt himself to death, probably about the beginning of the year A.H. 393 (A.D. 1002–1003).

The Substance called *Didi* by the Ancient Egyptians

By WARREN R. DAWSON

IN the Egyptian medical papyri, as well as in certain other texts, there occurs a substance called *didi* which for many years was understood to mean the fruits of the mandragora or mandrake. This equation *didi* = mandrake arose out of the opinion stated in his dictionary by Brugsch [1] that the word *didi* was akin to the Hebrew *doudaim* "mandrake". Brugsch, some years after the publication of the supplement to his dictionary (vol. vii, 1882), reaffirmed his opinion in a special article with the title "Die Alraune als altagyptishe Zauberpflanze",[2] which appeared in 1891. From that time the identification was accepted without question until in 1904 M. Henri Gauthier published an important article in which he showed quite conclusively that *didi* was not the mandrake, nor even a plant at all, but a mineral [3] It does not in the least detract from the importance and value of M. Gauthier's paper that it is now necessary to go over the ground once again, because further evidence has become available since its publication. We will first, therefore, enumerate the texts in which the word *didi* occurs.

1. *Papyrus Ebers*. 39/10 (197b).[4] In one of the sections of the treatise dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of disorders of the stomach, "pounded *didi* of Elephantine" mixed with two vegetable drugs, and cooked in fat and honey, is to be swallowed by the patient for four mornings, in order to quench his thirst and to banish his sickness.

[1] *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Suppl., Band vii, p. 1379

[2] *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Bd. 29 (1891), pp. 31–3

[3] "Le Nom Hiéroglyphique de l' Argile Rouge d' Eléphantine," in the *Revue Egyptologique*, t. xi, 1904, pp. 1–15.

[4] The numbers in parentheses following the references to *Ebers*, *Hearst*, and *Berlin* medical papyri refer to those of Wreszinski's edition of these texts, *Die Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Bd. i–iii, 1909–13.

2. Ibid 74/14 (576) In one of the eighteen alternative prescriptions for getting rid of swellings and for "bringing water" (i e. draining pus) from swellings, is the following: "7 serpents [ʿēpenent], 7 flies, 7 pupæ (?) [*ikw n tꜣ*: cf. *Pyramid Texts*, § 959], powder of *didi* of Elephantine: cook in fat and bandage the head of the swelling therewith."

3 Ibid. 80/20 (645) Treatment of a vessel in any member of the body [The term *mt*, usually translated "vessel", seems applicable, according to the context, to muscles, nerves, or veins. In some of the prescriptions, which are emollients for stiffness (rheumatoid troubles, etc.), the word "muscle" is demanded by the sense, in others "nerve" is more appropriate. In the well-known section dealing with the heart, blood-vessels are evidently meant.]

In this prescription, the flesh, spleen, and brain [1] of the ox, the fat of the ibex, mixed with grain, salt, and *didi*, are to be bound on to the affected part.

4 Ibid 82/19 (660) A prescription to ease (*sgnn*, lit. "oil") twitching of a nerve (?).[2] The constituents are similar to the last, but some vegetable ingredients are included. Equal parts of all the drugs, including *didi*, are to be used, and bandaged on the affected part. [Cf below, No 8]

5 Ibid 83/20 (673). To relax stiffness in any part of the body. Prescription of 13 drugs, including *didi*, applied as before.

6 Ibid 86/2 (704). To treat a sore tongue. Seven drugs, including *didi*, mixed with honey: to be used as a mouth-wash.

7 *Hearst Papyrus* 8/11 (109). To ease a muscle (*šndm mt*). Ox-fat, frankincense, *didi*, and other drugs, to be bandaged on the affected part.

[1] The word *ꜣis*, formerly understood to mean *stercus*, is evidently the brain. In *Ebers* 97/8 (834) it is spelt *ỉs*. Cf. *Urkunden*, iv, p 84, line 8 (Tombos Stela)

[2] *św.t nt mt* Perhaps something like the "quaking of the sinews" in mediaeval medical works.

8. Ibid 8/14 (114) Title and details similar to No. 4 above

9. Ibid. 8/17 (118) To ease the muscle of a toe Ibex-fat, ox-flesh, etc., and *didi* Bandage therewith.

10 Ibid 11/10 (168) Prescription for driving out *temyt*.[1] A prescription of various drugs, including *didi*, to be bandaged upon the patient.

11. Ibid. 12/14 (185). Prescription "to treat the toe-nails". Ibex-fat, *didi*, and other ingredients to be bandaged on.

12. Ibid. 15/11 (231). To ease a muscle in any part of the body. Fat, incense, *didi*, etc , to be cooked and bandaged on for four days

13 Ibid 15/12 (232) "Prescription for relaxing the muscles in any member of the body of a man or of a woman."

Goose-grease, incense, *didi*, etc. "Mix into one mass, cook, and bandage therewith for four days." [2]

14 *Berlin Medical Papyrus*. 7/5 (77). "Prescription for treating the heart of a sufferer." The prescription consists of *didi* and seven other drugs, and ends with the words "fumigate the person therewith".

15. *Stela of Anene*. [Temp Tuthmosis I, Dyn. XVIII.] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, p. 55, line 7 of page. "*Didi* of Elephantine" occurs in a damaged passage, but it appears to refer to Nubian tribute.

16. *Temple of Mut, Karnak*. [Temp. Amenophis III.] Bouriant, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xiii, p. 166. It is said of a goddess represented in one of the scenes "she has inundated with *dsr-drink* reddened with *didi*".

17. *Papyrus Koller*, [Dyn. XIX]. Gardiner. *Literary Texts*, I, p. 41.* In a letter concerning Nubian tribute (3/3–5/4), *didi* is mentioned amongst the products of Nubia (4/2).

[1] An unidentified disease It is treated by means of incantations in the *London Medical Papyrus*, 3/1 ff. (6) and 4/1 ff. (10) and in *Pap. Berlin* 3027 (*Mutter und Kind*), 1/4

[2] In an unpublished papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, *didi* occurs in four prescriptions for relaxing the muscles, etc., similar to those above noted in the Hearst and Ebers Papyri.

18 *Tomb of Seti I* [Dyn. XIX] "Chamber of the Cow." Naville, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol iv, Plate A, lines 17–20 In the legend of "The Destruction of Mankind", commands were given by Rē as follows: "'Get you to Elephantine and bring me much dedi'. And this dedi was brought to him, and the majesty of this great god gave it unto Him-with-the-side-lock of Heliopolis, and he ground this dedi Now the maidservants bruised (?) barley for beer, and this dedi was added to this mash and it was as human blood. And seven thousand jars of beer were made ready" (Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1927, p 49.)

From the above texts we can now collect our data concerning *didi* First, it was obtained from Elephantine (Assuan) [1, 2, 15, 18] and from Nubia [17]. Secondly, it was of a bright red colour [16, 18], thirdly, it was a hard or coherent substance which had to be pounded before use [1, 2, 18, and footnote to No 13], fourthly, it was presumably absent from Egypt, and was sufficiently valuable to be brought as tribute [15, 17] Fifthly, it had medicinal [1–14] and magical values [16, 18]. It was used in medicine almost always as an external medicament [2–5, 7–13], but was not poisonous, as it could be swallowed [1] or used as a mouthwash [6] Since it was employed specifically as a red pigment [16, 18] it is probable that its use in the various medical prescriptions, except perhaps No. 1, was merely to impart a red colour to mixtures in which fatty or greasy substances were the essential elements The prescription No. 2 is clearly magical in nature. The ingredients of the preparation, associated with the essentially magical number *seven*,[1] seem to take it out of the domain of rational therapeutics.

As we have seen, M. Gauthier has produced ample evidence, which can be reinforced from the additional texts quoted above, that the former rendering "mandrake" is untenable.

[1] See my article on the number *seven*, in *Ægyptus*, to appear shortly (1927)

Until the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen there was no proof whatever that the mandrake was known to the Egyptians, as it does not occur in Egypt, still less in Nubia, and there is still no proof that they used it medicinally. Amongst the floral wreaths of Tutankhamen eleven fruits of the mandrake have been identified,[1] and were evidently imported from Western Asia, where the mandrake is by no means rare, for it was used in Assyrian medicine, and occurs in the medical tablets[2] In spite, however, of M. Gauthier's evidence, *didi* has been translated "mandragora" or "mandrake" by later writers[3]

M. Gauthier proposed to equate *didi* with a reddish earth used for fulling cloth, based upon various Coptic words connected with fulling[4] In the region of Assuan there are indeed very large deposits of argillaceous earth which might have been suitable for this purpose, but there is nothing sufficiently distinctive about these deposits to warrant the various indications which the Egyptian texts furnish with regard to *didi*. It seems quite evident that *didi* was a rare substance, that it was *bright* red in colour, and not merely reddish. Having in mind that the principal red pigment used by the Egyptians is *red ochre*, it occurred to me to seek a clue in that direction. Red ochre is a soft form of hæmatite, and I set to work to find out whether there existed in Nubia any deposits of bright red hæmatite. I applied to Sir Henry Lyons, and received the following interesting reply.—

"In 1908, I think, I was visiting Reisner near Kalabsha, when the Survey of Nubia was in progress, and there I saw women making the polished red pottery with the black mouth and shoulder. The pot was painted over with a

[1] Newberry, in Appendix II of Carter's *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, vol. ii, p. 193.

[2] Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, pp. 187–90

[3] E.g. Wreszinski, *Die Medezin der alten Ägypter* (1909–12), Bd. i, p. 68; Bd ii, pp. 95, 96, 97, 110, 115, 127, 128. Newberry, op cit, p 194.

[4] Gauthier, op. cit., pp 7–9.

wash of bright red iron peroxide or hæmatite and then fired.

"That hæmatite is bright red it was obtained from pockets in the Nubian sandstone or from nodules in it, some specimens are harder than others, and anyhow it would have to be well pounded to produce the necessary fineness of grain"

In a later letter, in reply to my inquiry as to whether this form of hæmatite is rare, Sir Henry Lyons informed me.—

"The red hæmatite is relatively rare in the sense that it would have to be sought for and collected in small quantities from places in the sands where the special shallow water conditions necessary to its formation had once existed These so far as I know are more common in the Nubian area Anyhow, it would be got in small quantities easy to carry, while pottery clay can only be worked where it occurs"

The information contained in these two letters leaves nothing to be desired in its complete agreement with the particulars of *didi* contained in the Egyptian texts. Besides its use in medicine, *didi* was probably the red mineral matter mixed with gum which produced the bright red ink used for rubricating papyri The commoner forms of hæmatite would produce a darker colour, such as is used for the flesh-tints of men (yellow ochre being used for women) in the Theban Tombs and elsewhere.

The expression "*didi* of Elephantine" must not be taken too literally The actual place of export of products from Nubia was Elephantine, which was a marketing centre, and not necessarily the place of origin of all the wares which were handled there. The Koller Papyrus [17] and probably also the Stela of Anene [15] indicate that *didi* was a product of Nubia It shows at least that if common hæmatite could be obtained in Egypt itself, the rarer and brighter *didi* was sufficiently scarce and valuable to be an object of tribute. Its uses in medicine, as indicated above, do not help us to

explain its nature, but in only one case is it the principal ingredient [1], in the others it is more probably, as I have already suggested, a colouring agent introduced for magical purposes, for there can be no doubt that *didi*, like many other drugs, was credited with magical virtues [2, 18]

So far as I have been able to trace, red iron-ore of the usual kind was not used by the Egyptians in medicine, or, if so, it is one of the many drugs that still await identification. Dr. R. Campbell Thompson informs me that the ordinary red ore (*takKA*) does not appear to have been used by the Assyrians for medicinal purposes. It was, however, brought by Tiglath Pileser from Nairi, i.e. some part of the north-west highlands, north of Assyria (Ṭaurus). Sennacherib used it with "lapis" (i.e. blue) along with burnt brick, the assumption being that it was for red and blue glaze. The black iron-ore (*takKAMI*) is much commoner in Assyrian medicine and was used in prescriptions for the eyes, head, and throat, usually, if not always, externally. In Coptic medicine ϣⲉϯⲛⲉϩ,[1] which corresponds to the Greek λίθος αἱματίτης,[2] was used for maladies of the eyes. It occurs so employed in the works of other ancient medical writers.[3] It is quite clear, however, that the ancient Egyptians did not in any way associate *didi* with any of the common iron-ores.

I would suggest "Nubian hæmatite" as a convenient translation of the Egyptian word *didi*.

[1] Chassinat, *Un Papyrus Médical Copte*, pp. 91, 150, 158.

[2] Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, V, 144.

[3] Dioscorides, loc. cit.; Oribasius, *De Simplicibus*, s.v. "Lapis hæmatites", Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvi, 37; Ibn el-Beithar (ed. Leclerc), *Traité des Simples*, vol. iii, p. 315 (No. 1267, *Hadjer ed-dem*, "pierre de sang"); Budge, *Syrian Anatomy*, etc. · *the Book of Medicines*, vol. ii, pp. 90 ff. In later times it was believed to be good for hæmorrhage, and that it derived its name from this property. See Lemery, *Traité des Drogues Simples*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1723, p 388.

The Dual Authorship of the Kavya-prakasa

By H R. DIVEKAR

IT is, I believe, familiar knowledge that the work on Rhetoric called *Kāvya-prakāśa* was composed by two authors, Mammata and Alaka or Alaṭa.[1] The traditional verse quoted by Rājānaka Ānanda, in his commentary entitled *Kāvya-prakāśa-nidarśanā*[2]—

कृतः श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितः शेषो विधायालकसूरिणा ॥

informs us that Mammaṭa wrote the work as far as Parikara, and the rest was completed by Alaka Sanskrit scholars[3] therefore inferred that "about a third of the last chapter on Figures of Speech, or roughly speaking a tenth of the whole work, was written by Alaka, i.e. from the second half of the 118th verse onwards". But the reference to the joint authorship of the seventh *Ullāsa* by Arjunavarmadeva has given rise to the question[4] whether "Alaka had a hand not only in the tenth, but also in the seventh chapter". An attempt is made in the present article to examine the question and to arrive, if possible, at some definite conclusion in the matter.

In order to clarify the question, it will be best to decide first whether the *kārikā* text was completed before the commencement of the *Vṛtti*, or the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti* were simultaneously composed. Even a superficial observation will convince the reader that the second alternative is more or less unlikely. No commentary is possible unless the text to be commented on is complete. Such a commentary is in the nature of things well-nigh impossible and as yet unprecedented.

[1] K.P., p 789, footnote 3. (K.P = *Kāvya-prakāśa*)
[2] Ibid, lines 2 and 3 from the bottom.
[3] Dr. Jha's Translation of K.P., Introduction
[4] Kane's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, Introduction, pp. civ, cv.

It may however be urged that, if the text and the commentary are written by one and the same writer, it is unnecessary for him to finish the text first and then to commence the commentary. He may write a verse or verses of the text and proceed straight away to write the commentary on it. Without absolutely denying the possibility of such an unusual procedure, it may be contended that the *kārikās* of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* do not allow of such a supposition; for it involves the absurdity that the writer composed not only detached verses, but parts of those verses—even as well as odd; wrote the commentary on these fragments and then continued or completed the verses [1]

We are thus led to the natural assumption that the entire text of the *kārikās* was composed before the commencement of the commentary. And in the *Vṛtti* itself there is evidence to warrant such a supposition In the following seven different places the *Vṛtti* of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* supposes the pre-existence of the *kārikās* following it :—

(1) While defining *Kāvya* in *kārikā* No. 4 (*a*), the *Vṛtti* says दोषगुणालङ्कारा वक्ष्यन्ते.[2] It thus supposes the pre-existence of the *kārikās* [3] on दोष's, गुण's and अलंकार's constituting the seventh, the eighth, the ninth and the tenth *Ullāsas*.

(2) At the beginning of the second *Ullāsa*, in the *Vṛtti* on *kārikā* No. 6 (*a*), we have अत्रेति काव्ये । एषां स्वरूपं वक्ष्यते ।[4] The *Vṛtti* here clearly refers to the *kārikās* [5] 7 (*b*), 14 (*a*) and 20 (*a*).

(3) At the end of the commentary on *kārikā* No. 43 (*a*) we read वर्णरचनानां व्यंजकत्वं गुणस्वरूपनिरूपणे उदाहरिष्यते.[6]

[[1] This argument seems to press the matter too far, since nothing need have prevented an author commenting upon a verse in sections even if he had composed it as a whole —F. W. T]

[2] K P., p. 17

[[3] Hardly An intention to treat the subject would suffice —F W. T.]

[4] K P, p 25.

[[5] See n 3, *supra*]

[6] K P, p. 185.

Here the writer of the *Vṛtti* unmistakably refers to *kārikās* Nos. 73 (*b*), etc., viz. वर्णाः समासो रचना तेषां व्यंजकतामिताः ।, and others. The illustrations which follow are based on these latter.

(4) While finishing the sixth *Ullāsa*, the Vṛttikāra says अत्र च शब्दार्थालंकारभेदाद्बहवो भेदाः । ते चालंकारनिर्णये निर्णेष्यन्ते.[1] This points to the *kārikās*[2] which describe the शब्दालंकार's and अर्थालंकार's in the 9th and the 10th *Ullāsas*.

(5) The *Vṛtti* on the *kārikās* enumerating वाक्यदोष's, viz. प्रतिकूलवर्णमुपहतलुप्तविसर्गं, etc., Nos. 53, 54, 55 (*a*), begins with रसानुगुणत्वं वर्णानां वक्ष्यते ।[3] Particular mention is thus here made of *kārikās* Nos. 68 (*b*), 69, 70 and 71 (*a*), आह्लादकत्वं माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे द्रुतिकारणम्, etc., and *kārikās* Nos 74, 75 and 76, मूर्ध्नि वर्गान्त्यगाः स्पर्शा . . . माधुर्ये घटना तथा, etc.

(6) These same *kārikās* are referred to again at the end of the *Vṛtti* on *kārikā* No. 66:

यथैषां (वर्णादीनां) व्यंजकत्वं तथोदाहरिष्यते ।[4]

(7) Lastly, the *Vṛtti* on *kārikā* No. 72 contains अभिधास्यमानस्वभावोक्त्यलंकारेण . . वस्तुस्वभावस्फुटत्वरूपा अर्थव्यक्तिः . . . स्वीकृता.[5] This clearly anticipates the *kārikā* No. 111 (*b*). स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिम्भादेः स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् ।

These references, it is hoped, will establish that the *kārikā* text must have been finished before the commentary was taken in hand.

It will thus be seen that there is no cogency in the argument based on मालातु पूर्ववत्,[6] where it is generally, but wrongly, supposed that पूर्ववत् refers to मालोपमा, which is nowhere defined in the *kārikās*, but only explained in the *Vṛtti*, and which is therefore taken to be an infallible

[1] K.P., p. 261.

[[2] See n 3, *supra*.]

[3] K.P, p. 327.

[4] Ibid., p. 465.

[5] Ibid., pp. 481–2.

[6] De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, p. 166.

proof of the identity of the Kārikā-kāra and the Vritti-kāra. The *kārikās* must have been composed before the *Vṛtti*, and it is rather hard to imagine that the author forgot what he himself had written only four *kārikās* before That the word पूर्ववत् does not refer to मालोपमा, but to साङ्गनिरङ्गभेद has been already shown by me in my note on माला तु पूर्ववत्.[1]

The case of the identity of the Kārikā-kāra and the Vṛtti-kāra may be made to rest more plausibly upon *kārikā* No 48:

शब्दार्थचित्रं यत्पूर्वं काव्यद्वयमुदाहृतम् ।
गुणप्राधान्यतस्तत्र स्थितिःशब्दार्थचित्रयोः ॥[2]

It could be here argued that, as the word उदाहृतम् means "illustrated", and as no illustrations are cited in the *kārikās*, the Kārikā-kāra must be referring here to the *Vṛtti*. But the Vṛtti-kāra himself explains the word उदाहृतम् by उक्तम् in his *Vṛtti* स्फुटस्य रसस्यानुपलंभादव्यङ्ग्यमेतत्काव्यद्वयमुक्तम् । which clearly refers to *kārikā* 5 (*b*)

शब्दचित्रं वाच्यचित्रमव्यङ्ग्यं त्ववरं स्मृतम् ।

The commentators and annotators had thus no option but to take the word उदाहृतम् to mean प्रोक्तम् "spoken of" This word therefore is no ground for holding that the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti* were written simultaneously.

It may hence be taken for granted that the *kārikā* text was finished first and then the *Vṛtti* was undertaken. The tradition preserved by Rājānaka Ānanda "that Mammata wrote the work as far as Parikara", allows after this of only two alternatives :—

(1) That Mammaṭa wrote all the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti* as far as Parikara, the remaining *Vṛtti* only being written by Alaka ; and

(2) That Mammata composed the *kārikās* only as far as

[1] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. for 1920, pp. 99–103.

[2] K.P., p 257.

Parikara, the remaining *kārikās* and the whole of the *Vṛtti* being composed by Alaka.

To settle this point, viz. which of these two is the correct supposition, the *kārikā* text must be examined as a whole. If the text impresses the reader as the work of one and the same author, we may accept the first alternative; but, if we discern two distinct hands in it, we may be certain of the second alternative. Dr. Sukthankar,[1] after considering the question of the dual authorship of *Kāvya-prakāśa*, reached the conclusion that two distinct hands are discernible in the *kārikās*. He has demonstrated that, while the *kārikās* after Parikara are wholly based on Rudrata, those preceding Parikara follow older authors, like Udbhata, etc. Dr. S. K. De, however, thinks this is an exaggeration; he says[2] "when we consider that both Mammata and Alaka have made use of Rudraṭa's definitions and illustrations, a distinction in their respective treatment cannot be very pointedly based on this consideration *alone*."

There are two criteria by means of which the difference in composition may be marked—the matter on which the work is based and the manner in which it is presented. Dr Sukthankar based his arguments on the former point. The matter is to be examined also from the latter standpoint, and it is to be seen whether a reader can detect a difference in the style of the two portions of the *kārikās*, attributed to Mammata and Alaka respectively. The task is not easy, especially as the number of *kārikās* is only 142 and the subject is wholly matter-of-fact. Nevertheless, a close observation will bring out the following points of difference between the major portion of the *kārikās* prior to Parikara and the minor portion following it:—

(1) The very first point of difference, which will strike even

[1] *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912, pp. 477 f.

[2] De's *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, p 346.

a superficial reader, is that the major portion has twelve verses in Āryā metre, whereas the minor portion is composed wholly in Śloka metre The first Āryā of the मंगलाचरण anticipates a verse of उपसंहार in a different metre, but the expectation is left unfulfilled.

(2) The second point is that the minor portion does not reveal the terseness which is a marked feature of style of the major portion. Formulaic paddings such as अथ लक्षणम्, अथ भेदान्प्रवक्ष्यामि, लक्षणं च प्रणीयते, etc., are rarely found in the major portion It thus exemplifies the *sūtra* style, which aims at brevity and avoids expletives or verse-fillers. To ensure brevity, the author here allows his subsections to end according to his convenience and not necessarily at the end of a verse or a line. A verse or a line may thus contain a subsection or more and at times includes even a part of the following section The 142 verses thus form 212 subsections or *sūtras*, as they are rightly called Of these the first 183 *sūtras* have been made out of the first 117 and a half *kārikās*, whereas the last twenty-four *kārikās* and a half furnish us with only 29 *sūtras*. It is manifest therefore that the minor portion is less compact than the major one.

(3) A further device which the author employs to ensure brevity is that he omits predicative verbs In the major portion of 235 lines seventy verses are thus found without a finite verb or a verbal predicate, but in the last 49 lines, forming the minor portion, there are only six verses of this type, the others having either a finite verb or a verbal predicate.

(4) Great advantage in versification is also gained by the repeated use of such verbs and verbal forms as स्यात्, इष्यते, मत, प्रोक्त, ज्ञात, etc.; and the use of such particular verbs may be considered as a reliable index of style. In the list given here fourteen verbs are noted along with the

number of times each occurs in the major portion of the *kārikās* :—

अस् or भू . . .	13	ख्या	1
वच् with or without प्र .	8	कीर्त् with प्र . .	1
कथ् . .	4	ख्या with सम् and आ .	1
मन्	4	गण्	1
कृ .	4	हृ with उद् and आ .	1
ज्ञा with or without वि .	4	वृष् . . .	1
दृष् . . .	2		

The minor portion contains the ten verbs noted below along with the number of times each occurs.

अस् or भू .	7	पद् with प्रति . .	1
कृ . . .	4	भण् . . .	1
दृष्	1	मन्	1
कीर्त् with प्र	1	वच् with प्र . .	1
चक्ष् with परि . .	1		

A comparison of these two lists clearly proves that in the minor portion three new verbs भण्, चक्ष् with परि, and पद् with प्रति are used, the last two with their pentasyllabic forms परिचक्षते and प्रतिपादित respectively. In the major portion, on the other hand, there is not a single pentasyllabic verbal form, there being only two quadrisyllabic forms प्रकीर्तित and समाख्यात and all others being either trisyllabic or dissyllabic.

(5) This leads us to another point of difference, viz. the use of the particle इति, which does such yeoman service to commentators In the major portion we find it only seven times, i e. in *kārikās* Nos. 3, 29, 30, 40, 99, 103 and 111. Considering, however, the fact that *kārikās* Nos. 29 and 30 are from the *Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra*, it may be said that the word इति is used only five times in 231 lines. In the minor portion of only 49 lines, on the other hand, it is used not less than four times, always with a verbal form and thrice with

the particular word स्मृत. इति स्मृत thus appears to be a pet phrase with the author of the minor portion, whereas in the first portion, if the ślokas from the *Nāṭya-śāstra* are excluded, it is rarely found and the word इति is invariably used without a verbal form.

(6) In the major portion adverbial forms ending in धा are used in preference to adjectival forms ending in विध. Not only that, but we have only one instance of the adjectival form, षड्विधा in *kārikā* No. 12, as opposed to the adverbial forms used twelve times—द्विधा five times in *kārikās* Nos. 10, 39, 78, 79 and 107, त्रिधा four times in *kārikās* Nos 6, 13, 38 and 50, पंचधा twice in *kārikās* Nos. 82 and 99, and अष्टधा once in *kārikā* No. 84. Viewed in this light, the last foot of *kārikā* No 136[1] in the minor portion ought to have been विशेषो ऽसौ त्रिधा स्मृतः, but instead of this we have the adjectival form त्रिविध in विशेषस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः ।

(7) Lastly, difference in style may be remarked in the use of the correlatives यत् and तत्. The *Vṛtti* on the अविमृष्टविधेयांशदोष[2] deals at length with the rule यत्तदोर्नित्यसंबन्धः, which is followed without exception in the minor portion In the *Vṛtti* referred to above the author mentions the exceptional cases where तत् or यत् may be used without its correlative and where some other demonstrative pronoun may be used with the relative यत् ; but the minor portion supplies us with no example of such cases, though both the correlatives are used not less than fourteen times in 49 lines. In the major portion, however, we find both the correlatives used in 32 places, one without the other in 29 places, and the demonstratives इदम् and अदस् are used in four places with the relative यत्.

These points, when considered singly, may appear insignificant ; but their cumulative effect will leave no doubt

[1] K.P., p. 741.

[2] Ibid, pp. 305–15

in the reader's mind that two different hands have been at work in the composition of the *kārikās*. These differences in style, which can be discerned in spite of Alaka's claim that he had imitated Mammata's style to a nicety and of his boast of सम्यग्विनिर्मिता संघटना,[1] perfectly justify readers in concluding that Mammata composed *kārikās* only as far as Parikara and that the remaining *kārikās* with the whole of the *Vṛtti* were written by Alaka

We must settle two more points and consolidate the position we have won first, whether there is any incongruity between the major portion of the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti* on them, and, secondly, whether the same hand which is seen at work in the minor portion of the *kārikās* is discernible in the *Vṛtti*

A close study of the *kārikās* preceding Parikara and the *Vṛtti* on them reveals the following points of difference between the two —

(1) The *kārikā* describing the अलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्य division of विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य ध्वनि reads

रसभावतदाभासभावशान्त्यादिरक्रमः ।
भिन्नो रसाद्यलंकारादलंकार्यतया स्थितः ॥[2]

This means clearly that the अक्रम (in which the order of precedence is not perceptible) consisting in रस, भाव, etc., stands as something to be embellished (and as such) distinct from the figures of speech रसवत्, etc. This whole section of ध्वनि in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is indebted to the *Dhvanyāloka*. To see how far it is so, let us read *Kāvya-prakāśa kārikās* Nos. 24, 25 and 26 (*a*), side by side with *Dhvanyāloka kārikās* II, 1, 2 and 3 (*a*), as given below :—

[1] K P, p. 789
[2] Ibid., p 84

ध्वन्यालोक[1]	काव्यप्रकाश[2]
अर्थान्तरे संक्रमित-	अविवक्षितवाच्यो य-
मत्यन्त वा तिरस्कृतम् ।	स्तत्र वाच्यं भवेद्ध्वनौ ।
अविवक्षितवाच्यस्य	अर्थान्तरे संक्रमित-
ध्वनेर्वाच्यं द्विधा मतम् ॥	मत्यन्तं वा तिरस्कृतम् ॥
असंलक्ष्यक्रमोद्द्योतः	विवक्षितं चान्यपरं
क्रमेण द्योतितः परः ।	वाच्यं यत्रापरस्तु सः ।
विवक्षिताभिधेयस्य	कोऽप्यलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्यो
ध्वनेरात्मा द्विधा मतः ॥	लक्ष्यव्यंग्यक्रमः परः ॥
रसभावतदाभास-	रसभावतदाभास-
तत्प्रशान्त्यादिरक्रमः ।	भावशांत्यादिरक्रमः ।

After the *kārıkās* quoted above the *Dhvanyāloka* points out the difference between रसध्वनि and रसाद्यलंकार and sums up as follows :—

तस्मादङ्गत्वेन च रसादीनामलंकारता । यः पुनरङ्गी रसो भावो वा सर्वाकारमलंकार्यः स ध्वनेरात्मा ।[3] The second part of *Kāvya-prakāśa kārıkā* No 26, quoted above as भिन्नो रसाद्यलंकारादलंकार्यतया स्थितः । is nothing but a concise summary of the statement in the *Dhvanyāloka* It would not be wrong, therefore, to suppose that the Kārikā-kāra follows the *Dhvanyāloka* in his distinction between रसध्वनि and रसाद्यलकार. These latter thus had a separate existence in the conception of the Kārıkā-kāra, quite independent of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य काव्य, as marked in *Dhvanyāloka*[4] in the *Vṛttı* on ııı, 35 But these figures of speech are nowhere mentioned in the *kārıkās* of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* The Vṛttı-kāra notes them, but not as separate figures of speech, but as varieties of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य काव्य.[5] Here is thus a clear difference of conception between the author of the *kārıkās* and

[1] *Dhvanyāloka*, pp 60–4
[2] K P, pp 82–4
[3] *Dhvanyāloka*, p 78.
[4] *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 205–6.
[5] K.P., p. 201.

the author of the *Vṛtti*, which cannot be accounted for unless we suppose separate authors for the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*.

(2) After the *kārikās* describing व्यभिचारिभाव's there runs the *Vṛtti* —

निर्वेदस्यामंगलप्रायस्य प्रथममनुपादेयत्वेऽप्युपादानं व्यभिचारित्वेऽपि स्थायिताभिधानार्थम् ।[1]

Dr. Ganganath Jha translates this as "the mention of निर्वेद (self-disparagement), though improper in the beginning on account of its inauspicious character, is yet made, in order to show that, though an accessory (व्यभिचारि), it is also permanent (स्थायि)". The question may be asked here as to "who made the mention in the beginning?" *Kārikās* Nos. 31 to 34 are lifted from the *Nātya-śāstra*. Are we then to suppose that निर्वेद was mentioned at the beginning of व्यभिचारि भाव's by the Nātyaśāstra-kāra for the purpose put down in the *Vṛtti*? If so, we shall have to ascribe to the Nātyaśāstra-kāra a thing of which he never dreamt. He accepts neither निर्वेद as a permanent emotion, nor शान्त as a *Rasa*. Who else could then have mentioned it purposely at the beginning, if not the Kārikā-kāra? The Vṛtti-kāra appears here to mean that the writer of the *kārikās*, who could have changed the position of निर्वेद, purposely retained it at the beginning, in order that it may be both a स्थायि and a व्यभिचारि भाव Now उपादान is always used in reference to a higher authority and never to the writer himself. It is clear, therefore, that the Vṛtti-kāra considered the writer of these *kārikās* as a man of authority and tried to account for the following *kārikā* by the mention of निर्वेद at the beginning. One more point may also be noted here. This defence of the first place given to निर्वेद is not first brought to light by the Vṛtti-kāra. Abhinavagupta, whose commentary on the

[1] K P, p 116.

Nātya-śāstra must have been read by the Vrttı-kāra, first offers this explanation of the prior mention of निर्वेद. While commenting on the verse शृङ्गार हास्य, etc., of the *Nātya-śāstra*, which he reads as

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।
बीभत्साद्भुतशांताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥

he remarks that निर्वेदो ऽस्य (शान्तस्य) स्थायी । एतदर्थमेवायममंगलभूतो ऽपि पूर्वनिर्दिष्टः। But the Kāvyaprakāśa-kārıkā-kāra does not read the verse शृङ्गारहास्य, etc, in this way He mentions only eight *Rasas* in *Nātya* and adds निर्वेदस्थायिभावो ऽस्ति शान्तो ऽपि नवमो रसः ।, while the Vrttı-kāra, following Abhinavagupta, comments on the *kārıkās* of व्यभिचारि भाव's, as given above.

(3) The whole of the section after the description of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यकाव्यभेद's, beginning with संकलनेन पुनरस्य ध्वनेस्त्रयो भेदाः,[1] which establishes ध्वनि after meeting all objections to it, is a little out of place and has no basis in the *kārıkās*. *Kārıkās* Nos 45, 46 and 47 give the divisions of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यकाव्य, from which the Kārıkā-kāra goes straight off to चित्रकाव्य. The ध्वनिवाद, which is inserted between the *kārıkās* Nos 47 and 48, has no warrant in the *kārıkās* and appears to emanate from a separate hand. Had the writer of the *kārıkās* and the *Vrtti* been one and the same person, he would surely have alluded to it in the *kārıkās*, if ever so briefly.

(4) There is one case at least where we definitely find the original arrangement of the *kārıkās* changed by the Vrtti-kāra. The varieties of लुप्तोपमा are given in the following *kārıkās* :—

तद्धर्मस्य लोपे स्यान्न श्रौती तद्धिते पुनः ।
उपमानानुपादाने वाक्यगाथ समासगा ॥ ८८ ॥
वादेर्लोपे समासे सा कर्माधारक्यचि क्यङि ।

[1] K P, pp. 216–56

कर्मकर्त्रोर्णमुल्येतद्विलोपे क्विप्समासगा ॥ ८९ ॥
धर्मोपमानयोर्लोपे वृत्तौ वाक्ये च दृश्यते ।
क्वचि वाद्युपमेयासे त्रिलोपे च समासगा [1] ॥ ९० ॥

While commenting on एतद्विलोपे, the *Vṛtti* says एतयोर्धर्मवाद्योः। Now, if we look to the order of the *kārikās*, धर्म, उपमान and वादि are mentioned in successive order. Is it then possible to take by the words एतद्वि, धर्म, and वादि, and leave out उपमान, which occupies a middle position? The natural interpretation would be उपमान and वादि, but it does not fit in with the meaning. Pt. Jhalkīkara appears to have noticed this discrepancy, when he wrote एतच्छब्देनाना- [2] व्यवहितस्य 'वादेः' इत्यस्य, व्यवहितस्य 'धर्मस्य' इत्यस्य च परामर्शः। अत एव "एतयोर्धर्मवाद्योः" इति वृत्तिः संगच्छते। This is nothing but the commentator's common स्थितस्य समर्थनम्। There is no authority either in grammar or in usage for taking a pronoun in the sense of a व्यवहित word. Neither can we think that the writer meant this. The only explanation appears to be that the *kārikās* must have been originally written in the following order :—

तद्धर्मस्य लोपे स्यान्न श्रौती तद्धिते पुनः ।
वादेर्लोपे समासे सा कर्मधारक्वचि क्यङि ॥
कर्मकर्त्रोर्णमुल्येतद्विलोपे क्विप्समासगा ।
उपमानानुपादाने वाक्यगाथ समासगा ॥
धर्मोपमानयोर्लोपे वृत्तौ वाक्ये च दृश्यते ।
क्वचि वाद्युपमेयासे त्रिलोपे च समासगा ॥

The Vṛtti-kāra, while dividing the *kārikās* into *sūtras*, explained the word एतत् in एतद्विलोपे by एतयोः धर्मवाद्योः and did so correctly; but in his final arrangement based on एकलुप्ता, द्विलुप्ता, and त्रिलुप्ता he changed the order of lines and in doing so overlooked the discrepancy which had slipped into his text unawares. It is likely that the Kārikā-kāra should have arranged his divisions on the principle

[1] K.P., pp. 564–76.
[2] Ibid., p 573.

of the number of varieties and not on that of the elements of उपमा omitted. We have thus here a clear proof that the *kārikās* were not only commented on by a different hand, but were also arranged by another hand

The only point that remains to be considered is whether the hand that wrote the *kārikās* following Parikara is discernible in the *Vṛtti* of the *kārikās* preceding it. Even when we have to base our arguments on the style manifested in 49 lines only, the following points do indicate the identity of the writer of the last *kārikās* and the writer of the earlier part of the commentary on the *kārikās* prior to Parikara :—

(1) *Kārikā* No 142 is a convincing indication of the commentator's hand. It reads

एषां दोषा यथायोग सभवन्तो ऽपि केचन ।
उक्तेष्वन्तर्भवन्तीति न पृथक्प्रतिपादिताः [1] ॥

This verse and especially the closing portion of it इति न पृथक्प्रतिपादिताः are not in harmony with the *kārikās* included in the major portion It is redundant, the very fact of not mentioning the defects separately being quite sufficient for the purpose For instance, we may compare *kārikās* Nos 46 (*b*) and 47 ·—

एषां भेदा यथायोगं वेदितव्याश्च पूर्ववत् ॥ ४६ ॥
सालंकारैर्ध्वनेस्तैश्च योगः संसृष्टिसंकरैः ।
अन्योन्ययोगादेवं स्याद्भेदसंख्यातिभूयसी [2] ॥ ४७ ॥

Here was an opportune moment to say that, " as the number of divisions becomes very great by mutual combination", they are not separately mentioned. But the Kārikā-kāra quietly passes it over. The phraseology "न पृथक्प्रतिपादिताः" is again quite in consonance with the style of a commentator who is often careful to show that the text on which he comments is in no way defective Such words are often found in the *Vṛtti*. For example :—

[1] K P., p 769
[2] Ibid , pp 212–15.

(*a*) तद्वान् अपोहो वा शब्दार्थः कैश्चिदुक्त इति ग्रंथगौरव-भयात्प्रकृतानुपयोगाच्च न दर्शितम् [1]।

(*b*) यद्यपि भावोदय-भावसंधि-भावशबलत्वानि नालंकारतया उक्तानि तथापि कश्चिद्ब्रूयादित्येवमुक्तम् [2]।

(*c*) अनयैव . . . इत्यादिका रशनोपमा च न लक्षिता, एवंविधवैचित्र्यसहस्रसंभवात्, उक्तभेदानतिक्रमाच्च [3]।

It need not be pointed out that न लक्षिता उक्तभेदानतिक्रमाच्च is exactly equivalent to उक्तेष्वन्तर्भवन्तीति न पृथक्प्रतिपादिताः।

(2) *Kārikā* No. 121 contains the following words in the definition of उत्तर :—

प्रश्नस्योन्नयनं यत्र क्रियते तत्र वा सति। [4]

We may notice here the use of the compound verb उन्नयनं क्रियते instead of the elementary verb उन्नीयते. The use of such compound verbs is entirely absent from the major portion, while we often find such compound verbs used in the *Vṛtti*. The following may serve as examples :—

(*a*) रामादिवद्वर्तितव्यं न रावणादिवदित्युपदेशं . . . करोतीति। [5]

(*b*) अत्रोपमालंकारेण सकलरिपुबलक्षयः क्षणात् करिष्यते। [6]

(*c*) इति विभागकरणमनुपपन्नं [7] स्यात्।

(*d*) यद्येको दोषः प्रदर्शितस्तत्र दोषान्तराण्यपि संति, तथापि तेषां तत्राप्रकृतत्वात्प्रकाशनं न कृतम्। [8]

(*e*) तदेतत्काव्यान्तर्गडुभूतमिति नात्र भेदलक्षणं कृतम्। [9]

(3) Lastly, the points noted above, viz. the use of इति, the use of adjectival forms ending in विध in preference to adverbial forms ending in धा, and the practice of following

[1] K.P., p. 38.
[2] Ibid., p. 201.
[3] Ibid., pp. 579–80.
[4] Ibid., p. 708.
[5] Ibid., p. 10.
[6] Ibid., p. 138.
[7] Ibid., p. 238.
[8] Ibid., p. 406.
[9] Ibid., p. 504.

the rule यत्तदोर्नित्यसंबंध:, are all so obvious that no more examples need be cited to substantiate them.

It may therefore be definitely concluded that the major portion of the kārikās, i.e as far as the figure of speech Parikara, was composed by Mammata, and the *kārikās* following Parikara and the whole of the *Vrtti* were written by Alaka. The other traditional versé quoted by Rājānaka Ānanda also leads to the same conclusion He says —

अन्येनाप्युक्तम् [1] —

काव्यप्रकाश इह कोऽपि निबंधकृद्भ्यां
द्वाभ्यां कृतेऽपि कृतिनां रसतत्त्वलाभः ।
लोकेऽस्ति विश्रुतमिदं नितरां रसालं
बन्धप्रकाररचितस्य तरोः फलं यत् ॥

A graft is inserted in the stem of a tree, and the succeeding growth, though mainly supported and nourished by the main stem, belongs to the graft. In the same way the main part of the *kārikās* belongs to Mammaṭa, and the closing portion together with the *Vṛtti* was composed by Alaka.

[1] K P, pp 789–90

On the Pronunciation of the Common Turkish "R"

By N K. DMITRIJEV

A. LININ'S article (" K voprosam formalnogo izucheniya poezii turetskikh narodov " in the *Izvestiya Vostochnogo Fakulteta Azerbaidžanskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, t. I, Baku, 1926, pp. 139–201), criticizing the work of T. Kowalski (*Ze studjów nad formą poezji ludów tureckich*, 1922) on Turkish popular prosody, deals with some new details connected in one way or another with prosody Among them the author draws attention on p 180 to the soft pronunciation of the Turkish *r*, at the same time he refers to analogous results in one of the previous treatises of Messrs. Kowalski[1] and Bergstrasser (ibid). This fact is so interesting that it can be examined without reference to its influence upon the character of the rhymes and can properly be made the subject of a separate article.

This question, like all those relating to the comparative grammar of the Turkish languages, can be considered either from the point of view of the gradual development of the Turkish dialects, or from the point of view of its presence or absence in modern Turkish dialects and idioms We will try to collect the separate facts of this kind, in order to proceed from them to wider conclusions based on their history.

As the pronunciation of *r*, which seems to vary in different dialects, has not been studied according to the methods of experimental phonetics, the most noticeable varieties of this pronunciation for us are those which produce the complete suppression of the *r* sound. This phenomenon can be observed, if not in ordinary written Turkish, at any rate in phonetic transcriptions which sometimes show even the phonetic process which has brought about the complete suppression of the *r* in certain phonetic conditions.

[1] Tadeusz Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, Krakow, 1919 (Polish).

It appears that the gradual weakening of the *r* sound is observed most frequently in the Ottoman language, which possesses the largest number of texts in phonetic transcription. In F. Giese's work, *Erzahlungen und Lieder aus dem Vilajet Qonjah* [Halle–New York, 1907], we find the following forms: *dıler* (p. 56) < *dırler*, *dejo* (p. 65) < *dejor*, *bı gaχr* (p. 85) < *bır gaχr*, *deler* (p. 86) < *dırler*. In M. Räsänen's new book, *Eine sammlung von Mānıliedern aus Anatolien* (Helsingfors, 1926, Société Finno-Ougrienne), such forms are found as *Bı tanesı* (p. 47) < *Bır tanesı*, *Benze$_c$iı* (p. 52) < *Benze$_c$iır*, *kabarı$_c$e* (p. 53) < *kabarı$_c$er*, *ašı$_c$iısun* (p. 58) < *ašı$_c$iırsun*, and many others. Vl. Gordlevskij's collections in his work, *Obraztsı osmanskago narodnago tvorchestva* (Moscow, 1916, Lazarev Institution for Oriental Languages [Russian]), also show *edıyosun* (p. 3) < *edıyorsun*, *bı dıken* (p. 5) < *bır dıken*, *ıstemeyom* (p. 5) < *ıstemeyorum*, *dılıyomu* (p. 27) < *dılıyor-mu*, and many other similar forms. The most interesting forms are *sarām* (p. 157) < *sararım* and *qurtulām* (p. 160) < *qurtularım* (compare *ā'z* < *āğız*), where the suppression of *r* standing between two vowels produces secondary lengthening. We have here a complete analogy between the fate of the ع and that of the *r*; the first is common in the literary language, the second sporadic in it, the phenomenon being observed only in the Ottoman language, which goes further than other dialects in weakening the pronunciation of غ. In the case of the disappearance both of ع and *r* the script is more conservative (cf قوغا *gova*, بر *bı*, آرسلان *astan*). These phenomena must all be noticed as being usual in a series of Anatolian dialects. All the examples analysed except *sarām* < *sararım* and *qurtulām* < *qurtularım*, where the *r* is between two vowels, contain the *r* sound in a closed syllable, which in the present state of spoken Anatolian Ottoman-Turkish is subject to complete suppression. The preceding stage is represented by such examples as *deller* < *derler*, *k'ollar* (Räsänen, p. 57) <

k'orlar, *jygylyssa* (Giese, p. 82) < *jygylyrsa*, *varyssam* (Giese, p. 80) < *varyrsam*, i.e. the transition *rl* > *ll* > *l*, *rs* > *ss* > *s* is a regressive assimilation of the *r* with the neighbouring sounds.[1] Regressive assimilation is not so rare in Turkish phonetics as is commonly supposed; compare such well-known cases as: *bugun* < *bu* + *gun*, *biltir* < *bir* + *yil-dir*, *böyle*, *šoyle*, *öyle* < *bu* + *ile*, *šu* + *ile*, *o* + *ile*.

As to the question now before us, this assimilation is particularly natural because the root remains invariable, only primary and secondary affixes being assimilated. This process, like many others, produced some formations due to false or incomplete analogy Thus, for instance, there is no doubt that *bir* > *bi* developed first before words commencing with a consonant, i.e when *bir* is in effect a closed syllable, and that such forms as *bi adam* [cf. *bi ešeyim*, Kowalski, op cit., p. 57] developed later out of *bi-ra-dam*. It is interesting to note that the soft pronunciation of Turkish *r* can be confirmed indirectly, by evidence derived from other languages. Thus the normal Armenian *r* ր is never used for transcribing the Turkish *r* in Turkish texts in Armenian characters, on the other side the Russian trilled *r* (generally not very strong) seems to the Ottomans to be a very sharp *r* and so Russians who do not possess the Turkish pronunciation, and articulate *r* in their own way, often become an object of derision to Ottomans.[2]

Apart from Ottoman Turkish, where the weak *r* has become incidentally a characteristic of the pronunciation of the educated classes, some other dialects sporadically show isolated facts of the same kind. For South Krim the same process has been noted by V Filanenko in his latest book

[1] My friend Mrs. A M. Tserunian has told me how she was teased in the market in Constantinople, when she asked for *kiraz* ("wild cherry") and the boys began to run after her shouting "*kir-raz! kir-raz!*"

[2] The systematic transition *r* > *l* is recorded for the dialects of Khudavendigar and Karamania: *sallanalaq* < *sallanaraq*, *parlayalaq* < *parlayaraq*, etc. (Maksimov B., *Opit izsledovaniya tyorkskikh dialektov v. Khudavendgyarye i Karamanii*, S. Petersburg, 1867, p. 53 [Russian]).

Zagadkı krımskıkh tatar (*Krım Tatar tapmadžaları*), Simferopol, 1926 [Russian], e g *bı yorganım* < *bır yorganım* (p. 21). The suppression of *r* is particularly marked in the Kumouk dialect, as the works of investigators of that dialect show, for instance, B. Choban-zade's latest article, "Zametkı o yazīke ı slovesnostı Kumīkov," Baku, 1926 [Russian], e g : *soygenlernı soygenlenı, dılernı dılenı, uylernı uylenı* (p 121) Here, too, we find the law that its occurrence at the end of a closed syllable is an indispensable condition of the disappearance of *r* Incidentally the retention or disappearance of *r* has acquired in this dialect some morphological significance it is suppressed in the Dative case, but retained in the Accusative, Locative, and Ablative—*uylege* but *uylernı, uylerde, uylerden* (ibid , p. 125) In the last three cases the quality of the following consonant *n* or *d* may have some influence.

Further may be noted such well-known examples of the disappearance of *r* as *tūn* < *tugan* < *turgan* in the Kazak-Khirgiz dialect and *qaradı* < *qaradır* (∽ *dur*), *beredi* < *beredır* (Radloff, *Phonetık*, ii, § 297, 2). According to K. Udakhin's researches the final *r* in the Özbeg verbal forms *alalar, beralār* is not sounded at all, and so most of the Özbeg dialects have here · *alala, berālā*, etc "Im Tarantschi-Dialekte und dem Dialekte der Kysyl-Tataren verschmilzt oft der Auslaut r, wenn ein consonantisch auslautendes Affix an den stamm tritt, z. B *bar, par* (gehen) . *pādym, bādym* (ich ging) anstatt *bar-dym*" (Radloff, *Phonetık*, i, § 101). The same feature is noticed in the Bashkir dialect. In the materials of its investigator, M. Bilalov, we find such forms as: *tŏgan* < *tŏrgan, kurım* < *kurırım*, etc. Finally, the Kazan-Tartar dialect has one peculiarity which is common also to other dialects, namely the postposition *bılä*∽*bılān* (corresponding to the Ottoman *ıle*∽*ılen*) has supplanted here the old رلان ، برله, which existed side by side in Chaghatai. This last fact shows some historical stages in the process. The modification, i.e. suppression, of Turkish *r* caused by

the laws of assimilation and dissimilation and reinforced by the action of analogy, seems to have appeared in the Turkish languages long ago. It will be enough to take such forms as *bırlä~bırle* (already quoted) and the verbal root *är-* (to be) and to examine their development in the old Turkish literary texts. The text of the Orkhon inscriptions[1] give only the forms with *r* *ermıš, ertı, Kul Tegın bırle,* etc. The forms *erser, basmasar, kelser,* and *angar* have also the final *r*. The written tradition was very conservative, and therefore we cannot determine when the suppression of *r* began, the *r* being everywhere maintained from the Qutadgu Bilig up to the early Ottoman and Kazan-Tartar texts which imitated Uyghur and Chagatai models. It is only the foreign transcriptions[2] of certain Turkish words, and more recently, the texts in phonetic transcription that have shown us what difference there was between the written form of the words quoted above and their living pronunciation: *amıš~ımıš, bılä~bıle, kelsä~kılsä~gelse, ısä~ıse,* and *aña~ana~ona.* In this connexion the history of the word ارسلان is rather interesting: parallel with the Mongol *arslan* we have in the Codex Cumanicus *astlan,* in the Byzantine authors *Κλιτζιασθλαν* (= Qïlïč Aslan), in Ibnu'l-Athır[3] اصلان, and in the Armenian, Bulgarian, Servian, and other languages familiar with this word *aslan.*

The Kazak-Khirghiz form *arıstan,* which is due to the inserted *ı*, is nearer to the Mongol and the same may be said of the Hungarian *oroszlán.*

Generally speaking the weak pronunciation of *r* (the long *r*, i.e. *rr* being noticed only in the Turcoman dialect, cf A. Samojlovič, *Abdu's-Sattar Kazı. Knıga razskazov o vıtvakh*

[1] But compare also P. Melioranskij, *Pamyatnık v chesty Kül Tegına,* St. Petersburg, 1899 [Russian].

[2] Compare, for instance, K Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transcriptionstexte in gothischen Lettern,* ii, p. 241. "das Schluss-r von Verbalformen auf- *lar* abfallen konnte, wie . . *dırırle* < *dırırler, durla* < *durlar.*"

[3] Cf. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar,* Leiden, 1894, p. 10.

tekhntsev, St. Petersburg, 1914, § 6 [Russian]), as Kowalski remarks (Zagadki, etc., p. 14), contributed to its alternation with *z*, a point in which the Turkish and Mongal languages differ from one another. G. J Ramstedt (*Sravnitelnaya fonetika mongolskago pismennago yazika i khalkhassko-urginskago govora*, St Petersburg, 1908, p 32), analysing Mongol phonetics, remarks that the weakening of the *r* is not noticed. N. Poppe, the most recent investigator of the Chuvash language, who considers it to be related to, and not a member of, the Turkish family (" Chuvashskii yazik i ego otnoshenie k mongolskomu i turetskim yazikam ": *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russia*, 1924–5), describes the Chuvash *r* as an *r* produced by vibration Thus we see that the so-called *r* languages (Mongolian and Chuvash) have a strong *r* produced by vibration, while the *z* languages (all Turkish dialects) have a rather weak *r* which has a tendency to lose its vibratory quality and approach *z* As to the intermediate stage Kowalski calls it *ž*, Poppe (op. cit.) *ŕ* Both merely show that *r* losing its sonant quality by degrees becomes a spirant, i.e the vibrations die down by degrees and so the Turkish *r* approaches the modern English *r*. These details were noticed by Kowalski when he was taking down his Turkish popular riddles, where we find three symbols [1] for this sound.

[1] These are *r*, ^{r}, (*r*) (op cit , p. 13) " Des trois signes *r*, ^{r} et (*r*) le premier indique une vibrante linguo-dentale qui se distingue dans la plupart des dialectes par une vibration assez faible et rare de l'extremité de la langue. ^{r} est en quelque sorte un reste de *r* qu'on obtient en rapprochant la pointe de la langue du palais antérieur pour un moment très court et sans aucune vibration Le troisième (*r*) qui n'est pas différent de *r* au point de vue d'articulation change de cas en cas chez le même individu, s'accentuant ou disparaissant selon la force momentanée du débit " (op. cit , p. 74)

The following are some examples from this work —

oturu(*r*) (p. 32), *bi direkli* (p 38), but *bi*(*r*) *dam* (p. 38), *g'örü*(*r*) (p. 39), but *japyjo* (p. 44), *düšüjon* (p. 48) < *düšüjorum* Cf also " Osmanisch-türkische Volkslieder aus Macedonien ". *WZKM*, xxxiii Band, by the same author, which appeared after my article had been written.

It therefore appears that the law of the sound-shift *r* || *z*, which was established long ago, must be connected up with the general instability of the ordinary Turkish *r*, which, losing strength by degrees in certain phonetic conditions (in a closed syllable and not before a vowel) has been elided in a series of Turkish dialects.

The "Shalamians" of Arabia

BY S. LANGDON

NABATAEAN sepulchral inscriptions from El-Ḥejra in the Ḥejaz, 40 miles south of Teima and 300 miles S S E. of Petra, frequently mention the Nabateaans [1] and Shalamians [2] The Aramaic-Nabataean inscriptions may be found in Professor Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Nos 78–109, and Professor Lidbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, pp 448–457. In them occur the names of the old Arabic deities, *Dūsharā* of Petra, *Manūthu*,[3] a goddess of Qudaid in the southern Ḥejaz south of Medīna, *Qaishā*,[4] *Allat*, principal goddess of the Arabians, and *Hubalu* of Mekka. According to Hommel, *Grundriss*, 715, n 1, *Allat* may have been the principal deity of the Shalamians, but this is uncertain, and the exact location of this tribe is unknown. The "Shalamians" occur in three tomb inscriptions from El-Ḥejra, Cooke, ibid., 79 (1 B C), No 81 (A D. 4), No 86 (A.D. 26).

Now Teima is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, and is known to have been the provincial residence of the last king of Babylonia, Nabunidus. The Chronicle of his reign says that he remained there in his seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh years, leaving the affairs of state at Babylon to the crown prince (Bêlshazzar), and a new historical record of the reign of Nabunidus states that he made a long campaign from Harran in northern Assyria, across Edom to Teima (*Te-ma-a*, *Te-ma-'*) in his third year

[1] נבטו.

[2] שלמו.

[3] Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients* 715, follows Wellhausen and reads this name as a plural, *Manawâtu(n)*.

[4] קישא and קישה. The former is clearly the correct writing and excludes Winckler's reading *qaisha* "her husband", i.e. husband of Manuthu; Winckler and Hommel assert that *Ḫubalu* was the husband of Manuthu.

(553 B.C.)[1] A tablet of accounts refers to fifty shekels of silver given to a man, who had been sent from Erech in southern Babylonia to Teima (*Te-ma-a*), to purchase a camel[2] and flour for his journey.[3] This tablet is dated in the fifth year of Nabunidus As far as we know, Nabunidus did not return to Babylon until after his eleventh year (545 B.C.), although he claims to have carried out extensive reconstructions of temples in various cities of Babylonia in the years 553–545[4] Professor Dougherty has also published a record of the conviction of a man, who had been commissioned to carry food from Erech to Teima for this king in the tenth year of his reign, but he brought it back from Teima and sold it at Erech[5]

From the same collection of state archives in Erech, Dr Alfred Boissier[6] has published a tablet dated in the eighth year of Cyrus (530 B.C.) concerning a religious ceremony, and among the high administrators of the city is mentioned *Ša-Nabû-tâbi*, the governor (*qêpu*) of the city *Sha-la-mu*, a place name which has not been found elsewhere in cuneiform documents. But the occurrence of Teima (*Temā*) in the same archives and in the same period is strong evidence for the identification of *Shalamu* with the Shalamians of the Nabataean inscriptions found near Teima It does not follow that the city, Shalamu, lay in the immediate region of Teima, but its location in the Ḥejaz may be considered fairly certain. Professor Hommel identifies the Shalamians with the *banû sulaim*, south-east of Medīna.

Since the Shalamians would thus be certified as an important Arabic tribe as early as the end of the sixth century B.C., it raises again the critical problem in *Canticles* 1, 5, usually translated:

[1] Sydney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp 84 and 111.
[2] *AÑSU-A-AB-BA*.
[3] R. P Dougherty, *Archives from Erech*, No. 294, and pp. 34–5.
[4] See the writer's *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 13.
[5] *Yale Oriental Series*, vi, 134.
[6] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 23, 15.

"I am black, but comely,
O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
As the tents of Kedar,
As the curtains of Solomon"

The Hebrew word rendered "Solomon" is שלמה and is pointed in our Hebrew text to agree with the name Solomon, to whom these songs were attributed in later times This has been challenged by scholars such as Wellhausen, Winckler and Hommel,[1] who find here the same word שלמו, *Shalamians*, of the Ḥejra Nabataean inscriptions. The pointing שְׁלָמוּ would be proved, if the Babylonian *Sha-la-mu* be accepted as identical with this word in the late Nabataean inscriptions. Kedar is in any case the tribe *Qidri*, *Qadri*, mentioned several times in the accounts of the Arabian campaign of Ashurbanipal.[2]

Classical Hebrew would not admit the rendering "As the curtains of the Shalamians", unless an Aramaic or Arabic Nabataean loan-word *shalamu*, *shalamo* be considered possible in the post-Exilic period to which *Canticles* probably belongs.[3] However this may be, Professor Budde's edition of *Canticles* in 1898 does not even mention Wellhausen and Winckler's suggestion,[4] which seems to be the only sensible solution and provides much the best sense It is true that all the ancient versions from the Septuagint onward accepted the name "Solomon" as the original word, and its present form must have stood in the text before the middle of the third century B.C. If *Canticles* 1, 5, really does contain the Nabataean collective plural noun *shālāmu* = "the Shalamians," it is clearly a loan-word and would prove a post-Exilic date for this compilation of love songs.[5]

[1] Clermont-Ganneau, made the same suggestion in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, v (1905), 128 f. Reference given me by Professor Cooke.

[2] See Streck, *Assurbanipal*, iii, 792.

[3] Hommel believes that *Canticles* 1, 5 (last two words) contains a later gloss.

[4] Published in 1893.

[5] Hommel also finds the same word in *Canticles*, 7, 1, "The *Shulamite*," but does not explain the etymological form

The original Hebrew text, therefore, must have been שלמו, a loan-word from Nabataean. But the etymology of the collective singular nouns נבטו and שלמו is difficult. In Arabic the singular gentilic adjectives would be *Šalamiyyun*, *Nabatiyyun*, *a* Shalamian, *a* Nabatean, and the determined plural would be *as-Salamu*, *an-Nabatu*. If the final ו represents a long vowel, it is difficult to see how it can stand for the short Arabic *u* at the end of the Arabic collective plural, and even less so, if we pre-suppose the undetermined plurals *Šalamiyyūna*, *Nabatiyyūna*, Shalamians, Nabateans, for it can hardly be supposed that the *na* would disappear, if the forms are Arabic. The explanation cannot be obtained from the Aramaic gentilic plural, *Šalmayyā*, *the* Shalamians, *Nabtayyā*, *the* Nabateans.

In Nabatean inscriptions the ו at the end of N Pra. does stand for the short Arabic ending *un*, as in אוישו (Uwaišu), for أُوَيْسٌ, Cooke, p. 259, No. 103, and for the Arabic ending *u*, without *tanwīn*, in N Pra. of the diptote class, הימו (Ḥaitamu), ibid., No. 104, probably also תנתלו, ibid., and in the determined form אלבעלו = اَلْبَعْلُ, v. Lidbarski, ibid., 215.[1] נבטו and שלמו of the Nabatean inscriptions is, however, a *plural*, and only two explanations occur to me —(1) The words are collective singulars for نَبَطٌ, plural of نَبَطِيٌّ ; شَلَمٌ plural of شَلَمِيٌّ, cf. اَلْهِنْدُ, the Hindus, plural of هِنْدِيٌّ, Socin, *Arabic Grammar*, p. 74, and Noeldeke, ZDMG. xxv. 122.[2] (2) The ו stands for *ū* and is Babylonian. The true Accadian-Babylonian gentilic ending is *īy* to which is added the nominative inflexion *u*, *īyu* is contracted into

[1] This ending (ו) for *un*, *un* occurs almost regularly at the end of *N Pra.* in Nabatean texts from Sinai.

[2] The reference to Noeldeke by Professor Cooke

û. There is also the formation *āịā* (Aramaic), as in *Babilāị u*, contracted to *û* as in *Arkû*, the man of Erech, fem. *Arkāịitu*. Now the singular of Babylonian and Assyrian gentilics is also employed for the plural[1] as in *Dilmunâị*, the Dilmunians, *Madaịa*, the Medes. It is just possible that the Nabateans and Shalamians were really Aramaic tribes from Babylonia. At any rate the historical inscriptions of Nabunidus and the contracts of the same period prove that, at Teima, Babylonian influence was very great in the sixth century, and a Babylonian governor of the Shalamians has now been identified in the reign of Cyrus It should be noted that the Targum gives the "Shalamians" as a substitute for the "Kenites" in Gen xv, 16; Jud, i, 16; iv, 11; Num. 24, 21.

Dr. Cowley suggests that the ו at the end of שלמו, נבטו is to be compared with the Aramaic abstract ending ו as in מלכו "kingdom", etc., and compares *Panamu, Zenjirli*, = Cooke, No 61, 2, אלהו "god-head" for "gods", and *Panamu, Zenjirli*, = Cooke, No. 62, 17, מלכו "the kingship", i e "the kings".

[1] Cf Brockelman, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, ii, 56

Fragment of an Incantation Series

DT. 57

By S LANGDON

I COPIED this fragment in 1919, and discovered that it is the text erroneously cited by Delitzsch in his *Assyrisches Handworterbuch* as DT. 59 It contains so many important contributions to Sumerian and Accadian lexicography, that its publication *in extenso* is desirable Its contents are similar to the *Shurpu* series, and I suggest that it is the still missing first tablet of that series. Zimmern, who is the editor of the *Shurpu* series, suggested in the *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, vol. 30, 187, that either CT. 17, 34–5 (restored by him in ZA. 28, 75–80) or Craig, *Religious Texts*, 56–9, is the missing first tablet. Clearly DT. 57 has more claim to that distinction by reason of its similarity with the other tablets of the *Shurpu* series

Obverse II [1]

3. *šiptu* . *i-ša-tu-um-ma i-*[*ša-tu-um-ma*]
   Incantation It is fire, it is fire.
4. [*i-*]*šat me-ḫu-u i-šat* [*kab-li*]
   " Fire of the storm-wind ",[2] " fire of the inwards,"
5. [*i-šat*] *mu-u-tu išat šib-tu* [3] *išat ka-*[ ]
   " Fire of death," [4] fire of fever, fire of .

[1] At the end of the preceding section, *amelmarṣu liblut* "May the sick man live "

[2] Probably a kind of inflamation, cf *šipit šâri* in note 3.

[3] *šip-ṭu* " pestilence ", is clearly not the same word as *šipṭu* " judgment " The two words are confused in Delitzsch, HW. 638 and Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 1002. A root *šapāṭu* to rush, tremble, dialectic for *rapādu* exists Cf *kima purīmi ina kamat âli-šu li-ir-tap-pu-ud* " May he wander about like a wild ass by the outer walls of his city ", King, *Boundary Stones*, 41, 18, with VS. i, 70, v, 12, *liš-tap-pu-ud*. That this verb is *šapāṭu, šabāṭu*, and not *šapādu* as mere phonetic variant of *rapādu*, is proved by *sag-gab-gab* = *murtappidu* " one who wanders about ", ZA. 9, 162, 16 = *šab-bi-ṭu* 14, *mu-sár-šu-u*, 15. Note here the Sumerian verb *gab* (= *kab*) = *lasāmu*, Br. 2882, originally *ǵab, ǵub*. Cf. *mu-un-na-ab-ǵub* (ǵab, kab) *ǵub-*[*bi-ne*] =

[4] For n 4 see following page.

6 . *ra-kı* [amel]*sı-EN* [1] *ul ı-ša-bıt-kı ıš-ša-*[*ak-ku*]

The prefect (?) . . . thee not, the minister quenches [2] thee not

7 *-kı-ma* [ilu]*Marduk li-še-bır-kı I-dı-ıg-lat nâru*

May Marduk . . thee, may the River Tigris break thee.

8 *ú-tam-mı-kı* [ilu]*A-num aba-ka ú-tám-mı-kı An-tum umma-kı*

By Anu, thy father, I cursed thee, by Antum, thy mother, I cursed thee.

9 *ṣı-ı kı-ma sîrı ına a-sur-rı-kı*

Go forth from thy abyss like a serpent,

10. *kı-ma ıṣṣur ḫurrı ına nar-ba-ṣı-kı*

Like a falcon (?) [3] from thy nesting place,

11. *e tas-saḫ-rı a-na sıb-tı- kı*

And mayest thou not return to thy prey

ıttanarratu [they flee in fear], SBH 115, 28 Here the dream omen, *šumma ıš ta-na-bı ıṭ*, Syn *parādu* "shudder", AJSL 35, 149, 32 Syriac ܪܦܛ *raptım se morıt* is the cognate of *rapādu*, but the final letter is originally *t*, cf the quadraliteral *š-r-b-t*, to rush, tremble Therefore *rapādu* < *rapaṭu**, this original root is preserved in the *Talmud*, Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumım*, etc, 1489, Dalman, *Aramaic Lexicon*, 387 *šıptu* a disease, pestilence, has undoubtedly the same sense as *rapādu*, a disease. *šıp-ṭu mutānu ana bıt amēlı la ıṭeḫḫı-e*, Harper, *Letters*, 977, 12 The word seems to have the meaning "fever, malaria", as a pestilence, it occurs in *Shurpu*, VIII = Ebeling, KAR 30, obv 5, *me-kıt šıp-tu namtāru šâru bırku ša Marduk* "May the attack of malaria, pestilence, wind, and lightning of Marduk (undo thee)", see *Zimmern*, ZA 30, 202 Here *ım-rı a = šı bıt šârı* "rushing of the wind", a disease, CT. 19, 48, A 17, with *ud-da-tab = ḫı-maṭ sêtı* "heat at its crisis", fever, and again, KAR 24 R, 23, *ud-da-tab ım-rı-a sag-gıg-ga = ḫımat ṣı-e-tı* [*šı-pıṭ šârı murus kakkadı*] For *šı-pıt šârı*, v KAR 203, II, 9–11, *murus šı-pıt šârı*, CT 14, 36, Rm II, 412, 10 in list of diseases. KAR 157, I, 18, 195 R., 19 Therefore, *šabātu*, to blow, sweep, rush, is the same verb as *šabāṭu*, *šapāṭu*, and see Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 102, *šıbıt ımḫullı* "blowing of the hurricane". See line 6 and *ımmır an-da-ru-ru = ša-a-ru ıš-ta-bıṭ-šu*, the wind blows upon him, ASKT. 198

[4] Here not the ordinary *ı-mat mûtı*, Delitzsch, HW. 78, the context (NE. = *ıšatu*) confirms the reading

[1] Doubtful, cf. *zi-em = šakānu*, VR 11 B, 31, ASKT 114, 30.

[2] Literally "*blows* not out".

[3] See BA. IV, 420. Uncertain; Ehelolf, *Bogh. Studien*, x, 59, translates "merlin". Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 149, Holma, *Omen Texts*, K. 3557, 13

12. *na-as-pi-ḫi kima im-ba-ri te-bi-e kima na-al-ši*
Be thou scattered like the storm clouds ; disappear like snow

13. *ki-ma kut-ri e-til-li-i a-na šami-e ša ilu A-nim*
Like smoke ascend thou to the skies of Anu

14. *šip-tu UL-YA-UT-TU-UN* [1] *ši-pat ilu É-a u ilu Marduk*
Incantation *UL-YA-UT-TU-UN*, incantation of Ea and Marduk,

15. *ši-pat ilu Da-mu u ilat Gu-la*
Incantation of Damu and Gula,

16. *ši-pat ilat Nin- ḫabur-sil-du be-lit šip-ti* : tù én
Incantation of Nin-habur-sildu, lady of incantation : curse—malediction

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17. *šiptu* : *i-ša-tu-um-ma išat me-ḫu-u išat kab-li*
Incantation . "Fire of the storm-wind," "fire of the inwards,"

18 *ul-tu du-un-ni* [2] *ki-ša-ti u- sa-am-ma*
From the swales of the forests came up ,

19. *a-na pa-an šadi-i* [3] *it-ta-nam-za-az*
On the face of the "mountain" she stands.

20. *ku-uṣ-ṣu-um-ma lim-ḫur-ki ḫal-pu-u li-ni-iḫ-ki*
Let the cold receive thee, and frost still thee.

21 *ilu É-a bêl [nak-]bi* [4] *ta-ni-ḫu lik-bi-ki*
May Ea, lord of the deep, command misery for thee.

(This section was continued on Rev. I.)

[1] A cryptic phrase, probably composed of first syllables of an incantation Cf. Craig, RT ii, 8, R 11 , iv R 29 * No 4 C, i, 4 , K 2573, ii, 7, in *Corrections*, ibid., pl. 8 , Küchler, *Med* 12, 66 , 52, 52 , CT 23, 10, 20 , BE. 31, 56, 19 , 71, 20 , KAR 114 R. 1 , *ul-ia-tu-un*, iv R. 56 B 20 , *ul-ia-u-tu-un*, KAR 76 R 17 , *ul-tu-un*, KAR No 88, Frag. 3, Obv. 8 , *ul-ia-ut-KA* ʾ*-un*, 77, 18.

[2] *dunnu*, Syn *burtu*, *Assyrian Laws*, § 75 = Schroeder, KAV. 2, p. 15, 30–1, there "ditch, pond" Loan-word from *dun* 2), *Sum Grammar*, 211.

[3] Probably by metaphor for earth.

[4] So read also *Maḳlu*, v, 181

Reverse II

1 *á-gú-zi-ga-ta buru zi-ga nu-me-a*

2. ina še-rim la-am iṣ-su-ru sa-ba-ri

In the morning before the birds twitter,[1]

3. *a bur-ra ka-bi nu-túm-ma*

4 mê ša iṣ-sur pi-šu la ub-la

When the mouth of a bird has not taken up water,

5. *šul á-né šag nu-si-a* [2]

6 be-el e-mu-ki la iš-bu-u

When the strong man has not satisfied his hunger

7. *giššinig ú in-nu-uš šu u-me-ti*

8 bi-nu maš-ta-kal li-ki-e-ma

Tamarisk and mandrake (?) take.

9. *múr-gú ti-ti ĝál unu-gal sa-sal galu-bi-ge u-me-ni-úr-úr*

10 pu-u-di pa-an-di [3] kab-li [4] a-bu-la ša-sal-la [5] ša amēli šu-a-tu muš-še-'-ma

And rub the back, ribs, viscera, anus, and rump of that man.

11. *tù-tù-dug-ga-zu u-me-ni-šub*

12. ši-pat-ka ṭa-ab-tu i-di-[ma]

Cast thy good curse,

[1] So the Accadian version, Sumerian, "when the birds have not risen" For *buru*, v PBS v, 102, vi, 44 = 128, 9

[2] "Had not filled his inwards" (breakfasted)

[3] *uzuti-ti* = *ba-an-tu*, ZA 33, 24, 8, var *bamāti* ribs, *ba-an-ti*, *Bab* v, 102, 43 = RA 17, 120, Obv 15, *ti-ti* = *pa-an du*.

[4] *unu-gal* = *kablu* belly, cavity, cf. *unú-(meš)-a-a* = *ḳabla-ā* "my bowels", KAR 71 R 19 Also *kablîtu* in *unú-meš*-šu *pašṭa*, i.e. *ḳablāti-šu pašṭa*, Boissier, *Choix*, 40, 2, KAR. 434, 6 *unú-min* (= *kablâ*), dual, Küchler, *Med.*, Taf xiv, 28. *SU* = *abulu* "gate", probably *anus* An *abullum* = *na-a-a-bat*, CT. 14, 3 A 24, after *esen sîru* backbone, *rapaltu* (thigh) The reading *ĝal* = *pitû* to open, is certain for *SU* = *šassuru*, *mulieris pudenda*. The Accadian has reversed the order of the words in the Sumerian line

[5] *sa-sal* = *šasallu*, loan-word, part of the body, both of humans and animals. In description of monsters, ZA. 25, 380, 13, CT 17, 42, 34 = Jensen, KB. vi, 2, p. 4, 43, 44, 45, 106 + 114 *širša-sa-lu*, with *kabattu*, liver, VAB ii, 211, 5; 215, 5 Accadian, *pasuttu*, *pasunti* rump, CT. 18, 43, 56, with *irtu* breast. Thompson, *Medical Texts*, 40, 5, 14, with *ḳab-la* and *rapaštu*, 11, 38. *Hammurabi Code*, § 248, 32, with *zibbatu* tail. *sa-sal-šu*, RA. 14, 87, 4.

13. *izi ^ú^gūg-te-en-te-en-na-gim ní-bi ĝa-ba-ab-te-[en]*
14. ki-ma i-šat ur-ba-te bi-li-ti ina ra-ma-ni-šu [lib-li]
And it shall be quenched of itself like the quenched fire of sedges.
15. [*ni-dub* ?] *íd-da-gim na-*[. . .]
16. [ki-ma] ša-pi-ik na-a-ri [aj . .]

. . . .

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE OLD NORTH-WESTERN PRAKRIT

In his interesting review of Dr. Morgenstierne's *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Sir George Grierson says[1]: "I cannot admit any language to be 'Indo-Aryan' which cannot be traced back to the earliest form of Sanskrit known to us—or to some cognate dialect—through a recognized Prakrit, or through a supposed Prakrit that follows, in its main lines of phonology, the lines followed in recognized Prakrit For instance, if a modern language habitually preserves unchanged an original Aryan *st*, I refuse to call that modern language 'Indo-Aryan', because it is impossible to suppose that *st* would survive through any known Indian Prakrit"

The point of issue is the position of the Dardic languages, a question about which I am not competent to judge. My occupation with Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions has, however, led me to results with regard to the possibility of preserving an old *st* in an Indian Prakrit which are somewhat different from Grierson's So far as I can see we have an important Prakrit, which does preserve this group. I refer to the language used in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada, and which we can follow during a long span of time, from the third century B.C. and down to the fourth century A.D.

We can broadly define the territory within which it was spoken. Towards the west it extended into Afghanistan, at least as far as Jalalabad. One important inscription has been found still farther west, in Khawat, but certain features seem to show that its language was not a vernacular of Khawat, but had been brought by settlers from a more eastern district, apparently east of the Indus.

[1] Above, p 372.

Towards the east we can trace the language as far as Manikiala, and in the north we find remnants as far as Ladakh. The southernmost records come from Bahawalpur, Mohenjo Daro, and, according to information kindly supplied by Sir Aurel Stein, apparently from the Thal valley in Baluchistan.

It will be seen that it was spoken over large parts of the territory where we at the present day find Sindhi, Lahnda and Dardic, and we should a priori expect to find traces of it in all those languages. It is, however, evident that the more eastern Prakrits of the Madhyadeśa at an early date began to exercise an increasing influence in Panjab and Sindh, so that we cannot there expect to find much at the present day which takes us back to the old north-western Prakrit. But the case may be different in Dardic

This old Prakrit has not been dealt with by Prakrit grammarians, probably because it had ceased to be used in literature when they wrote. We can infer from the existence of a version of the Dhammapada and from a quotation from another canonical work in the Kurram casket inscription that it was to some extent used in canonical Buddhist literature in the first centuries of our era. From the time of Kaniska's council, however, the Sarvāstivādins, who seem to have been the leading Buddhist school in the north-west, began to use Sanskrit instead, and in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription which seems to be dated during the reign of Kaniṣka's successor Vāsiṣka we actually find a whole sentence in Sanskrit · *danasya avaptir astu.* With the introduction of Sanskrit Kharoṣṭhī gradually disappears, and the influence of the middle country seems to have increased more and more. We understand that the old Prakrit was not dealt with by later grammarians.

The consequence is that it has not been analysed in Pischel's Prakrit grammar, where Paiśācī seems to be considered as an old Prakrit of the north-west, though it does not share any of the characteristic features of the old north-western Prakrit, such as the preservation of several consonantal compounds,

the cerebralization of intervocalic *n* and the distinction of three *s* sounds.

Nevertheless we are in a position to give a fairly full account of this form of speech, and it is easy to show that it is a remarkably consistent and uniform dialect, with insignificant local varieties, the chief of which is in the termination of the nominative of *a* bases, which is *o* in the east and *e* in the west, the frontier line between the two being, broadly, the Indus.

I shall not in this place try to give such an account. I must reserve that for the edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and other future publications. I shall only recall the partly well-known facts regarding the treatment of *st*. It will be remembered that the Shahbazgarhi version of the Aśoka inscriptions regularly preserves *st* unchanged: cf. *asti*, *nasti*, *astina* (*hastinaḥ*), *samstava*, *samstuta*, *vistritena*, *anuśasti*, *striyaka*. In the base *sthā*, *sth*, *sth* become *th*, *th*; thus *adhithana*, *uthana*, *grahatha*, *cirathitika*. In Mansehra the state of things is similar; cf. *asti*, *nasti*, *astine*, *samstuta*, *anuśasti*; *istri*; *adhithana*, *uthana*, *gehatha*, *cirathitika*. When we here also find *samthava*, we are inclined to think of the influence of the language of the imperial offices.

If we turn to the Dhammapada, it will be necessary to consult the plates and not the transliterated texts. We then find that there is no instance of an initial *st*, and that *st* is always preserved in the interior of words; thus *astagachadi* O 14, *hasta* B 10, *astu* Cvo 1, *nasti* B 16, etc. *Sth* seems to become *th* as an initial and *st* between vowels; thus *thala* fragment A 1, *thavareṣu* O 18, *aṇothulu* O 19; *astini* Cvo 16. In words formed from the base *sthā* we always have *th*; thus *thanehi* O 23, *pravadaṭho va bhumatha* A³16, *uṭhaneṇa* A³7, etc. The only finite verbal form of the base which occurs in the published plates is the first word of A³6, where we clearly have *dista*, which may represent Skr. *ātiṣṭha*.

The state of things in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is similar. *St* becomes *th* when initial and is preserved unchanged

between vowels. Thus *thuna* (Jamalgarhi pilaster), *thuva* (Taxila vase, Lion Capital), *thuba* (Kurram, Hidda, Wardak), *sakrastana* (Lion Capital), *sarvastivada* (Lion Capital, Kaniṣka casket, Kurram), *vastava* (Taxila scroll, Peshawar Museum No 21), *śasta* (Mathura elephant), *sasta* (box lid, Hiḍḍa, Wardak)

Sth occurs as *st* in *stitiye* (Swat vase), *pratistavita* (Taxila scroll and Meridarkh plate), *pratistapita* (Hidda), *pratistavayati* (Manikiala), *paristavida* (box lid). In several forms belonging to the base *sthā*, however, we find *th* or *ṭh*; thus *śivathala* (Panjtar), *pratithavito* (Taxila vase), [*pra*]*tithaveti*, *apratithavito* (Patika plate), *pratithavita,-da* (Swat vase, Lion Capital), *pratithana* (Sui Vihar), *pradithavedi* (Kurram, Peshawar Museum No. 4), *parithaveti* (Wardak)

It seems to me that this state of things clearly shows that the old north-western Prakrit, which was certainly Indo-Aryan, regularly preserved intervocalic *st* unchanged, and in this respect agrees with the modern Dardic languages. And if we look through the various forms for "stand" registered in Grierson's account of the Dardic languages in the Linguistic Survey, it is curious to find the same uncertainty as in Kharosthī inscriptions, cf Bashgali *utī*, Wai-ala *osht*, Wasī-veri *ishteh*, Kalashi *ushti*, Gawar-bati *usht*, Brokpa *uthe*, Shina *uthe*, etc

STEN KONOW

A PLURAL FORM IN THE PRAKRIT OF KHOTAN

The recently published Part II of the Kharoṣṭhi documents so admirably deciphered and edited by the Abbé Boyer, Professor Rapson, and M. Senart, contains some additional examples of an idiom which I have thought may be of some interest. It is the use of the particle *ca* to form plurals. Perhaps the most striking example is contained in No. 660, which gives a list of persons (men and women) who have received *paṭas* (cloths), etc , to work upon. It reads as follows :—

Column A (1) *-i[pu]na khvamyāde Gadaǵālade* (a place) *pata pamdura nikastamti*

(2) *Puṣǵariyāde* (a place) *rayaǵa pata* 1 *presitamti*

(3) *Cetrakirti sānapru* 1 *gimnita*

(4) *Rāthapala palaǵa varna* 1 *gimnita*

(5) *Dāruǵe pata* 1 *gimnita*

(6) *Micgae palaǵa varna nutamna krita*

(7) *Kapotae bamdhitaǵa palaǵa varna* 1 *gimnita*

(8) *Pumnaṣena* 4 3 *patam ca gimnita*

(9) *Moǵāyaṣa bamdhaǵa kremeru nutamna kritamti*

Column B: (1) *Parvatiye patam ca* 2 *gimnitamti*

(2) *Namilǵae sanapru pata* 1 *gimnita*

Here we have *pata* joined in three instances with the figure 1 and *patam ca* in two instances with the figures 4 3 (i.e 7), and 2 The evident inference is that *patam ca* is the plural of *pata*, and this inference is confirmed by further examples as follows .—

No 85 . *śada* 1 ten times, but *śadam ca sarva* once

No. 117: *sarva pim[da]im tamcam gavi* 203 = *sarvāni pindāni tāni gāvah* 203.

No. 366 . *bhumam ca* twice, and in one of the two cases *ete bhumam ca* clearly a plural, consequently also in the other case, which relates to the same matter.

No. 387 . *ede uta ca.* No. 665 . *utam ca* 10

No. 681 . *utam ca* apparently a plural (heading of a list). Also *yo añsam*[1] *ca amna khaystamti* = *ye aśvā*[1] *annam khāditavantaḥ.* In this document *uta* and *añṣa* 1 occur each several times No. 696 : possibly *rete uṭam ca.*

No 683 · *yo paśunam ca na vutamti*

Not a few documents (Nos. 318, 322, 326, 331–2, 384, etc , etc.) commence with the phrase *eṣa lihitaǵa* "this writing"; but scarcely fewer (Nos. 335, 380, 383, 493, 501, 569, etc., etc.) commence with *utam ca lihitaǵa.* Since the *ca* is not found except with the form in *-am* and since in the sense

[1] Prof. Rapson now convincingly reads *aśpam* and *aśpā*.

of "and" it is quite inapposite, it seems likely that *itaṃ lihitaṃja* is merely a plural, "these writings," of *esa lihitaǵ*

A plural in *ca* is a phenomenon inviting explanatio Nothing similar is, I believe, reported in Prakrit dialect If we think of the *ca* "also" of technical Sanskrit, that do not help in the above cases, nor has it anything to do wi pluralization Professor Rapson, who observes that *ca* oft acts as a preservative of the *anusvāra* (e.g in No. 140, ; *amna . . . yam ca aṃna* and No. 374, *yo kilmeciyana pari yam ca rajade*), suggests that the *-aṃ* preceding the *ca* may l itself a plural in *-ā* (written *-aṃ*) or *-ām*, which might qui well come from *-āni*. This, however, leaves the *ca* st unexplained

It will be observed that the form in *-aṃ ca* is only sporadic often we find "indeclinable" plurals such as *uta* or regul forms such as *uti* Is it possible that the *ca* was a pluralizi word or suffix in the native, monosyllabic language of Khotan At present I can adduce no evidence for this; but sever Tibeto-Burman dialects show *ca* or *can* as a plural suffi the Tibetan itself uses *cag* and *cog* with pronouns (and Tibetan words in *-g* are under a suspicion of being extensions and in the Balti dialect the latter has a wider employment.

F. W. Thomas.

A CHINESE BUDDHIST PILGRIM'S LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION

Letters of introduction or convoy were, no doubt, frequentl written on behalf of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims proceedin towards India. But neither in the case of Hiuan-Tsan (whose departure was, in fact, clandestine) nor in those c other "religieux éminents" whose journeys are recorde have any, so far as I am aware, been brought to light. Th five letters edited and translated below relate to a *hva-śa* or *ho-shang* (*Upāsaka*), who is described as a man of ver great learning and religious distinction, but his name doe not appear. Four of the letters emanate from secular person military and other officials, while one (C) seems to be fror

a monk. One (B) appears to be a general or circular missive; the rest are addressed to particular monasteries where the pilgrim was to be entertained.

The document described in the note[1] presents a small problem. When brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Tun-huang, and when catalogued by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, it was a single roll or scroll, inscribed on the one side with 160 columns of good Chinese writing—no doubt a Buddhist text—while the other side showed at one end sixteen columns of Chinese in a larger, coarser hand and at the beginning some columns or part columns of thin scribbly Chinese, interspersed among five pieces of Tibetan written in lines parallel to the Chinese columns. Examination showed that the paper was double; and a separation of the two layers revealed on the back of the Chinese Buddhist text some well-written Buddhist texts in Tibetan. This, therefore, was an instance of the ordinary practice of using the *verso* of Chinese Buddhist MSS. for Tibetan writings. The back of the other layer, which is of rough business paper, is blank. It is not to be supposed that this layer was inscribed before being pasted on to the other: no doubt the object of the pasting was to secure a good backing, of superior material and texture, a circumstance which in conjunction with others points to a diminished supply of good paper during the Tibetan ascendancy.

[1] Tun-huang Tibetan MS. 83 xi, a scroll 286 × 247 cm., now divided into foll. 74–84 of vol. 72, foll. 74–6 of rough paper, *recto* (1) several part or whole columns of scribbly Chinese writing (one erased), (2) letter A, (3) thirteen part or whole columns of similar Chinese writing, (4) letter B, (5) one column of similar Chinese writing, (6) letter C, (7) three part or whole columns of similar Chinese writing, (8) letter D, (9) letter E, (10) blank space of *c.* 105 cm., (11) sixteen columns of large, rather coarse, Chinese writing; foll. 74–6 *verso* blank, foll. 79–84, smooth paper of good texture, *verso* 160 columns of good Chinese writing (a Buddhist sūtra ?); foll. 79–84, *recto* (1) ll. 72 of clear Tibetan *dbu-can*, somewhat cursive, containing a rather Tantric Buddhist text; (2) ll. 36 of more clumsy Tibetan *dbu-can*, containing a similar text; (3) ll. 72 of clear Tibetan *dbu-can*, rather cursive (smaller than in No. (1)), containing a similar text. The letters, A, B, C, D, E are described above.

How then did the five letters, differing in respect of handwriting, source, and addressee, come to be assembled in a single document? The identity of the paper, despite the usual joinings, suggests that they are not the originals, which moreover, would probably show signs of folding, and which would, we suppose, have been sent on in advance of the pilgrim On the whole, the likeliest supposition is that the document is a dossier kept by the pilgrim himself, whereon at each place was added a *copy* of the letter forwarded to the next place of entertainment The whole will have been left by the pilgrim at Ŝa-cu on passing out of Tibetan jurisdiction

What renders it quite certain that we have either the originals (which in that case were inscribed on the pilgrim's dossier and carried or forwarded by him) or copies made in the manner indicated is the fact that the two last letters, which emanate from the same authority, are *also* in the same handwriting.

It is possible that further light may hereafter be obtainable from the Chinese notes occupying the intervals between the letters. These, however are in themselves, as I understand from Dr Lionel Giles, not intelligible and will have to be made out, if at all, upon the basis of the Tibetan.

The pilgrim starts, as is indicated in letter B, from H̲go-de-śan ("Five Terrace Mountain," i e, as Dr Lionel Giles informs me, the famous Buddhist establishment of Wu-tai-shan) The indicated stages are (1) Ga-lu Golden-House Turquoise-House, (2) Mount Dan-tig-śan, (3) the Tsoṅ-ka Golden-House Turquoise-House (4) the . . pi House, (5) Kam-cu (= Kan-su) city, (6) Ŝa-cu. But letter A mentions further Len-cu, which elsewhere seems to mean Lan-su (or Liang-chu?). The final stages seem to be the Lhuṅ-poṅ monastery, and the Sprin-chen (Mahā-megha) monastery, the latter probably one of the many Buddhist establishments at Ŝa-cu

The date is fixed by the provenance of the document (the hidden library of Tun-huang), and perhaps also by the period

of the Tibetan authority in Śa-cu, as probably not later than the ninth or tenth century If the *Rgya-rje* of E l. 5 were identifiable, more precision would be attainable, but, while the phrase usually denotes the Chinese emperor, the name H̱ton-phun has, I understand, no likely appearance.

The letters A, C, D, E begin with elaborate formalities, abundantly exemplified in other Tibetan correspondence, on wood and on paper, discovered in Chinese Turkestan. The texts are here given *literatim* the translations are in part provisional

Texts and Translations

A (Fol. No 74. Ll. 11 of clear, regular, cursive *dbu-can*, for the most part legible · the letter is inverted in relation to B, C, D, E, which follow, its *last* line being near the beginning of the roll)

From the Stag-gsum of To-leẖu to the Great Teacher Bžugs-pi, in or near Len-cu (Lan-su or Liang-chu)

[1] ༄ || slobs . dpon chen . po yon tan mchog . Bžugs pi ža sna nas || || To leẖu Stag gsum [1] gis . sñun gsol ba || ža ẖbrin | [2] ẖdab . nas ẖ[d]rul . ba . la mchid . gis rmas na || dgons pas sku mñel ma lags . pa || mnaẖ . tan la . ẖgrib . pa . myi mnaẖ [3] bar khums (?) || mchid yi . ge las . gus par . sñun gsol žin . mchis || bkas rma . bar . ci . gnan ||

[4] ༄ || . [na] gsol baẖ || Rgya . hva śan de . spya ṅar brmans . gs paẖi . don ni || hva śaṅ . de . Rgya . gar [5] [yul . du . Śag . kya thub .] paẖi gdun . len . du mchi lags na | phar. Leṅ . cur mkhan po . gśegs pa lags . [6] na . thugs . [khral] . cher . myi . mdzad . kha ma mchis || ñid . myi . gśegs na . ža . ẖbrin . gcig gis . hva . śaṅ . de . Leṅ . chur [7] phyin . bar | myi . skye[l] . kha ma . mchis | thugs dam . la . dgoṅs . par . gsol. | žib . tu . hva . śaṅ . kho bdag . la spriṅ || [8] thugs . khral . cher . mdzad . de . || hva . śaṅ . de gyag . khyer . kha . ma . mchis ||

[1] The two syllables are added above the line.

[9] ❦ || slad . na . mkhan . po . Bžugs . pi . ža . sña . nas || mchid phrin . de . dan . mjal ba . lags . na || oo | do cig . bzo . [10] de . bgyid . paḫ lags . na || ḫdrul baḫ la . bkaḫ . sprin nes . pa cig myi . brdzan du myi run ||

[11] bzo . bgyid par . gyur na || dbyar lo . la . ḫgrub . par bgyi ||

(*Above l 1 and inverted in relation to the letter, in two formal dbu-can hands*) : (*a*) ❦ || sans . rgyas . dan . byan . cub . sem || (*b*) hva . śan . btsun*. paḫ . rka . thub ched . po ||

[1–] " Of the Great Teacher, the eminently meritorious (or is yon.tan.mchog, = Guṇottama, part of the name Bžugs-pi ?), the To-leḫu Three Tigers (military officers) beg to inquire concerning his health As to what is stated in the missive delivered by the servant, that through your meditations your body is not suffering, and that in your authority there is no diminution, *so much is gathered* (*khums* ?). As we respectfully desire to hear of your health by letter, your commands (would be) how great a favour !

[4–] Petition As for the purpose of . . sending (*brmans* ?) this Chinese *hva.śan* to your presence This *hva śań* is on his way to India to procure relics of Śākyamuni If the abbot (*mkhan po*) comes out to (at ?) Len-cu, there is no question of his not taking great trouble. If he himself does not come, there is no question of that *hva-śan* upon his arrival at Leń-chu being escorted by a servant. Benevolent consideration is requested. Of your taking great trouble to send detailed particulars to the *hva.śan* himself and of yak (*gyag* ?) to convey the *hva-śan* there is no question.

[9–] For the rest, the written message from abbot Bžugs.pi has come In case there are a pair of artificers, not to send certain word in a missive would not be fitting If artificers have been found, in the summer of (next ?) year, it should be completed.

(*Inverted above l 1 in two different handwritings*) : (*a*) Buddha and the great Bodhisattvas. (*b*) The reverend *hva-śań*."

NOTES

l. 1. To-leḫu may perhaps be known to Sinologists Clearly it is further east than the Leṅ-cu (Lan-su ?) of ll. 5–6.

ll. 2–3. The correct distribution of persons in these complimentary exordiums is here, as often, somewhat uncertain. The person first named is always the addressee, but the phrase will be *ža.snar* "in, or to, the presence of," or *ža.sna.nas* "from the presence of", according to what follows. Thus *mchid.gsol* "proffers a letter", seems to require the locative construction, while *sñun gsol* "inquires as to health" requires the ablative. It should also be considered that in epistolary matters, style is sometimes a better guide than logic. Some of the words also are doubtful. *Khums* (?) seems to be the word instanced in the documents, *supra*, p. 67, l. 8. *Ḫdrul-ba* is of frequent occurrence in these documents, on paper and on word, probably meaning "missive", "scroll", or the like.

l 4. I take *spya.na* as = *spyan.sna*. *Brmans* is unknown to me; it is perhaps a mere synonym of *brdzans* "sent".

l. 8. *gyag* = *g-yag* ?

l. 6. *thugs . khral,* "mind-tax" = "trouble" ? Cf. English to "tax oneself".

B. (Fol. No. 75, ll 13 of bold, black, cursive *dbu-can* writing: the ink washed out in a few places, for the most part clearly legible.)

From Nogs Lu-ži Nam-ka, a general or circular letter.

[1] ༄ ||༔|| yon . bdag . Nogs . Lu . ži . Nam . kas . gsol . ba . Rgya . yul . nas . Rgya . ḫi . hva . śaṅ . dka thub . ched . po . [2] mkhas . pa . . ch[e]d . po . btsun . chen . goṅ . *ldan* . myed . pa . gcig . Rgya . gar . yul . na . dpal . Śag . kya [3] thub . [paḫi . yu]l . mthoṅ . du . mchi . ba . lags . so | lam . ni . Ḫgo . de . śan . nas . mchis . nas . | [4] Ga . [lu] . Gser . khaṅ . G-yu . gaṅ . du . lam . byuṅ . de . nas . ri . Dan . tig . śan . du . byuṅ . de . nep (nes ? read *nas*) . Tsoṅ . ka . [5] Gser . kaṅ . G-yu . khaṅ . du . byuṅ . de . [nas] . . . pi . khaṅ (b ?) . du .

ẖbyun de nas. Kam cu mkhar [6] du . ẖbyun . ṅo | [de] nas Śa cu [ẖdzug] [go (?)].d[e nas]. Rgya.gar. yul[1] na | dpal Śi lin Na len tra | [7] [slob pa . ched po[1] dan] Bya rgod *ẖphags* ri(?) la . bcom ldan . ẖdas Śag kya . thub paẖi ż (?) [8] [mthon du mchi bar nes so] | ẖdi . man chad Rgya Bod byin gyis . kyan . gar . chad

[9] s -chin . g dan | su skyel rim par bgyis[2]. pa lags . so | de ya[n cad du (su ?)] yo

[10] byin . [g]y *is* [kyaṅ] | ẖdi.gar bab par mchod . nas [b]su bgyi ba dan . bsu . skyel rim par . [11] m[dzo] la . gnod . pa byed . pa . lam . du . ẖde . ẖi . bar . cad byed pa gcig | Bod . na Rgya . Bod [12] gñis kyan *thams* [cad . kyis . phyog]s . bcu . nas . snag kyi thun phab . la rlun bskur [13] la . gtan ṅo ||o₀o|| de ltar ni Nam kas sprin no | su yaṅ ma . gtse . cig ||o8o ||

[1] "Petition of the patron (*dāna-pati*) Nogs Lu-żi Nam-ka. A Chinese *hva-śan* from China, a great ascetic, most learned and a reverend person without superior, is on his way to visit in India the country of Śri-Śākya-muni. As to his route: having started from H̱go-de-śan, his route was to Ga-lu Gser-khan G-yu-gan (Gold-house Turquoise-house): thence he arrived at the mountain Dan-tig-śan. thence at the Tson-ka Gser-khan G-yu-khan (Gold-house Turquoise-house): thence he comes to pi-khan · thence to Kam-cu city Thence he [reaches] Śa-cu Thence he proposes to go to see in India the honoured great teachers of Śrī Nalentra (Nālanda) and the relics (country) of Bhagavant Śākya-muni on the Bya-rgod (Grdhra-kūta)

[8] As far as here, all Chinese and Tibetans, wherever . have met and escorted him stage by stage. Hence onwards, wherever this alights, he is to be met with honour and met and escorted stage by stage. Anyone harming . . anyone

[1] *l* below line.

[2] *s* is a correction below the line.

placing hindrances in his way, is in Tibet by Chinese and Tibetans all, in every quarter, . to be given to the winds and put aside (?).

[12] Such is Nam-ka's instruction . let none do harm."

NOTES

l 1 *Nam.ka*, the essential part of the name, recurs in l. 9 It is perhaps = *nam.kha* = "sky," "heaven" (*ākāśa*). The person is, clearly, a high official

ll 3– Concerning *Hgo de.śan* = Wu-tai-shan, see above, p 548 The other places, Ga-lu, Tsoṅ-ka, etc, may be identifiable by Sinologists. Kam-cu (Kan-su), Śa-cu (Tun-huang), Nālanda, and the Gṛdhra-kūta are, of course, known

l 11 The words *snag.kyi.thun.phab.la* are obscure It may be suspected that *phab* is really Chinese (= *dharma*) and *thun* = *mthun*, so that the whole will mean "according to the law approved in common" (which is probably in any case the intended sense). *rlun.bskur* also is new

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C (Fol No 75, ll 7 of elegant *dbu-can*, smaller than in A, B, D, E · the ink considerably washed out, and the reading in many places difficult.)

From Smir-kham Rin-chen-rdo-rje to the *sthavira*, or *sthaviras*, of the Sprin-chen monastery (at Śa-cu ?).

[1] stan chen . po . ẖi ža sna[r] || ||

[2] smir [kh]am . Rin chen [rdo . rjes] . mchid [gsol baẖ] ||

[3] dgoṅs p. . . m sku na | chos . [ñid] . kyi . dgo[*ns. la* mñel bar . myi . mṅaẖ]

[4] rin po . che sku la bsñun [b]že[s s]am ma . bžes || [mchid] *yi ge las sñun gsol . žin m* [chi] *s*

[5] sla[d na] . Rgya yul . nas . hva . śan btsun . ba . m[*khas . paẖi . phu*]l du phy[*in . pa . gci*]g | . . . [gi]s . nas |

[6] Rgya . gar . gi . yul . du . | bcom [ldan . hdas] Śag . kya thub . [paẖi] . gduṅ . la . [phyag] . ẖtshal . du . mchi [7] ba . ẖdi | Ḫsprin . chen . gtsug . lag . khaṅ . du . myi . bskyal . du . myi . ruṅ || [thugs] . ẖdam . la . [dg]o[ṅs] ||

[1] " In the presence of the great *sthavira* . letter-petition of Rin-chen-rdo-rje of Smir-kham

[3] in your meditations upon the nature of *dharma* no failing, in your jewel-person health good or not good. Letter . favour

[5] For the rest, this is a reverend *hva-śan* from China, a pre-eminently learned person, on his way to the country of India to do homage to the relics of Śākya-muni. Not to escort him to the Ḫsprin-chen (Mahā-megha) monastery would not be fitting For benevolent consideration "

NOTES

1 1 The name of the monastery is here lost A place *Smir-kham* is not known to me

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(D) (Foll Nos 75–6 . ll. 8 of commonplace *dbu-can* writing: the ink considerably washed out, and the reading in many places difficult)

From Dmog-ḫbu-can to the Great Ban-des, great *sthaviras*, of the *Lhun-pon* temple

[1] ༄ || Lhun . poṅ lha gan . gi . gnas brtan ched po . ban de che[d po] hi . ža . snar ||

[2] Dmog. ḫbu can . bdag . gis . mchid . gsol . [pa] ||

[3] sna slad . ḫdrul . ba . las mchid . kyis . rm[as] . na . . . . | dbyigsu . gces . paḫi . sku . la. [4] sñun . myi . mnaḫ bar . khums mchi[d . yi . ger . . . . . sñun . gsol žin . ci . gnaṅ | slad . na] . Rgyaḫi rgyal. [5] sa khams . nas hva . śan [btsun . ba] . ched p[o] ži[g. *Rgya* gar gi yul du *śag kya . thub . paḫi . žal . mthon . du* mchi . ba] lags . |

[6] [ḫdi tshun . cha]d . du . yan bdag chag nan . pa . bskyal . rim . par]. [7] bgyis . pa . lags | *de yan . de phan* . chad du . yaṅ . [thugs . dam *la . dgons . pa* ḫi . dge . baḫi . bśes . ñen . daṅ | [8] chad (b) . srid . [kyi . gži] . ḫdzin . žan . [lon .]rgal . pa[1] . ra . stsogs . pa . rnam [. par . sna . mnan] | de . bžin . du . thugs . dam . dan . chab . srid . la

[1] *rgalopa* with *o* erased ?

[8] dgoṅs . ste . bsu . bskyal . rim . par[1] . mdzad . nas . Spriṅ . chen . gtsug . lag khan . du . myi . bskyal . du . myi . ruṅ . ||

|| Lha . myi . phyogs . kyaṅ . de . bẑin . du . dgons . par . gsol . ||

[1] " In the presence of the great *sthaviras*, great *ban-des* of the Lhuṅ-pon temple, letter-petition of me, Dmog-ḫbu-caṅ.

[3] From the statements in former and later missives it is gathered (*khums* ?) that your deeply beloved persons are free from sickness: a letter . . . as we desire news of your health, would be a favour.

[4] For the rest, a certain *hva-śan*, a very reverend person from the kingdom of China is on his way to India. . . . As far as here our humble selves have arranged for his escort stage by stage. Hence onwards, for the *kalyāna-mitras*, in benevolent . . . and the landholders, councillors, leading men, and so forth of the state, having regard to benevolence and the state, not to arrange to meet and escort him stage by stage, and to conduct him to the Sprin-chen (Mahāmegha) monastery, would not be fitting.

[9] On the part of gods and men also, the like consideration is requested."

NOTES

The writer Dmog . ḫbu . can (cf. *dbu.rmog* = "helmet") is no doubt a military official.

l. 3. *dbyigsu.gces.pa* apparently = Sk. *sāra-priya*, "essentially dear."

l 8. *rgal.pa* "ford", if correctly read, may possibly represent Sanskrit *tīrtha* "a ford", "an important person".

l. 8. Concerning the Sprin-chen monastery, see above.

(E) (Fol. No. 76: ll. 10 of commonplace *dbu-can* writing, very similar to that of (D), and ll. 3 in a small, thin, scrawled hand; the ink washed out in places.)

[1] *myi . mdzad . du . myi . ruṅ* erased. The substituted *mdzad . . . myi . ruṅ* is in the original handwriting of the letter.

From Dmog-ḫbu-can to the Great Teacher and the *kalyāna-mitras* of the Luṅ-pon temple (?).

[1] ༄ bstan . pa . [dan ? . spad dun] . gi . mṅaḫ . bdag || gñi . zla . ḫod . sbyor . gi . kyin | ḫdzi . . b . gi . . n . dam paḫ || slobs . dpon ched . po . byan . cub . [2] . riṅ . [po . ches . [khyu . ltar (?) . bu] . mdzad . pa | thugs . dam . rtse . gcig du . [mdzad . paḫi . dge . baḫi . bśes . ñe]n . sde . tsogs kyi . ža . snar || • ||

[3] Dmog . ḫbu . [can] bdag . gi[s] . mchid . [gs]ol . baḫ || sna . [slad] . ḫdrul . [ba . las] . mchid . kyis . [rmas] . na | spyiḫi . theg pa . bskyan . [4] ba dan | [ḫgrub] . man . po . —ḫo bgyid[1] . du . bgyur . ba . daṅ | thug[s . dam . rtse] gcig . du mdzad . paḫi . dgons . [pas . sk]u . mñel . ba . ma lags. [5] [pa . | sku . rin . po] . che . dbyig[s]u . [g]ce[s . pa] . la sñun . myi . [mṅaḫ . bar] . khums | ḫphrul . chen sum . cu las . gus . par sñin . gsol . [6] [žin . mchis . na || sla]d . na [Ḫ]toṅ . phun . Rgya . rjeḫi . spya . ṅa . naḫ . | hva . śaṅ . dka . thub . ched . pa . mkhas . paḫi . phul . du . phyin . pa . cig . | [7] [Rgya . gar . gi . yul . du . Śag . kya . thub . paḫi . dgun] . mthon . du . mchi . ba . lags . | ḫdi . tshun . chadu bdag . cag . Gser . p[o] . ston sdeḫi [8] [-e.-o . rnams . kyis . kyan] | bsu bskyal . rim . par . bgyis . | . de phan . chad . du . yan de . bžin . thugs . khral . . [9] [mdzad. nas] . thugs [dam la dgons . ste] | Lun . poṅ . gi . lha . sdeḫi . stsam du . myi bskyal . du . myi . [ru]ṅ || ||

[10] [lha . myi] . phyogs . kyan . de . bžin . du . myi . dgoṅs . su . myi run . ||

[11] (*A fresh handwriting*) || || Phan ga . po . gi . Pin . tun . gis . Ḫod snan . du |

[12] ༄ || Piṅ . tuṅ . bskyal || Ḫod . snan . gi . gnas . stan . gis . Caṅ . rab . gi . sar . bskyal || slop . pon . Rab . dpal. [13] gis . mkhan . po . Chos . skyab . gi . sar . brdza[ṅs] ||

[1] "To the presence of the company of *kalyāna-mitras* intent solely upon benevolence, headed like a flock (?) by the great teacher, a gem of Illumination (or ? a proper name,

[1] *rkyen ?*

Byaṅ . cub . rin . po . che = Bodhiratna), lord of the Teaching and the congregation of brothers, excellent . . . as long as sun and moonlight are granted.

[3] Letter-petition of me, Dmog-ḫbu-can According to statements in former and later missives it is gathered (*khums*) that the sects (*yānas*) generally are protected, that much religious advancement (*siddhi*) . . has taken place, and that through your meditations, intent solely upon benevolence, there has been no bodily infirmity, and that your jewel-bodies, deeply beloved, are free from sickness Respectful inquiry concerning the health of the Thirty Great Theophanies.

[6] For the rest, in the presence of the Chinese ruler (*Rgya-rje*) Ḫton-phun . a *hva-śan* of great austerity, an eminently learned person, is on his way to India to see the relics of Śākya-muni As far as here we have had him met and escorted stage by stage by the . . . of Gser-pa-stoṅ-sde (or the Gser-pa 1,000 district). Hence onwards not to be so good as to bethink yourself of taking similar trouble and escorting him as far as the Luṅ-pon temple were not fitting.

[10] For gods and men also on their part not to consider similarly were not fitting.

[11] (*A fresh handwriting*). By Pin-tun of Phan-ga-po to [the monastery] Ḫod-snan.

[12] Piṅ-tuṅ acted as escort. The *sthaviras* of Ḫod-snan acted as escort to the residence of Caṅ-rab. The teacher Rab-dpal sent him to the residence of the abbot Chos-skyab ".

Notes

This document emanates from the same authority as the preceding.

l. 1. *spad.dun*, if correctly read, = *dge-ḫdun* " the Saṃgha ".

l. 2. *rtse.gcig.tu* = Sk *ekāgra*.

l. 5. *dbyigsu.gces.pa*. See note on D. 3.

l. 6. *Ḫtoṅ-phun* certainly seems to be given as the name of a Chinese emperor.

l. 7. *Gser.pa* (or *Gser.po.pa* ?). It seems likely from other

indications that this is the name of a tribe or people, in fact that whence originated the name *Seres*.

l 12 *sar* "to the residence (place, *sa*) of" a great person has been exemplified supra, p 71, l. 16.

F. W. THOMAS.

R SOUNDS IN KAFIR LANGUAGES

The rather extensive use made of fricative *r′* in Kāfir languages is interesting. The sound itself is very familiar, it occurs in Urdu and Panjabi as a subsidiary member of the *r* phoneme This is the case also in Waigalī and Ashkun Dr. Morgenstierne has been good enough to describe and pronounce Kāfir *r′* for me. Katī has it as a separate phoneme. In slight modification of the statement in the Report he says it is made just behind the *r*.

We have here two entirely different classes of sounds (fricative and strike sounds) with little or no phonetic connexion between them. As unfortunately we always use the same symbol *r* for both, it is necessary to make the distinction clear. The fricatives, of which Kāfir *r′* is an example, may occur in any position, front or back, alveolar or cerebral (palatal). A cerebral fricative *ṛ′* is often heard in Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi (and Bengali, so Mr. Sutton Page), where it is a member of the cerebral strike-*ṛ* phoneme. The strike sounds may also be found in any position, front or back; and of course in both classes the number of intermediate positions is limitless

The fricative *r* sounds are closely related to sibilants (generally sonant) and are often difficult to distinguish from them; some *z* sign would be a more appropriate symbol than *r*. The strike sounds on the other hand belong to the *d* and *t* class. The ordinary *r* and *ṛ* sounds of North India are strike sounds; those which we are for the moment writing *r′* and *ṛ′* are fricatives The important thing to realise is that both the *r′* and the *r* sounds may be either cerebral or alveolar, indeed theoretically may occur in any position

on the roof of the mouth which the tip of the tongue can reach.

There remains the question—what is the nature of the cerebral ṛ sounds in village Kaśmīrī and Ṣiṇā ? To which class do they belong ? Are they fricatives or strike sounds, and where are they produced ? I am glad in particular to write a note on the Kaśmīrī ṛ because it has never been described before.

The ṛ in village Kaśmīrī is the same as in Ṣiṇā. It is a pure strike ṛ (not a fricative), essentially the same as the strike ṛ of Waigalī and Ashkun, or for that matter of Pashto, Urdu and Panjabi, quite different from the fricative ṛ′ of Kāfir languages. Its position varies from a little behind the teeth-ridge to a point about a third of the way along the hard palate. This strike ṛ as heard in Panjabi or Ṣiṇā or village Kaśmīrī is usually called cerebral, but there is no objection to calling it post-alveolar, meaning "behind the alveolus or teethridge".

T. Grahame Bailey.

IS "GUAVA" THE REAL NAME OF امرود ?

In the January number, 1927, of this *Journal* (pp. 125 ff.) Mr. R. P. Dewhurst, in course of his review of Professor Nicholson's translation of the *Mat͟hnawí* of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, takes exception to Professor Nicholson's rendering of امرود by "pear" (p. 127). Mr. Dewhurst thinks that "guava" is "the real name of this fruit", but he forgets that guava could not have possibly been known to the great Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, "the Anatolian," who wrote in the thirteenth century A.D., i.e. at least a hundred years before America was discovered and the fruit made known to us.

The real name of امرود is, beyond all doubt, "pear," and not "guava". امروت, امرود and ارمود are the three forms of one and the same Persian word, and all the three have been

given as such by Persian lexicographers. Some of the Persian dictionaries simply say that it is "a well-known fruit", while others explain that "it is called كمّثرى in Arabic". And كمّثرى is no other fruit than "pear". The form امرود is more commonly used in Persian, while ارمود is in general use in Turkish. This is apparently the reason why certain Turkish dictionaries give ارمود as "Turkish for Persian امرود".[1] Also in Turkish it has no other meaning than "pear". *Guava* is the Mexican *guayaba*, and in modern Arabic the fruit is called جوافة (*juwáfa*, Arabicized from *guava*).

It is only in Urdú and also in certain other Indian languages that the name امرود is applied to *guava*. The reason is quite clear: *guava* became perfectly naturalized in India, where pear never thrived.[2] The resemblance in shape and colour of guava to pear obviously led to the adoption of امرود for "guava"—most probably by the Persians or Moghuls naturalized in Northern India.[3] A parallel to this is found in the Persian word شیر (shér), meaning "lion", which, in Indian languages, is generally applied to "tiger", there being no lions in India. When, however, the necessity was felt to distinguish between a lion and a tiger, Indian littérateurs helped themselves by using ببر (*babar*) or ببر شیر for "lion", although the Persian ببر is anything but "a lion".

[1] Redhouse, *Turkish-English Dictionary* (Constantinople, 1900), pp. 73 and 199.

[2] A degenerate sort of pear, more or less round in shape and of rather sourish taste, is grown in certain localities in India and is known by its Indian name ناسپاتی; while the real pear, which is sometimes imported from Kashmír, goes by its Kashmírí and Poshtó name: "ناخ".

[3] In the South-Indian Urdú a "guava" is جام, probably on account of its resemblance to a pear-shaped bowl. Also in certain other parts of India امرود is not applied to guava.

The Aramaic ܟܘܡܬܪܐ (= Arabic كُمَّثرى) was employed in Pahlaví as an ideogram (ودكمترا) for the Persian (*urmót*, *armót*) or (*amród*), the latter form appearing as a variant of the former in one of the manuscripts of the *Farhang-i Pahlavík* [1] Another Semitic word which is given by certain dictionaries as the Arabic equivalent of امرود is إجاص (=إنْجاص), borrowed from the Hebrew (Talmúdic) אַגָּס "pear".

A. Siddiqi.

Dacca.
15th *March*, 1927.

XVIITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, OXFORD, 1928

President: The Rt. Hon. Lord Chalmers, P.C., G C.B.

The members of the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University are making arrangements for holding the XVIIth Congress there during the week beginning Monday, 27th August, 1928, and concluding on Saturday, 1st September Sessions will be held in the Indian Institute and neighbouring University and College buildings.

Sections have been constituted provisionally as follows.—

(i) General (Anthropology, Ethnography, Prehistoric Archæology, Comparative Mythology, and Folklore).

(ii) Assyriology and Kindred Subjects; Ancient Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

(iii) Egypt and Africa.

(iv) Central and Northern Asia, with Tibet.

(v) The Far East; Indo-China, Malaysia, Polynesia.

(vi) India and Iran; Indo-European languages of Asia.

(vii) The Old Testament; Hebrew and Aramaic.

(viii) Language, Literature, etc., of Islam.

(ix) Oriental Art.

[1] See Junker's edition (Heidelberg, 1912), chap. iv, foot-note 27.

Professor F. W. Thomas is the Chairman of the Organizing Committee, and the other members are · Professor D. S Margoliouth, Professor W. E. Soothill, Professor S. H. Langdon, Professor F. L. Griffith, Mr. G. R. Driver (Treasurer), Mr C N. Seddon (Secretary).

Coming after so long an interval (the last Congress was held at Athens in 1912), it is hoped that the XVIIth Congress may be notable not only for its truly international character, and the number of its participants, but also for the importance and originality of the communications made to it.

The Organizing Committee offers a cordial invitation to all interested to join the Congress, and to give it their support; and also invites members to contribute papers. It is requested that the titles of papers offered be sent so as to reach the Secretary not later than 1st March, 1928.

All inquiries and correspondence should be addressed to C. N. Seddon, Esq, Secretary, International Congress of Orientalists, Indian Institute, Oxford, while those who wish to become members should make application and send their subscriptions of £1 to the Treasurer, International Congress of Orientalists (G R. Driver, Esq, M.C., M.A.), Magdalen College, Oxford.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

1. NINEVE UND BABYLON. Von Professor Dr. C. BEZOLD. Vierte Auflage, bearbeitet von Professor Dr. C. Frank. pp. 179, 159 Abbildungen, 1 Karte. Bielefeld und Leipzig Velhagen und Klasing, 1926.

The compiler of the great Quyunjiq Catalogue of Ashurbanipal's Library has passed away, and occasion must be taken of the last edition of his popular book on Assyriology to express in this *Journal* the indebtedness all younger Assyriologists must feel towards him. The numerous tasks he undertook, whether the editing of the Amarna letters, his Catalogue, his astronomical investigations, or his Glossary, were always of the sort that advance knowledge. An unsparing critic of the fantastic theories fathered by great names in his own country, and a sound scholar in Semitic languages other than Assyrian, Bezold's name and authority are likely to be held in greater estimation as time passes. The Catalogue will long remain a tribute to his self-sacrificing zeal, and on it Assyriologists will always depend.

The successive editions of his popular work have marked the various stages in the recent developments of the subject, and in the latest edition, revised by Professor Frank, the book remains the most readable, and in many respects the most reliable, account in German of the subject. Its limitations are clearly stated in various parts of the text, and the severe compression entailed has proved rather a gain than a loss to the book. Excellent illustrations and good printing (save for a few trifling typographical errors) combine to recommend it to the reader. Its merits are so considerable that it has seemed worth while to note instances of misstatement or important omissions.

C. J. Rich is described (p. 8) as "einen geborenen Franzosen"; he was born at Dijon in France, but was certainly of English or Irish nationality, his wife preferred to have

the question left unsolved (see *Residence in Koordistan*, xv). The description of the taking of the squeezes at Bisitun by Sir Henry Rawlinson (on p. 9), "es mussten von hohen Leitern aus ungeheuere Papierabklatsche genommen werden," gives a wrong impression, see Budge, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, pp 34 ff , the ladder was used as a bridge. The explanation of the polyphony of the cuneiform signs on p. 12 avoids one of the great unsolved problems of the script, the polyphony of the signs in the earliest Sumerian writing. On pp 14–15 the basis of the description is unfortunate; the arrangement of the galleries at the British Museum has long been rather different from this. The dating of Mesannipadda ("Anfang, bezw. Mitte des vierten Jahrtausends," p 31) is untenable A seal clearly dated by the inscription to the Agade dynasty is called Sumerian (Abb. 34). Rim-Sin is described as "a Semite" (on p 35); whereas he was of Elamite family and the element *Rim* is of doubtful origin To describe Hammurabi as "der personliche und alleinige Begrunder des babylonischen Weltreiches" (p. 36) is to neglect the work of the late Professor L. W. King The Babylonian origin of the Assyrians and the assumption that Ushpia and Kikia are Mitanni names (p. 40) no longer accord with the facts. The Dynasty of Bazi is said to come from the Elamite border (p 54); but the Dynasty of Bazi was named after a man, and the personal name may not be connected with any place name, or with the city Baṣu on the Euphrates. With reference to Tiglathpileser III (p. 59), it should be noted that Weidner has recently shown on the basis of K. A. H. II, No. 21, that this king was the son of Adad-nirari IV, a fact the present writer unfortunately failed to note in *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, 32. It would be more correct to say of the ceremony of "taking the hand of Bel" that it was of ritual than mythological origin (p. 63). The troubles in Babylonia did not commence "Gleich beim Thronwechsel" in 705 (p. 64), but two years later. In a book of this kind it would be well to state that the Urbi (p. 65) are one and the same

people as the Aribi (see *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, note on l. 52). There is more known about Nabonidus than is stated on p 79, and the account of him is partly false. The remark about music on p. 81 is corrected by the statement on p. 172. The idiom *ša qata N.N.*, translated "zu Handen (d h. Eigentum) des N.N." (p. 89), means "in the (temporary) possession of", "under charge of". The discussion of the alphabet is hardly useful (p. 96), and the beginning of the Seleucid era in Babylonia is wrongly dated 312 B C. (ibid.). The Cappadocian tablets cannot possibly belong to "um 2500 B.C." (p. 98); at earliest they must be dated from 2150 B.C. onwards, perhaps later. Ungnad's view that *Lamaštu* is preferable to *Labartu* (p. 122) has much to be said for it, see Z.A. (N.F.) ii, 108. The reason for the statement, "Immerhin sind wir, unterstutzt durch die Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen, jetzt bedeutend besser uber die Architectur unterrichtet" (pp. 156–7), is not clear to the present writer Babylonian bricks are often a great deal better than modern bricks, contrary to the statement on p. 158; and it is worth recording that the Works Department in modern 'Iraq have made experiments aiming at the consistency of ancient bricks, not altogether with success. There is no absolute proof at present that the temple tower at Ur is older than Gudea (p. 160), the inscriptions show that Ur-Nammu built the lowest stage in its present form, and the rest is silence. The oldest Sumerian stone sculpture is not made of diorite or dolerite (p. 163), which marks the flourishing Gudea period; the oldest works are in soft alabaster or limestone, or in volcanic stones like trachyte. On p. 164 reference is made to Abbildung 16 as if that relief were made of copper. It is actually the inlay of limestone on a bitumen mixture found in the recent excavations at Al 'Ubaid. Why is Nabu-apal-iddin's Sun-god tablet called "a copy" on p. 166? The ivory plaque (Abbildung 146) is not "leider einziges Beispiel" (p. 170) of such work; the other British Museum examples are well known and have been much discussed. The judgment

"Auch die assyrisehen Zylinder bieten nichts Besonderes" (p 171) is strange; the Assyrian seals from the end of the second millennium onwards present many themes not known in Babylonian work, done in a very attractive style.

The new edition of this book deserves to be followed by many successors.

SIDNEY SMITH.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ELAMICARUM. Unter Mitwirkung von FERDINAND BORK und GEORG HÜSING bearbitet und herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH WILHELM KONIG. I. Die Altelamischen Texte. Tafeln. Hannover · Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire K.-G.

The present volume consists of a number of double-page plates, supplemented by two double plates containing the list of characters (Schrift-tafel). From the three pages of Introduction we learn that these are all re-editings of texts which have already appeared, and the detailed list which follows the "Abbreviations" informs us that the publications which have been utilized extend from the time of Loftus and Layard to the present day. Professor Konig describes in detail the measures which he adopted to secure accuracy, copies having been made from the originals or from photographs, and how, in the latter case, they were traced in order to secure correctness of form and spacing.

Unfortunately, there are no renderings in this portion of the publication—these will come later. The Introduction tells us, however, the source of each inscription, and we learn that they have been derived from the works of such well-known scholars as Bork, Dieulafoy, Husing, Layard, Lenormant, Loftus, Mordtmann, Oppert, Pézard, Sayce, Scheil, and Weissbach.

One of the most interesting of these texts, and needing much study, is that in which the name of Narâm-Sin, apparently the well-known king of Agade or Akkad, occurs so often. This text invokes a number of names of Elamite gods con-

nected, apparently, with phrases which Scheil translates in such a way as to explain why the list was drawn up. Thus *baha kikip* describes the god so called as "le seigneur ou modérateur des dieux", *Mazira* (?) is "le Mazéen", *Bitir Narâm-Sinnira bitir uri duktir Narâm-Sinnira duktir uri*, a phrase which would give "the key of the fragment":—

"L'ennemi naramsinnien est mon ennemi,
l'ami (?) naramsinnien est mon ami (?)!"

After the invocations of the gods the text is apparently of a historical nature, and the world may expect a good rendering of it from Professor König and his helpers.

Naturally we meet in this new publication many old friends among the kings whose names are recorded. Most numerous of all, perhaps, are the texts of Untaš-GAL, son of Ḫumbannumena. The deities whom he worshipped were GAL and In-Šušinak, the Susian lord, and they were introduced, apparently, into the sanctuary of Na'ute (possibly a negligent and much shortened way of pronouncing the name of Naḫḫunte, an important and much-honoured member of the Elamite pantheon) One of his texts has a paragraph in Akkadian, with a curse against anyone destroying his inscription similar to those inscribed on behalf of the Assyrian kings. *Šupal Šamši siru-šu lâ išâri*, "beneath the Sun his seed shall nor prosper."

Another well-known ruler well represented is Šutruk-Naḫḫunte. In some of the inscriptions carved for this king considerable additions or restorations have been made. One very imperfect fragment is described by Scheil as recording the mobilization of the Elamite army, the passage of the Ulai, and the return with booty dedicated afterwards to Hadad. A city named Eli is mentioned. On another fragment Šutruk-Naḫḫunte boasts of having taken 700 cities "as far as Mara", and numerous other "cities" as far as other places whose names are lost. Mara is compared by Scheil with Marus in Media, mentioned in the Behistun inscription.

But one might go on quoting from this *Corpus* of Elamite

texts for a long time. That Dr. Konig has succeeded in completing some important passages is undoubted, and all students of early oriental history will look with interest for his translations and notes A large amount of mythological or religious material is likewise contained therein, and the names of the Elamite deities are especially interesting. As is well known, Aššur-bani-âpli mentions several of them, including Šušinak, the god of Susa, who dwelt in a secret place, and whose image was never seen. Other deities whom the Assyrian king refers to are Lagamaru, whose name forms part of that of the Elamite king Chedorlaomer, mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, Bilala, which may be compared with the Belili of the Babylonian lists In the present publication we find the name of Nahiti, whom Professor Scheil identifies with the goddess Anahita mentioned by Artaxerxes Mnemon.

There is evidently much to be done before we have the means of appreciating all the importance of either the history or the religion of the Elamites As specimens of their strange tongue, however, we may mention the god Binigir or Binibiš, Baha kikip, whose name Scheil translates "le seigneur ou modérateur des dieux", comparing the phrase *ê Silir qatru bahaar hai hatamter,* "ô dieu Silir, chef modérateur hatamtéen!"

We may hope for much additional information in the sequel to the volume now under notice

T G PINCHES

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1. LETTRES DE ḪAMMURAPI À ŠAMAŠ-ḪÂṢIR. Publiées par F. THUREAU-DANGIN. Musée du Louvre. Textes Cunéiformes, Tome VII, 38 planches. Geuthner, 1924.
2. LES CYLINDRES DE GOUDÉA. Decouverts par Ernest de Sarzee à Tello. Texte copié par F. THUREAU-DANGIN. Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, Tome VIII, 54 planches Geuthner, 1925.
3. CONTRATS ET LETTRES D'ASSYRIE ET DE BABYLONIE.

Publiés par G. Contenau. Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, Tome IX, 54 planches. Geuthner, 1926.

These three volumes are all substantial contributions to the subject. The texts in the first volume have all been translated by M Thureau-Dangin, in his usual masterly fashion, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, tome xxi, and they form the most important body of evidence we have for the land tenure system under the First Dynasty of Babylon. They are to a certain extent supplemented by the texts published by Mr. Driver in his *Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty*. The main fact that appears is that Hammurabi followed the set policy of settling his soldiers and official servants on the land. Among the almost innumerable points of detail likely to interest the linguist is the use of the term *iššaku*, the well-known term for the city governor in Sumer, for a tenant farmer, or, as Thureau-Dangin translates, "colon" One is irresistibly reminded of Hesiod's *Βασιλεῖς*, the landed gentry of Boeotia. May it not be that we have here the true meaning of the term? When a king calls himself *iššak* (*ilu*) *Enlil*, did he not really mean that he was the tenant farmer who held his kingdom on lease from the god? There would be nothing strange in such a title, for the kings of Babylonia constantly referred to themselves as "gardeners", "irrigators", and so forth.

The second volume contains the texts of cylinders A and B of Gudea, and some fragments of them. It meets a long-felt want for a standard edition of these important documents, which still hold their position as the most interesting Sumerian texts extant. From his article in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxii, 103, it is clear that M. Thureau-Dangin feels little need to alter his translation of the inscriptions in *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, save in some trifling details, but we may perhaps hope that he will accede to the request expressed elsewhere, *ZA*. (N.F.), iii, 146, that he will add to the great debt we all owe him by bringing out a new translation in the near future.

The third volume contains more miscellaneous matter, and includes 46 texts (mostly fragmentary) from Kirkūk, ten business documents of the Kassite period, twelve letters and contracts from Assyria from about 710–640 B.C., and seventy-nine letters of the New Babylonian and Persian periods. M. Contenau has had an extremely difficult task, for nearly all the texts are in a bad state of preservation and obviously very difficult to read, but he has presented some documents of great interest. The tablets from Kirkūk especially merit close study. Attention was first drawn to an early example of this class by Professor Pinches, and the few others already published have been often discussed. The whole series seems to date from about 1400 B.C., and is important because it shows that in Arrapḫa (Kirkūk) the Assyrian dialect, not the Akkadian classical tongue, was generally used. Of the documents published by M. Contenau, one has particularly attracted the writer's attention, No. 3. It reads:—

2 imer še a-na (f) I-ra-šu na-ad-nu,
mu-uš-še-ir 11 *imer še u hamis sati kibti ša na-ad-nu*

The two points of interest are the use of the participle *muššer*, and of the terms *še* and *kibtu*. The translation "Two omers of barley have been delivered to the woman Irashu, excluding 11 omers of barley and 5 *satu* of wheat which have been delivered", seems to contain an Anglicism, "excluding" for *muššer*, yet it is difficult to see how the participle can be construed except as a preposition. As to *še*, the word here can only mean "barley", not "grain" in general, and it should always be so translated in these contracts. The most important material, however, in these documents is the evidence provided by the personal names. These are undoubtedly "Subaræan", and belong to the language in which Tushratta's letter to the Pharaoh Amenophis IV is couched.

Considerable historical importance attaches to one document in the volume, No. 99, which has been translated by M. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxii, p. 27. It is a letter from Nebuchadnezzar II when he was still "the

king's son " to certain officers, reporting the departure of the king, Nabopolassar, with a considerable army of Medes to Harran. The campaign referred to is most probably, as M. Thureau-Dangin has pointed out, that mentioned in the Nabopolassar Chronicle, ll. 59–61 (Gadd, *Fall of Nineveh*), where it is stated that the *Umman-Manda* joined Nabopolassar in the march against Ashur-uballit at Harran. Taken together, the two documents show that the term *Umman-Manda* at this time included the Medes, it does not prove the complete identity of the two terms, as some suppose. The Greek evidence concerning the Scythians cannot be neglected, and that evidence attributes to the Scythians some of the actions of the *Umman-Manda* as stated in the cuneiform documents. It is fair to conclude that *Umman-Manda* included both Scythians and Medes, but this conclusion does not prove that Landsberger's interpretation of *Umman-Manda* as for *umman mande, man ide* " the men ' who knows ? ' " (*OLZ.*, 1923, 73) is either historically probable or grammatically possible.

SIDNEY SMITH.

MATERIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICORUM. Deuxième partie, Syrie du sud. Tome deuxième, Jerusalem " Haram ". Premier fascicule. By MAX VAN BERCHEM. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 11$, 216 pp. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français du Caire. Tome 44.

At his death in 1921, Van Berchem left the Jerusalem section of the *Matériaux* complete, and Professor Wiet is seeing the book through the Press The whole of the plates and the text relating to the inscriptions of the town itself have been published already. The fascicule under notice covers the Haram sanctuary, except the dome of the rock and the Aqsâ mosque, which will be dealt with in a second fascicule now in the Press An index fascicule is in preparation, and will complete the book.

The inscriptions dealt with here number between seventy

and eighty, and are taken from the lesser shrines ai ter, and edifices of the haram and from the colonnades, wall ik, ten etc , of the large terraced enclosure which forms the san rs and Most of them relate to the foundation or restoration enty- buildings , the others include four Mamlûk decrees. of the inscriptions is earlier than the tenth century, and ods. five date from before the time of Ṣalâh ed Dîn (end of twe all century). Besides the text of the inscriptions, there are given ly a translation, a full commentary and particulars relating to the monuments on which the inscriptions occur.

The commentary is most thorough ; every useful indication given by the inscriptions is pointed out, and every difficulty is considered and if possible explained. The knowledge, judgment, and unsparing pains that gained for Van Berchem his world-wide fame as an epigraphist are as apparent here as in the rest of his work Though the inscriptions individually do not offer much that is particularly striking, collectively they afford a good many useful results. The topographical remarks of the editor are specially valuable. Former conditions in the area of the Haram are often not at all easy to reconstruct, one of the reasons being the confusion resulting from the occupation of Jerusalem by the crusaders, when many of the mosques were turned into churches. Ibn Fadlallâh's account of the place, with its precise measurements, did not become available in print till some time after the text was written , but it does not appear that it requires the alteration of any of the conclusions

According to the prospectus of the *Mémoires*, a further volume of the *Matériaux*, in preparation by Professor Wiet, will contain a supplement to the Cairo inscriptions already published, inscriptions of upper and lower Egypt and Kufic stelæ in the Cairo Museum The book will then cover the whole of Egypt, Jerusalem, a few less important places in Syria, and some in Asia Minor. It is to be feared that it will not be continued further. Shortly before his death, Van Berchem had announced that there were being prepared a volume for

king's sco include Damascus and Aleppo, and a volume for king, Nnor ; also that material for Mesopotamia, Armenia, Harran and China had been collected. It is satisfactory to M. Th that, if the series is not proceeded with, the work that Naboeen done will not be wasted. The material brought whether will doubtless be preserved in the Geneva Library, in tpart of Mme Van Berchem's gift in memory of her husband, which was recently noticed in the *Journal*.

A. R. G.

<u>KH</u>ITAT ESH <u>SH</u>ÂM. By MUHAMMAD KURD 'ALI. 10½ × 7¾. Parts 1 to 4, pp 308, 317, 271, and 310. In Arabic. Damascus, 1925–6.

This is an instalment of a historical and geographical dictionary of Syria, constructed on the general model of which Maqrîzî's <u>Kh</u>iṭat is a well-known example. It looks as if the part remaining to be published would be considerable, for it will include a division treating of all the individual towns, villages, mountains, valleys, and other geographical features in Syria separately in alphabetical order. The part here contains sections relating to the inhabitants of Syria, its languages, its learning and culture, agriculture, arts, and commerce Its principal contents are the history of Syria from before Islam to 1925.

The author, who is president of the Arab Scientific Society, bases his work on the Arabic, Turkish, and French authorities. He has been occupied with it for many years, and has visited many of the principal libraries in Europe, so as to consult the sources.

He gives a bibliography of works relating to Syria in the languages referred to, amounting to 695 books ; they include 176 MSS., many of which are in private libraries in the East, and some apparently not known in Europe Some of the works included in the bibliography seem, however, to be very slightly connected with Syria.

The value of a work of this kind depends principally on its reliability, and also on its observance of order and method. The dictionary seems well planned and its text is clear and to the point The historical narrative appears to be generally well done, although, as regards the conquest of Syria by the Arabs, De Goeje's *Conquête de Syrie* would hardly seem to have been known to the author, in spite of its being included in his bibliography. When finished, the book should be useful as a work of reference, especially as it does not appear that anything similar on Syria exists at present in Arabic

A. R. G.

AN ENGLISH-ARABIC DICTIONARY OF MEDICINE, BIOLOGY, AND ALLIED SCIENCES. By DR. MOHAMMAD SHARAF, M R C S, L R C P. Large 4°. pp xix, 972, vii. Government Press, Cairo, 1926.

About a hundred years ago under Muhammad Ali, the great and enlightened viceroy of Egypt, the study of science and of medicine in particular on European lines was introduced by him into his country. Foreign scientists were invited into his service and colleges and schools founded. Later on selected students of promise were sent by him to complete their studies in Europe. Although a great number of scientific works were published by his order, yet after his death interest seems to have languished, and it has remained for the Government of his Majesty King Fouad to re-inaugurate the work of his great ancestor by the publication of the present dictionary. Dr. Sharat's work, a large quarto volume of about 1,000 pages, is a complete dictionary of the English terminology of medicine, biology, and allied sciences, with equivalents and explanations in Arabic It is remarkable how very large a proportion of the terms included has been successfully equated with native Arabic equivalents Where such could not be found recourse has had to be taken to transliterating into the Arabic character The work reflects great credit upon

its author in respect of both thoroughness and accuracy, and cannot fail to have great influence in promoting the study of medicine in the near East The book is well printed and misprints appear to be few. The Arabic type though small is well shaped and legible, and where necessary vowel signs are added.

A. G. E.

DIE PASSIVBILDUNG DES GRUNDSTAMMES IM SEMITISCHEN, EINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG von Dr. E PORATH. 27 pp. Breslau, 1926.

The author rightly remarks that the passive of the simple stem in the Semitic languages has not hitherto been treated separately. This is not astonishing. A verb expresses in the first instance action, while the passive idea as well as the intransitive are secondary It is, therefore, not strange that the existence of the passive of the simple stem in Hebrew has only of late years been recognized through its relation to Arabic. Aramaic and Ethiopic pursue a different course. There exists in these dialects a large variety of forms used as passives, but it is obvious that those produced by internal vowel changes are restricted to the *verbum finitum*. All others are nominal forms as can be seen by the way they join suffixes in the place of inflexion. The forms אֻכַּל (Exodus iii, 2) and הַיּוּלָּד (Judges xiii, 8) do not belong to the same class, because the former is a real passive while the latter is a noun with the definite article. This becomes still clearer if we compare Arabic *maqtūl* with Hebrew forms like מַלְבּוּשׁ, מַבּוּל (contracted from מַבְלוּל), and others which are nominal with no passive character at all It is not even certain whether *maqtūl* is an inflected passive, or is only used as such, having lost its character as a noun. The same can be said with regard to the Hebrew *qatūl* and Aramaic *qᵉtīl*, especially as admittedly both these forms frequently occur as transitive, for which there is no need to quote examples Our author even mentions instances of the same kind in Arabic A

significant indication that the Semitic passive is not a natural growth is given by the *qᵉtīl* in Biblical Aramaic which degenerated from a noun to a verb and is inflected as such in the past tense. No cognate dialect developed a similar device The author will not expect to meet with agreement in every theory he propounds Thus he contests the opinion that אקלע is a contracted reflexive with ת omitted, but as this letter is often suppressed at the end of words there is no reason to deny the same possibility in the middle So much is clear, that no definite rules can be established for the large variety of passive forms. *Imāla* and the use of the vowel letters even in short syllables are likewise responsible for the rise of many forms, especially in the Targums, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, and Mandaitic, which cannot be treated with grammatical rigour As to Arabic dialects, Maltese is particularly instructive, but our author left it out of his consideration. Otherwise his learned expositions are a valuable contribution to comparative Semitic study

H HIRSCHFELD

AUS DER KAUKASISCHEN WELT By O G. VON WESENDONK. Volksverband der Bucherfreunde, Berlin (n d 1927); pp. 368 , sm 8vo.

Our knowledge of the Caucasus, of its inhabitants, their language and civilization is still so comparatively limited that every addition to it must be welcome With the Ark of Noah on Ararat, and Prometheus chained to another peak East and West are both connected with the Caucasus To this very day close upon one hundred and fifty dialects and languages have been counted, and it is difficult to realize the innumerable sub-divisions in the races that inhabit that country. The Caucasus has been the gateway through which the wild nations of the East poured into Europe, and the Caucasus has even been considered as the home of the white race. Very remarkable civilization has also developed in the plains which stretch from the foot of

the Caucasus to the Carpathian Mountains and beyond, with which the name of Scythians and Getae has been intimately connected, and which flourished during the first millennium B C The author of the present book, some time German Consul in Tiflis, a scholar of the first rank with consummate knowledge of the past, gives in this book a graphic description of land and people. He has lived among them and made himself familiar with all the peculiarities of the races which jostle one another in the great Maidan of Tiflis. He is especially interested in the Georgians, and with their romantic past which he so vividly describes No less interesting are the sketches of the other inhabitants of the country of which the author speaks with profound sympathy and deep understanding. The book reads almost like a novel, by virtue of the picturesqueness of the style and the easy grace of diction It is enriched by six drawings made by Mrs Margarete von Wesendonk and is beautifully printed.

M GASTER.

THE COMMENTARY OF DAVID KIMHI ON ISAIAH. Edited, with his unpublished allegorical commentary on Genesis, on the basis of Manuscripts and early editions, by LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Ph D. xcvi + 232 pp. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926. $2 50.

The most popular commentary to the Bible during the middle ages has been the one compiled by David Kimhi, in *the first half of the thirteenth century It is written in a* fluid, simple Hebrew style, and the author summed up, as it were, the best results of his predecessors Kimhi's commentary has exercised a deep influence also upon Christian interpretation of the Bible, and to this very day it has maintained its value In consequence of its great popularity, this commentary was among the very first to be printed It has been reprinted on innumerable occasions, and it has been preserved in a very large number of MSS. The commentary has in consequence suffered very much at the hands

of printers and copyists Dr Finkelstein gives us now here for the first time a critical edition of the commentary on Isaiah, Chapters 1–40, carried out in a scholarly manner, on the basis of some very ancient MSS. and first editions He moreover publishes here for the first time Kimhi's allegorical interpretation of Genesis, Chapters 2–4, containing the history of Adam in Paradise. A short biographical note, and a careful investigation into the principles observed by Kimhi in the compilation of his commentary, as well as the sources which he utilized, by Dr. Finkelstein, increases the value of this new edition, of which the present volume is only the first part It is sincerely to be hoped that the second will follow with as little delay as possible.

M. Gaster.

Bibliographia Kabbalistica . . . Mit einem Anhang: Bibliographie des Zohar und seiner Kommentare. By Dr. Gerhard Scholem. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Mystik im Auftrag der Johann Albert Widmannstetter Gesellschaft, ed. R. Eisler, Band II.) 4to, pp. xviii, 230. W. Drugulin, Leipzig, 1927. 19*s*.

In recent years there has been a marked revival of interest in the ancient mysteries and also in the mystical literature. The Jewish Cabbala, or mystical speculations, also shares in this revival, not from the religious point of view, but as an object of historical investigation. Owing to the rationalistic movement of the last two centuries, many of the Cabbalistic tracts have either entirely disappeared or become very scarce. The first attempt at a systematic bibliography has now been made by the author of the present publication. It is the result of many years of search in public libraries and private collections, and contains 1,215 titles of books arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. These are only treatises and studies on the Cabbala and its various ramifications, for whilst this bibliography of all the books and

treatises from Reuchlin to the present day covers all the numerous movements of a mystical character among the Jews, such as Gnosis, Sabbatianism, pseudo-Messianic movements, and Chassidism, the author has omitted the bibliography of the Cabbalistic writings themselves, with the exception of the Zohar and Zoharistic literature which forms here an appendix containing just 100 items. The title is therefore somewhat misleading, but in spite of its limitations the book is a great boon to scholars, for every volume is very carefully noted and Dr. Scholem has even added occasionally critical notes with which the present writer cannot always agree. A word of praise must be given to the admirable typographic execution by the well-known Drugulin Press of Leipzig.

M. Gaster

Dakhan-mēṉ Urdū. By Naṣīr ud-Dīn Hāshimī 2nd ed. 12 mo, x + 48 + 322 + iv pp. Hyderabad (Deccan), 1926.

Urdu in the Deccan, by Nāsir u'd-Dīn Hāshimī, Munshī Fāẓil, of Hyderabad, 1926, is a second edition of his work. It deals with the origin of Urdu generally, its special development in the Dakkhin, and the influence of European literature on the language. The Urdu, prose and poetry, is divided into periods, and specimens are given of each. The work, which is brought up to date, bears evidence of much painstaking research. Appended is a useful list of various Urdu journals and daily newspapers, with the dates of their appearance, and the names of their various editors.

The work is fairly well lithographed; but as in most lithographed works there is a tendency in places for the writing to be cramped. A little more spacing between the words would certainly be a boon to English readers

D. C Phillott.

Ṭayyibāt: The Odes of Shaikh Muṣliḥu'd-dīn Sa'dī Shīrāzī Translated by the late Sir Lucas White King, C S I, LL D, sometime Professor of Arabic and Persian in the University of Dublin. London: Luzac and Co, Great Russell Street, 1926

This is a posthumous volume containing a complete translation of the 417 Persian ghazals, which constitute the Ṭayyibāt of Sa'dī Prior to his death Sir L. W. King published a carefully collated text of these fine odes, which are ranked by many Persian critics as equal or superior to the ghazals of Hafiz, though they have never attracted a tithe of the popularity in Europe which has fallen to the later poet, not to speak of the vogue enjoyed by the quatrains of the astronomer 'Umar Khayyam. Like the odes of Hafiz they show Persian poetry at its high-water mark, being characterized by the same combination of mellifluous melody, highly felicitous diction and profundity of mystic thought, along with a mastery of all the numerous and difficult technical artifices which constitute the stock-in-trade of the skilled craftsman in Persian verse Sir L W. King's rendering of these ghazals into English prose makes a bulky volume of 557 pages It is an admirable translation, sufficiently literal to give the exact meaning of the Persian text, facing squarely all difficulties, and avoiding the opposite extremes of awkward and clumsy literalness and of flowery paraphrase There are excellent foot-notes, explaining the metaphors and rhetorical artifices in the text and illustrating many passages by comparisons drawn from other Persian poets, from a wide reading in English literature and from what seems to be now rarer than that kind of knowledge, a familiarity with the authorized version of the Bible

There is, however, one very deplorable feature in connexion with these foot-notes The numerous Persian quotations occurring in them all appear in transliterated form and they simply teem with absurd mistakes A few only of these may be cited as typical of the rest *Takalluf*

appears (note 2, p. 120) as *tū walluf*, *mastī* (note 3, p 552) as *ruastī*, *barūe* (note 2, p. 319) as *bazūe*, *ma'rifat* (note 2, p. 435) as *matrifah*. The letter ق appears sometimes as *k* and also as *q*, but often as *g* through confusion with *q* The quotations from the Quran are even more full of blunders than the Persian passages. It is a matter of regret that the proofs of these foot-notes were not looked over by some competent Persian scholar before the book was printed.

R P. DEWHURST.

CATALOGUE OF THE HINDUSTANI MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. By JAMES FULLER BLUMHARDT, M A. Oxford University Press, 1926

This Catalogue was compiled by a very careful and conscientious Oriental scholar, the late Professor Blumhardt of London University, who was also for many years lecturer in Bengali in the University of Oxford, shortly before his death, and it is an admirable example of his thoroughness and accurate scholarship

Although the Urdu (Hindustani) manuscripts in the India Office Library are fairly numerous, the Catalogue containing 269 separate items classified under sixteen headings, they do not include any which are of remarkable interest or rarity None of them contain any fine illuminations or beautiful calligraphy, or are of vital importance for determining the text of any Urdu writer of note They are indeed particularly rich in examples of autograph MSS in the writing of the poet Rangin, but the latter, though a very prolific writer and supremely conscious of his own literary merits, is not now regarded as being an Urdu poet of the first rank. The latest volume of poetical selections published in India, while giving numerous poems of standard poets like Sauda, Mir, Atish, Zauq, Ghalib, Anis, and Dabir, and also specimens of the verse of recent poets such as Hali, Akbar, Iqbal, and Chakbast, does not contain a single line of Rangin.

The two oldest manuscripts in the collection are dated 1607 and 1667, and they are both copies of a very crude and uninteresting work entitled Khūb Tarang, which is written in the Dakhani dialect in clumsy verse and deals with the thorny subject of Sufi theology.

The preface to the Catalogue supplies interesting details, showing how the Library acquired the manuscripts, partly by purchase and partly by gift, but mainly as an acquisition by Lord Canning in 1858 from the library of the Delhi emperors. This last addition includes all the autograph poems by Rangin. Two manuscripts (Nos 123 and 167), of little interest in themselves, acquire interest from the fact that they were bought from Warren Hastings in 1809, nine years before his death.

This Catalogue, the typography of which reaches a high standard, constitutes a memento of a scholar who did a great deal of unpretentious, but sound and useful work.

R. P. D.

Djami Le Beharistan Traduit par Henri Massé, Professeur a la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. Librairie Orientaliste. Paris · Paul Geuthner, 1926.

The whole of the Bahāristān of Jāmī has now for the first time been translated into French It was translated into German by Schlechta Wasehrd as far back as 1846, and a very superficial and inaccurate translation into English was printed for private subscribers in 1887 by the so-called Kamashastra Society, presumably because the sixth section of the Bahāristān contains a number of anecdotes which the French translator styles "peu édifiantes". The French translation now published is a very correct and scholarly production, far in advance of its predecessors, both German and English

The Bahāristān of Jāmī, which was written in 1487, follows very closely in technique the Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī, written more than two centuries earlier It consists like the

Gulistān of a lengthy preface and eight sections containing stories, classified under definite headings, told in prose, diversified with many short passages of original verse A good many of the stories are witty and a few are too grossly indecent to be translated literally into any modern language. Some of the grossest phrases and one whole story have been rendered into Latin and relegated to the notes which follow the translation, thus following the practice adopted by Platts, the *only translator who has ever ventured to publish a complete* rendering of the Gulistān.

The late Professor Browne in his *Persian Literature* refers very briefly to the Bahāristān and refrains from criticizing it. It is far inferior in vivacity and originality to the more famous work on which it is modelled The stories are less vivid and interesting, and the verses interspersed in them are of vastly poorer quality The typography of this translation is most excellent and the translation itself reproduces the spirit of the original in a way that makes one realize how much better a medium French is for the translation of Persian, as it is too for Arabic, than English can ever be

R. P. D.

HARSHA. (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925) By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M A, Ph.D, Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University. Oxford University Press, 1926

This monograph in the Rulers of India Series deals in a scholarly and interesting manner with a very attractive subject, the reign of the great king Harsha, a period which may be regarded as one of the golden ages of Indian history. Harsha, whose life covered the period from A D 590 to 648, enjoyed the advantage of having the poet Bāna, the author of the famous Kādambarī, as his court poet and biographer. India was visited in his time by the great Chinese pilgrim, whose name used to be romanized as Hiouen Thsang, but is now written as Yuan Chwang. This pilgrim has left on record

a detailed account of a long stay in India, during the course of which he studied Sanskrit at Nālandā for five years. Considerable light is also thrown on the history of the period by epigraphical evidence, notably that of the Banskhera and Madhuban copper-plates. Altogether Dr. Vincent Smith was quite justified in saying that our knowledge of the events of the reign of Harsha far surpasses that which we possess respecting any other early Indian king, except Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka.

The author of this book seems to have made the best possible use of the materials available, and his treatment of the life and campaigns of Harsha and the economic and social conditions which prevailed in his reign leaves nothing to be desired He has, perhaps, taken an unduly sanguine view of Harsha's own literary gifts in attributing to him the authorship of one of the best-known Sanskrit dramas (the Ratnāvalī) as well as other works. With the solitary exception of Marcus Aurelius, the literary productions of the kings of this world do not support the Arabic saying current in India to the effect that the writings of kings are kings among writings (كلام الملوك ملوك الكلام), and it seems to me much more probable that the works and the wording of the inscriptions attributed to Harsha himself emanated from some poet resident at his court, very probably, as Professor Macdonell suggests in his *Sanskrit Literature* (p. 362), Bāna himself.

This book contains a useful map and a fascimile and transliteration of the Banskhera inscription, but it is to be regretted that a full translation of this important inscription has not been supplied.

R. P. D.

ASOKA (Heritage of India Series) By JAMES M. MACPHAIL, M.A., M D., United Free Church Mission, Bamdah. Oxford University Press, 1926.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith exhausted the subject of Asoka so completely that it may be doubted whether there was any

real need for the publication of this rather slight monograph, which only sets forth in a quite clear and interesting way a re-arrangement of facts already ascertained. The facts known with regard to the reign of Asoka appear fully set forth in it, but the little book is a much less scholarly production than that of Dr. Vincent Smith and does not contain what is most needed by a student, a full translation of all the edicts of Asoka, or any specimens of the two scripts used in the pillar and rock inscriptions.

It is on the whole more an attempt to provide a short and popular volume, in harmony with the style and treatment adopted in other volumes of a series, than to contribute any facts of a novel nature elicited by original research. The only photograph in the book is a rather poor representation of the lion-capital found at Sarnath by Mr Oertel, which fails lamentably to do justice to that supremely beautiful specimen of Oriental art.

R. P. D.

EARLY SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA. By Lieut.-Col. Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON, K C I.E., C.S I., C.M G , D S O. Printed by Billings & Sons, Guildford and Esher, 1926.

This little brochure of 32 pages contains a short but interesting account of a number of early Spanish and Portuguese travellers, who visited Persia long before the English became established in India.

With regard to the first of the travellers mentioned, the Jew Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, who travelled in the east from about 1160 to 1173, it seems doubtful whether he actually entered Persia, but he lived for a long time at Baghdad and collected there a lot of reliable information on Persian matters. The first Spanish traveller who actually visited Persia seems to have been Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who passed through Tabriz, Tehran, and Nishapur on his

way to Samarqand in 1404 and through Qazvin on his return journey, in the course of which he was detained for six months at Tabriz The earliest Portuguese traveller, who gives an account of an inland journey in Persia, is Antonio Tenrreyro, who accompanied a mission sent from Goa in 1520 or 1521, which sailed to Bandar Abbas and proceeded viâ Lar, Shiraz, Isfahan, Qum, and Sultaniya to Tabriz, where Shah Isma'il then held his court

An epitome of the travels of these and several later Portuguese travellers is given and shows what a considerable part was taken by these adventurous men in the early stages of acquiring knowledge about a country which remained for such a surprisingly long time almost a sealed book to the West

R. P D

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India

No 22. An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi. By J A Page Calcutta, 1926.

No 26 Two Statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a Rock Temple at Mahābalipuram. By H. Krishna Sastri Calcutta, 1926.

The appearance of these two publications bears eloquent testimony to the scholarly work carried on by the Archæological Survey of India in various departments of antiquarian research Mr. Page's Memoir gives more than the title would lead the reader to anticipate It deals not only with the Qutb Minār, the famous tower of ancient Delhi, but with the whole group of religious buildings raised by the early Muhammadan conquerors on the ruins of twenty-seven temples in the Hindu citadel of Prithī Rāj. This group of monuments is of unique importance alike from the artistic and historical point of view It embodies the triumph of Islām and the establishment of Moslem rule in the heart of Hindūstān and at the same time marks the beginning of Indo-Saracenic architectural art.

In his introductory chapter the author gives a brief, but excellent, survey of the history of the Indo-Saracenic style and of the main features by which its various periods are characterized. Then follows a lucid and scholarly account of the various edifices subsisting in a more or less ruined state and forming an eminently picturesque group round the grand Minār. In the first place the author deals with the great mosque known by the name of Quwwatu-l-Islām, founded by Qutbu-d-Dīn, and twice extended by Altamish[1] and Alāu-d-Dīn Khaljī Little now remains of the latter's addition to the prayer chamber and of his enormous cloister encompassing the extended court But there still stands the rugged pile which was to become 'Alāu-d-Dīn's Minār and which was destined to reach twice the size of that of his predecessor.

We are also fortunate in still possessing the Alāi Darwāza, which is rightly praised by Mr. Page as a work of exceptional architectural merit. " Its excellent proportions and simple composition," the author remarks, " with pierced central openings echoing the contour of the covering dome, must be seen at dusk silhouetted against an evening afterglow to be rightly appreciated ; though the loss of most of the upper wall-facing and the original parapet is necessarily a detraction." As pointed out by the author, the last-named feature was wrongly repaired in the course of the restoration of 1828.

As regards the tomb known by tradition as that of Altamish, the author observes that there exists in reality no evidence either inscriptional or literary to prove that the second great ruler of the Slave dynasty was interred in this edifice

The pages devoted to the history of the Qutb-Minār are full of interest It was restored first by Firōz Shāh Tughlaq, who added a fifth story, as recorded in his *Futūhāt-i-Firōzshāhī*, and afterwards in 1828 by Major Robert Smith. The restoration performed upon the entrance gateway, Mr. Page observes, was somewhat unfairly criticized by Fergusson, who

[1] The correct form of this name appears to be Īltutmish

denounced the work as being "in the true style of 'Strawberry Hill Gothic'", although on close scrutiny it will become evident that all the masonry above the architrave is composed of the original weather-worn stones. The proportion of the old and new materials used in restoration is plainly shown in plate xv of the Memoir The Bengali *chhattri* of Major Smith's invention which he raised on the top of the Minār was certainly very objectionable. It was removed many years ago.

We may note parenthetically that a full account of this restoration is found in the *Journal of the Archæological Society of Delhi*, a periodical of which the few issues are now extremely rare. This is perhaps the reason why it is not included in Mr. Page's Bibliographical List We also miss here the title of Sayyid Ahmad's book, *Āthāru-s-ṣanānīd*

It will be remembered that Sir Alexander Cunningham's assistant, Mr. Beglar, claimed a Hindu origin for the Qutb-Minār This fantastic view, although palpably untrue, has met with some adherence, but is rightly dismissed by Mr Page. "The single positive factor," this author observes (p. 6, foot-note), "put forward to support the case is the existence of a date in Nāgarī characters inscribed on the first storey of the minār, which the writer [Mr. Beglar] reads (dubiously as he admits) as Samvat 1204 (A D. 1146–7), but which other authorities I have consulted agree in reading as Saṃvat 1704"

Mr Page, moreover, arrives at the conclusion that the evidence of Hindu influence in these earliest Moslem monuments of India is very slight, except as regards the decorative work found on the original screen of the Quwwatu-l-Islām Mosque and belonging to the time of Qutbu-d-Dīn. "This screen," the author says, "erected by Aibak in A D. 1199, is perhaps the most interesting feature of the mosque. As already noted, the bands of sinuous carving are, as regards their technique, wholly uninfluenced by Saracenic ideas. Their serpentine tendrils and undulating leaves are the work of the Hindu, who had developed these

identical forms in his temples through generations of usage. The disposition of these foliated bands in the design of the façade is, on the other hand, characteristically Saracenic in *motif*, and reveals at once the relation between the Muhammadan constructor directing affairs and the Hindu artisan, on whose interpretation of his ideas he was dependent for the carrying out of his designs The result is happy enough: the intricately carved surface gives a 'texture' to the massive screen, and in the variations of the patterns and bands serves as an effective relief to the broad flat surfaces"

As regards the alternate rounded and angular fluting which is such an attractive feature of the Qutb-Minār, its supposed connexion with any Hindu or Jain examples the author considers "too fortuitous to be in any degree probable".

In order to account for the characteristics of the Indo-Saracenic style, Mr Page prefers to adduce examples of similar monuments found in Persia and other countries of the Islamic world. Here the author enters upon a domain of research which has received too little attention at the hands of previous writers on the subject, and which, if more thoroughly explored, may yield most valuable results in elucidating the development of the Moslem architecture of India.

At the outset of his introduction Mr. Page remarks that it would require several volumes to deal adequately with such a vast subject as the evolution of the Indo-Saracenic architectural style In congratulating the author on his present achievement, we would express the hope that some day we may see a series of well-illustrated monographs composed in the same excellent taste and scholarly spirit as mark the Memoir under review

The next Memoir (No. 26), the title of which will be found above, refers to an interesting discovery which was made four years ago by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, of the Archæological Department, and which was first brought to

notice in the Government Epigraphist's Annual Report for 1922–3 (p 94) Among the remarkable group of rock-cut temples situated at Māvalivaram, about 30 miles to the south of Madras, and popularly known as "the Seven Pagodas", there is one shrine dedicated to Ādivarāha-Perumāl which had never been properly examined owing to the circumstance that it is still used for religious worship When the Archæological Department undertook to make a survey of this temple, it was found to contain not only six rock-cut figures of various divinities, but also two bas-reliefs each of which represents a group consisting of a king attended by two females, presumably his queens Two short inscriptions [1] incised immediately above these sculptures reveal the interesting fact that they portray two members of the famous Pallava dynasty, which held sway on the Coromandel coast for many centuries Unfortunately the Pallava kings often bore identical names, and moreover, were in the habit of indicating their own persons by means of a number of *birudas* or subsidiary titles—a custom which may have been flattering to their *amour propre* but which is extremely puzzling to the modern historian In the present instance the two kings portrayed are labelled *Siṃhavishnu* and *Mahendra*, but, as Mr Krishna Sastri points out, we have in either case the choice between three kings who are known to have borne one of those two names The author on the strength of palæographical evidence arrives at the conclusion that in all probability they are to be identified as Mahendravarman I, the originator of rock-cut temples in Southern India, and his son and successor, Narasimhavarman-Simhavishṇu I, surnamed Vātāpīkoṇda or "the Conqueror of Vātāpī". One might perhaps raise objection to the proposed identification on the ground of Eastern etiquette In the two sculptures under discussion the king labelled as Simhavishṇu

[1] The final syllables of both inscriptions appear to be *-rāñja* (for *-rājña*) and not *-rājan*, as read by Mr Krishna Sastri Cf. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, table vii, col xxiv, No. 16.

is shown seated on a curious tripod, whereas the Mahendravarman of the corresponding panel is represented standing. If the two royal personages are father and son, one would expect the seated monarch to represent the father and the one standing the son. On the other hand, it certainly seems very probable that the former is meant for Simhavishṇu I Mahāmalla, who was so closely associated with Māmallapuram, i e. Māvalivaram, and its monuments.

Apart from this uncertainty the newly discovered sculptures present many points of interest. Portrait statues of royal persons are extremely rare in ancient India. Among the few known instances we may quote the images of Kanishka and two other Kushān princes found at Māt near Mathurā. Besides, the two panels afford an interesting example of the custom of donors being pictured in connexion with temples or divine images. This custom, universally practised in Buddhist art, has its parallel in the Christian art of the West It is not a little curious that in one of the ancient Buddhist temples of Java, now known by the name of Chaṇḍi Plaosan, panels are found representing royal figures attended by parasol-bearers. These figures have been interpreted as representing the founders of the sanctuary in which they are placed [1] This supposition is considerably strengthened by a comparison with the inscribed panels of Māvalivaram.

The survey of the Ādivarāha-Perumāl Temple has yielded three more inscriptions One is inscribed in Pallava-grantha characters of the same type as found in the two epigraphs discussed above, and contains a well-known Puranic verse, in which the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu are enumerated. It is worthy of note that in this document, of about the eighth century of our era, Buddha is mentioned as the tenth *avatāra*. The author discusses at some length the question how we are to account for the curious fact that the founder of a rival and heterodox sect was included among the manifestations

[1] N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 2nd ed., 1923, vol. ii, pp 11 f.

of the supreme deity of Vaishnava Hinduism. The reason, so it seems to us, is not far to seek. Was not the identification of Buddha with Vishnu a most ingenious means of propaganda, facilitating the conversion of Buddhists to Vishnuism? Anyhow, it is a point of considerable interest that the inclusion of Buddha among the *avatāras* must have happened at a considerably earlier period than was hitherto supposed by some scholars.

Mr. Krishna Sastri's Memoir is illustrated by means of two plates. A few more plates, containing a ground-plan and views of the rock-cut temple and views of the six divine images it contains, would certainly have added to the value of the Memoir. The second plate accompanying the Memoir enables us to appreciate the artistic merit of the two sculptured panels, particularly of that showing Mahendravarman and his two queens The king points with his right hand in the direction of the sanctum, while with his left he clasps the wrist of the first lady, probably the Mahishī, whom he seems to be leading towards the image of the Primeval Boar Attention may be drawn to the curious head-dress worn by the king, both in this and in the other panel

J PH VOGEL.

BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS By B BARUA and K G. SINHA. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926.

The authors in their Preface explain the scope of their book in the following terms: "The present edition is the outcome of a close study of the inscriptions on the Inner Railing and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut in Central India according to a new plan Instead of setting these inscriptions as they are found incised, in order on the existing east Gateway, component parts of the Quadrants of the Inner Railing, and several fragments, we have rearranged them in such a manner that we can unveil the system that underlies them and thereby make them truly significant. We have broadly distinguished them as Votive Labels and

Jātaka Labels, grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping-stones, and the isolated Fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka-outlines of the Buddha's life."

The authors have, no doubt, taken considerable pains in familiarizing themselves with previous publications on the Barhut sculptures and inscriptions by Cunningham, Hoernle, Hultzsch, Luders, and Chanda [1] They have arranged the epigraphs in a systematic way, and the parallel passages quoted from Pali literature will be found convenient for reference.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in certain respects they have become the victims of too strict an adherance to their own method. They divide the Barhut inscriptions in two categories: Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels In other words, they assume that any "labels" which are not manifestly of a votive or dedicatory character, must necessarily refer to stories of the Buddha's previous existences Yet it is obvious that scenes relating to the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni in his final existence, such as the descent of the Bodhisattva from the Tushita heaven or the gift of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika, although they are found in the introduction to the Jātaka Book, cannot possibly be reckoned among "Jātakas" in the generally accepted meaning of this term

Nor is there any reason to assume that the well-known pillar figures of demi-gods and demi-goddesses guarding the entrance to the sacred enclosure are meant to suggest any specific legend from Buddhist literature, though it is certainly interesting that some names recur in canonical books. By their endeavour throughout to find parallels in Pali literature,

[1] In the "Bibliography" we miss S J. Warren, *Two bas-reliefs of the stūpa of Bharhut*, Leiden, 1890, and A. Foucher, *Les représentations de "Jātakas" sur les bas-reliefs de Barhut*, Paris, 1908 (English in *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*).

the authors have sometimes allowed themselves to be led astray into very fanciful and far-fetched explanations, as e g in the case of the name Culakokā (p. 73) translated as "the little hunter-goddess". On the whole, etymology is not their strong point.

According to the authors (p. 79) "it goes without saying that the Pali texts preserve in *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* two Prākrit forms of Sanskrit and Pali Mahādeva". The same phonetic change of *h* into *gh* and of *gh* into *kh* they assume to have taken place in the term *Videgha* (*Śat. Br.*), which evidently they regard as a younger form of Sanskrit *Videha*

As has been remarked above, the authors undertake to connect all non-votive "labels" with some *jātaka*, and in a few cases, when parallels fail, they do not hesitate to invent *jātakas* to suit the case Such a procedure may be commendable in the case of the Ajaṇṭā frescoes, when we have a succession of scenes illustrating a story with such lucidity that the tale, though unknown from literature, may be read from the pictured wall as surely as from a book.[1] But at Barhut, where the story is usually represented by a single bas-relief, the invention of a story which it possibly might illustrate seems an enterprise of doubtful utility.

Among the scenes not yet explained there is a medallion showing a triangular wall surrounded by a number of elephants and two lions, which is labelled *tikotiko cakamo*. This is rendered "the triangular resort" by the authors, who add the following note in explanation "The label is attached to a Jātaka scene in which the Bodhisat then born as a king of elephants is in a position to drive away the lions from the spot, or to the scene of a triangular lake guarded by dragons, elephants, and lions."

Now it occurs to us that it does not advance our knowledge in any way to interpret an unknown scene by an unknown

[1] We may refer to Mlle Lalou's paper, "Trois récits du Dulva reconnus dans les peintures d'Ajaṇṭa," *Journal asiatique*, 1925, pp. 333 ff.

jātaka, apart from the fact that the scene depicted does not seem to us at all to fit a story such as the authors pre-suppose. In fact it may reasonably be questioned whether this bas-relief was ever meant to illustrate a birth-story. We know that the word *cankama* (Skt. *cankrama*) had a very distinct meaning among Indian Buddhists It denoted a monument erected on the spot " where Buddha walked up and down ", as the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang says. Such a *cankama* (Skt *cankrama*) or " Buddha's Walk " must once have existed both in the deer-park of Benares and in the Jetavana of Śrāvastī, as we know from inscriptions of the third regnal year of Kanishka Along the northern side of the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā such a monument exists in a fair state of preservation down to the present day. What is left of the Buddha's Walk of Gayā is " a simple brick wall, 53 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and a little more than 3 feet in height ", which originally must have been surmounted by a stone canopy, the bases of two rows each of eleven pillars being still extant on either side of the brick structure [1]

Now it is very probable that the *tikotiko cakamo* as well as the *dadanikamo cakamo* [2] mentioned in another Barhut epigraph represent similar monuments, either real or imaginary, but presumably associated with some legend which, as far as we know, has not been preserved in literary tradition. We meet with the term *ca[n]kama* again in a third inscription *tanacakamo parirepo*, in which the authors undertake to emendate *tana* into *vana* and to connect the word *parirepo* with the famous *parileyyaka* elephant of the Buddha legend. Unfortunately the relief to which the inscription belongs has been lost

The authors lead the reader to believe that there is a fourth Barhut inscription in which the word *ca[n]kama* occurs.

[1] A Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, London, 1892, p 8, plate v

[2] The connexion with the *Uraga-jātaka* (No 354) proposed by the authors (cf also JASB, N S, vol xix (1923), pp 354 ff) is altogether out of the question.

On page 99 they give the legend *himāni-caṃkamo* (?) as "the corrected full text" of a label, of which in reality only the first two syllables and part of the third are visible, the remainder having completely disappeared with a portion of the stone. Now the bas-relief to which this inscription seems to belong, though also badly damaged, still enables us to recognize two men wrestling—a scene which certainly does not justify the restoration of the label in the manner proposed. In this connexion we cannot refrain from strongly protesting against the fashion followed nowadays by some scholars, of restoring the lost portions of fragmentary inscriptions. In the present instance, it is true, the harm done is not very serious; but when the same sport is indulged in with the evident intention of reading the names of historical personages into the illegible portions of inscriptions, the method (*sit venia verbo*) becomes misleading, and is apt to embarrass scholarly research

Side by side with *cankamas* some of the Barhut bas-reliefs show *cetiyas*, and others again picture sacred trees such as the *bahuhatthiko nigodho* or "banyan-tree of many elephants", the *dhenachako*—which the authors somewhat boldly identify with the *dhonasākha* of the *Dhonasākha-jātaka* (No. 353)—and the jambu-tree at Mount Naḍoda, which, as shown in the bas-relief, is a treasure-granting tree. These three trees curiously enough are all associated with Mount Nadoda. If this mountain could be traced in literature, it would perhaps be possible to identify the scenes in which the trees are depicted.

All we can say for the present is that the bas-reliefs in question, as far as we can see, are intended to portray certain sacred monuments and trees which evidently possessed special significance in the eyes of the persons who had them carved on the Barhut Railing, but which are not mentioned in literary lore. The authors have failed to convince us that in any instance such scenes are to be connected with *jātakas* of the Pali collection.

We have dwelt perhaps too long on the shortcomings of the book under review. These failings, mostly due to a too schematic treatment of the subject, are mainly failings in method, and should not prevent us from duly appreciating the great labour bestowed by the authors on their task—obviously a labour of love—as well as their intimate acquaintance with Pali literature.

J. PH. VOGEL.

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1. ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT Hyderabad, 1921–4.
2. HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES. Nos. 6 & 7.
3. ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT Mysore, 1925.

Hyderabad State, in area almost equal to Great Britain, with a population exceeding that of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, is one of the least known territories in India, and Mr. Yazdani's Reports are always welcome. The gem of Deccan monuments is Ajanta, to which the Government of H.E H. the Nizam devotes exemplary care Steps have been taken to make these caves more easily accessible to visitors, and large sums of money have been spent in preserving their unique frescoes Proposals for the publication of a complete set of coloured photographs of these frescoes are under discussion.

Mr. Yazdani's notes on the fortifications of Elgandal, Qandhār, and Parenda are a useful contribution to a much-neglected subject. Mr. T. Streenivas, in his account of the coins acquired, reports a rare gold coin of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijipur, and identifies two Mughal mints (Parenda and Kānkurti) unknown, so far, to numismatists.

Two epigraphic records are published separately, one (by Mr. R. Narasimhachar) of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I (dated A D. 1056) which shows that Bōdhan, in the Middle Godavari Valley, was once a Rāshtrakūta capital, the other (by Professor S. Hanumant Rao) of the Warangal Queen Rudrāmāmbā (dated A.D. 1273), which names a hitherto unknown family of feudal chiefs, the Viryāla. The latter confirms the view

that Rudrā Devi was the daughter of her predecessor Gaṇapati, not, as reported by Marco Polo, his consort.

The "get up" of these Hyderabad publications is sumptuous. It is a pity there are not more of them.

Mysore State has done yeoman service for Indian Archæology, and its interest is by no means exhausted. Dr Shama Sastry's concise notes on the Chālukyan temples at Markuli, Harіharapura, and Nāgamangala are followed by a brief account of Savandurga, the stronghold of the Gauda dynasty which founded Bangalore. Then comes a disquisition on the Sixty-three Śaiva Saints whose images are venerated in most of the important Śaiva temples of the Tamil country, and also at Nanjangud, near Mysore As is usual with traditional lists, no two lists agree, and the identity of some of the saints is obscured by a variety of aliases. It is no light task to win a grain or two of history from the legends that have gathered round them, but Dr Shama Sastry hazards a few synchronisms, ranging from the third to the tenth centuries A D, which may prove useful when the literature bearing on the subject comes to be critically studied. It is to be hoped that the stories recorded of these saints are legendary, for they depict a peculiarly savage stage of society, the lopping off of a lady's hand or nose being not an uncommon penalty for some trivial act of religious disrespect.

Dr Shama Sastry next summarizes certain MSS. bearing on the local history of the Mysore-Coorg frontier and the Kanarese poet Mangarāja which it is not easy to correlate with epigraphic evidence

The 119 inscriptions transcribed are of varied interest. Some of them are clearly spurious, and others are of doubtful validity, especially the copies of copper-plates said to be lost. Of these the Changālva grant of S. 1489 appears to be a cooked version of *Ep. Carn.*, vol. IV, No 24, of Hunsūr, which, unlike the copy, gives the cyclic year correctly. The most interesting items in the collection are four Ganga grants (Nos. 73, Muttarasa; 105, Bhūvikrama; 106, Sivamāra;

and 115, Mādhavavarman), a Kadamba grant (No. 118) of Vishnuvarman, a stone inscription (No. 86) which records a Nolamba raid on Ganga territory in the early part of the tenth century, and another (No. 53, dated A.D. 1097) of the Hoysala Ereyanga, of the period when the Hoysaḷas were still feudatory to the Chālukyas of Kalyāni

It is good news that the Chandrāvali mound near Chitaldrug, which in 1908 yielded interesting evidence of the southward extension of the Āndhras, is to be further excavated

Dr Shama Sastry's Report is difficult reading, as few references are given to extant literature, places named are not always clearly localized, and some of the dates cited differ from those generally accepted A tabular list of the inscriptions collected, with brief details of dynasty, date, language, and script is also a desideratum

The paper on which the Report is printed is inferior and the typography is anything but accurate or clean The quality and importance of Dr Shama Sastry's work entitles it to better treatment in the press.

F J. RICHARDS

STEN KONOW'S SIX Volumes in the LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. 14 × 10½, 2,640 pp. in all

The *Linguistic Survey of India* is a monument to the erudition and labour of two distinguished scholars, Sir George Grierson and Dr Sten Konow, Professor of Sanskrit in Oslo. Seventeen volumes have been published.

Professor Konow's work for the Series may be summed up as follows (It should be noted that the *L S I.* uses the word "volume" to indicate a division of the subject, comprising perhaps several parts, each of which may itself be a large volume.)

Vol III, Pt. I (the whole) · the Tibeto-Himalayan and Assam-Burma branches of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Pt. II : the portion dealing with the Kacin Group of Tibeto-Burman languages

Pt. III (the whole). the Assam-Burma branch of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Vol IV (the whole). Muṇḍā languages and Dravidian languages

Vol. VII (the whole). Marāthī

Vol IX, Pt. III the portion dealing with the Bhīlī and Khāndeśī languages (between three-quarters and four-fifths of the whole)

Vol. XI (the whole). "Gipsy" languages (so-called).

It will be seen that of the seventeen volumes he has compiled the whole of five, the greater part of a sixth, and a small part of a seventh, approximately the equivalent of six volumes. Of these only one volume has been reviewed in this *Journal*, and it is possible that some scholars hardly realize how varied and important is the contribution which this Norwegian savant has made to the Survey I do not wish here to write a review. This notice is simply an attempt to indicate the languages dealt with in the 2,640 pages of which his volumes consist They belong to four families, viz Tibeto-Chinese, 69 languages, Austric, six languages, Dravidian, six, Indo-European, three, excluding the Gipsy "dialects" which in the majority of cases are not dialects but argots, merely disguised forms of more respectable languages The Sāsī dialect is a notable exception Perhaps the most interesting of the groups of language are the complex pronominalized Tibeto-Himilayan languages and those belonging to the Muṇḍā family, the argument that a Muṇḍā substratum underlies the former is very striking. We must mention also the Introduction to the *Gipsy Languages*, where the author adduces an array of facts which go to prove that the various criminal tribes, though now so different, belong both ethnologically and linguistically to a single original stock.

Dr. Konow's treatment of all these subjects shows with what firm steps he walks amid intricate and confusing by-paths. But indeed we may open any volume and we shall be impressed by the grasp of detail and power of deduction which in common

with Sir George Grierson he brings to the elucidation of these thorny problems Students of Indian languages are under a deep obligation to these two scholars, each of whom must look with justifiable satisfaction on the share which he has had in this great work. Professor Sten Konow has done a great deal of other excellent linguistic work in English, and we are glad to acknowledge what we owe him. If the interest in Indian and Afg͟hān languages shown by his relative, Dr. Morgenstierne (*JRAS*, April, pp 368–75), may be traced to him, the debt is even greater then we knew. Perhaps this short notice will serve to convey to him our appreciation and gratitude.

T Grahame Bailey.

The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan By R. L. Turner. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, 45 pp Gypsy Lore Society, 1927.

This monograph is of first-class linguistic importance, but is likely to escape the notice of some scholars owing to its having been privately printed for the members of a comparatively small society. Professor Turner has here made a detailed philological study of the linguistic connexions of Romani, a problem which has attracted attention for many years During the last 80 years a number of articles and occasionally portions of larger works, have been devoted to the subject The principal theories were well explained a few years ago by Professor Woolner, who has since in three studies contributed to the *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.* given reasons for his own views.

Apart from the wealth of well-attested detail the chief importance of the monograph before us lies in the statement of the principles which must guide all such discussion. These principles have not hitherto been insisted upon in the study of Romani, in fact, we may go further and say that forgetfulness of them invalidates a considerable part of what has been written about the origin of the language. The two main principles to be kept in mind are these :—

(*a*) A clear distinction must be made between innovations and conservations in language

(*b*) Before any conclusions can be drawn from innovations an attempt must be made to ascertain their dates or at least their relative dates

These rules appear self-evident when stated, yet they are generally ignored. Linguistic conservations can hardly prove anything about languages in which they occur, except that those languages have a common origin, but if wisely used they sometimes point the way to conclusions which the study of innovations may establish as correct.

Professor Turner shows that in all early innovations Romani disagrees with the north-western languages, i e Panjabi, Lahndi, Sindhi, and Dard, but agrees with the Central Group, i.e Hindi (in the wider sense including Avadhi and Rajputani), Central Pahari, and Nepali The evidence of an extended body of innovations is conclusive for the time at which they took place. As regards later innovations, Romani agrees with the north-western languages in one, and possibly two, cases, with the Central languages in two, which, however, may have occurred independently. The testimony of later innovations on the whole supports a subsequent connexion with the N.W group

On these grounds the author concludes that Romani is one of the Central group of languages, but that before the time of Aśoka the Gipsies had migrated northwards and westwards, ultimately living for centuries among speakers of north-western languages This conclusion is borne out by the evidence of conservations, in a number of which Romani agrees with the north-west.

It is not possible to say more exactly where it stands among the Central languages "All that can be said with certainty is that Romani belonged to the Central group." The ancestors of the north-western languages (Sindhi, Lahndi, Panjabi, Dard), of Western Pahari, Sinhalese, and Marathi, probably of Bengali and Gujrati, are excluded.

The testimony of the early innovations is extraordinarily strong, for the sounds discussed include *ṛ*, *ṛt*, *ks*, *sm*, *tv*, *īya*, *y-*, and *-m-*, and the conclusion that the first traceable connexion was with the Central group seems inevitable The later innovations yield a much less decisive result, one important case points to a subsequent connexion with the north-west, not specially with the Dard area, but more probably with the southern part of the north-west area. The information to be obtained from the morphological forms, which is "meagre and uncertain", is not in opposition to the conclusions mentioned

This important monograph will be welcomed by all students of Indo-Aryan languages To my mind it marks the turning of the tide Since the days of Miklosich over fifty years ago the Dard theory has had an attraction for not a few scholars. Yet opposition has not been wanting—von Sowa thirty years ago, Woolner and Sampson in recent years, and now this work. Doubtless some will still believe in a Dard origin, but I am convinced that the future lies with the Hindi theory so ably argued by Professor Turner

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE VYAVAHĀRAMAYŪKHA OF BHATTA NĪLAKANTHA. With an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by P V. KANE (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. lxxx.) lix + 256 + 560 pp. Bombay, 1926

The *Vyavahāramayūkha* is one of the twelve *mayūkhas* or "rays" forming the *Bhāskara* or "sun" of Nīlakantha Bhaṭṭa and was probably written about 1650 or somewhat earlier At one time there were at least three different editions of this famous work, printed in 1826 and 1879, but they are now obsolete or no longer obtainable. For this reason Mr. P. V Kane, Vakil to the High Court of Bombay and a well-known Sanskrit scholar, has laid his fellow students under a deep obligation by re-editing this important work

and providing it with an excellent introduction and most exhaustive notes

Nīlakantha Bhatta belonged to a family, widely renowned for learning and piety, who looked upon the great pundit Nārāyanabhatta as their most famous member. The introduction to the present edition gives very full details concerning the family history, and about Nīlakantha himself [1] and his various works These are concerned with the various disciplines of Hindu ritual and civil law and contain, for the benefit of the student of *Smṛti*, a great deal of uncommonly valuable material. The learned notes of Mr Kane also provide us with adequate elucidation of the often somewhat obscure text

JARL CHARPENTIER

BHAGAVADAJJUKIYAM. A Prahasana of Bodhayana Kavi with Commentary. Edited with critical Notes and Introduction by P ANUJAN ACHAN xxvi + 98 pp Jayantamangalam, 1925.

Mr P Anujan Achan, as a research scholar at Santiniketan, had the privilege of being a pupil of Professor Winternitz. who has also written a somewhat lengthy preface to this publication of his former disciple On his advice, also, Mr P Anujan Achan undertook to edit this little *prahasana*, the *Bhagavadajjukīyam*, manuscripts of which he had the good luck to discover in the Pāliyam library at Jayantamangalam, of which he is now the Honorary Curator.

It is perhaps only natural that an editor should think highly of the merits of his subject, and we are not astonished to find that Mr P Anujan Achan estimates highly the literary value of this little farce We, however, hesitate to endorse his opinion fully on this point. It has often struck the present writer that, despite the acuteness and brilliancy of the Hindu mind, the plots of Sanskrit drama

[1] In Professor Winternitz's *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, vol iii, p 503 seq , only a few scanty lines are found concerning Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa.

are, from a Western point of view, often marked by incredible insipidity and tastelessness The lyric sublimities of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti cannot perhaps be rivalled, save by the greatest poet of all ages, the everlasting glory of all English-speaking races, but the plots of the *Śakuntalā* or the *Uttararāma-carita* fail to excite our admiration There are the makings of a clever opera in the *Urvaśī*, and especially in the disputed fourth act, and there are good dramatic points in the *Mrcchakatikā* and the *Mālatīmādhava* But for a European there is only one great drama, the *Mudrārāksasa*, which stands alone amid the enormous bulk of Sanskrit literature

Our little text is a typical example of a foolish and uninteresting sort of farce in which ridicule is made of some more or less hypocritical and objectionable ascetics—apparently a favourite topic in certain literary cycles. But it may be of some interest as a specimen, and may also be important for the history of the Kerala stage, if not for the "Bhāsa" question, which ought, by this time, to have passed beyond discussion The editor has apparently done his work with care and has written a useful introduction It should be observed (p xx) that *Bodhāyana Kavi* has, of course, nothing to do with the *vrttikāra* mentioned by Rāmānuja The reference is to the poet of the so-called *Bodhāyana Rāmāyana*, whoever that somewhat obscure person may otherwise have been. Of that the pundits of the South might let us know something

JARL CHARPENTIER

DACCA UNIVERSITY BULLETINS. No. 1 LOKAYATA By MM. HARA PRASAD SHASTRI 6 pp Oxford University Press, 1925.

DACCA UNIVERSITY BULLETINS. No. 2. THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL. By R. C. MAJUMDAR 27 pp. Oxford University Press, 1925.

The new University of Dacca has, under the title of Bulletins, started a series of short publications of which

four have, so far, become known to the present writer One of them is, however, a paper by M Sylvain Lévi, which has been mentioned elsewhere in this *Journal*,[1] while another deals with a topic which is wholly outside its scope. Thus only the two remaining papers can be mentioned here

The little paper, by MM. Hara Prasad Shastri, on *Lokāyata* is of some interest, but contains no new materials The learned author has apparently not made acquaintance with Professor Hillebrandt's important paper on that subject in the *Festschrift Ernst Kuhn* (1916), p. 14 seq [2] Professor Majumdar's paper on the Early History of Bengal is instructive and makes easy reading We should venture to differ from the Professor on some points, but they cannot be touched upon here

PORTUGUESE MAPS AND PLANS OF CEYLON, 1650 Published by P E PIERIS iii pp + 36 pl Colombo, 1926

Mr Pieris, the indefatigable investigator of the Portuguese and Dutch history of Ceylon, has published this little collection from a manuscript now belonging to the Library of Congress at Washington The plates are well executed and interesting, especially of course to the student of the history of Ceylon, but without an accompanying text they are for the most part not very intelligible But the unselfish devotion of Mr. Pieris to his favourite field of research must evoke appreciation, even though this latest work can be accessible only to very few students.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE OCEAN OF STORY Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* Edited by N M. PENZER Vol. vi. Foreword by A. R WRIGHT. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, xxii + 332 pp London Charles J Sawyer, Ltd , Grafton Street, 1926

[1] Cf *JRAS*, 1927, p 147

[2] Some further materials have been collected by Dr Strauss in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xxix, 907 seq

This volume of the *Ocean* is introduced to the reader by the President of the Folk-lore Society, a fitting tribute to the value attached to Mr Penzer's work by students of folk-lore. As the proud owner of an original edition, Mr Wright is well fitted to discourse on the merits of Mr Tawney's work His very instructive remarks on the origin and classification of folk-lore tales will be read with much interest, and it will be generally admitted, in the words found in the preface, that folk-lore students have many grounds for lively gratitude to Mr Penzer "for placing in their hands the keys of a paradise of delight, with apples of knowledge hung thickly on the trees" It would be a more contentious business to discuss the question whether all these folk-tale apples come from some tree in one original paradise, but fortunately it is not necessary to do so here

In this volume Mr Penzer gives us part of the twenty-five tales of a Vetâla, and furnishes us with a very instructive appendix, dealing with the principal recessions We have also special notes on *Māyā*, Food-taboos in the Underworld, Vampires, the Magic String and the Magic Seed. It is probable that most readers of this work are familiar with the doctrine of *Māyā*, those shifting sands of experience on which we can build nothing but a sense of insecurity. Mr Penzer summarizes it adequately for the general student In his note on Vampires, p 136, Mr Penzer correctly points out that a *vetāl* is not a vampire at all The spirit known by this name has various forms more or less malevolent in character, and is most probably a god of the primitive or early tribes in India, degraded by the Brahmans to the level of a spirit of the *Bhūta* class The foot-note on beating, p 265, might perhaps have been more confidently worded. Modern practice, as recorded in criminal trials in India, clearly establishes the existence of the belief that flagellation is a sovereign method of expelling evil spirits, the cause of sickness and death. Victims of the treatment have been known to succumb to the vigour of its application.

Mr. Penzer has again earned the cordial thanks of scholars for his latest addition to the series of Somadeva's tales, which is fully qualified to rank with its admirable predecessors

R. E ENTHOVEN

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL 1769–87 By R B RAMSBOTHAM, M A , B Litt., M.B.E. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, v + 205, 1 key map Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1926

These studies centre round a critical period of Bengal revenue history, that intervened between the grant of the Dīwānī and the Permanent Settlement, and are largely concerned with the administration of Warren Hastings, whose revenue policy is criticized in certain respects. By publishing, almost in full, the "Amini" Report of Messrs. Anderson, Croftes & Bogle (1778) and the Report of the office of Kanungo of Mr Patterson (1787), as well as numerous extracts from contemporary MS records, with a running commentary of his own, Mr Ramsbotham has rendered a valuable service to students of the history of the time The Amini Report was the first full exposition of the indigenous revenue system that had been written, while Patterson's report contains interesting details regarding the functions of the once-important *qānungo* and the records maintained by him The inquiries resulting in these reports were instituted in consequence of the difficulties that beset Hastings and his coadjutors in making suitable arrangements for the direct administration of the Dīwānī and the collection of the revenue Except in a small area adjoining Calcutta (since 1757) and in three districts (since 1760) the Company's servants in Bengal had had no experience of revenue work. When Clive accepted the grant of the Dīwānī of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa [1] in 1765 he deliberately refrained from assuming the actual

[1] Orissa was a mere *nominis umbra*, it was a Maratha province from 1756 to 1803

administration of the duties pertaining to the office, which were left in the hands of the Nāib Dīwāns and the existing local Indian staff The effects of this divided control were soon apparent, the collections fell rapidly into arrears, and the local subordinates got more and more out of hand The terrible famine of 1770 intensified the disorganization In 1769 Verelst, in an endeavour to meet the situation, appointed Supervisors, whose functions, as Robert Grant puts it, were merely of " inspection and report ", and who proved a failure owing to their want of power and general inexperience Probably one effect of their activities was to put the local subordinates on their guard, and pave the way for the tactics of obstruction followed with such success later on In 1772, then, when Hastings was confronted with the stupendous task of taking over the whole revenue and civil administration, apart from a few officers with little experience, most of the Company's servants were still quite unfamiliar with the intricacies of revenue work, and unfitted to surmount the obstacles placed in their way by the zamīndārs and qānungos Even in the present day, with our accurate survey and records, new settlement work demands the close control of the most experienced officers, and wide mischief can be done by delegating it to young and inexperienced men, however capable they be in other respects Moreover, the staff of officers was wholly inadequate. Clive had written in 1765 that " three times the number of civil servants would be insufficient for the purpose ". Not being able to obtain the data essential for regular settlement, Hastings had no alternative but to farm out the revenues at first Failure was due chiefly to (1) ignorance of the real assets and (2) selection of unsuitable farmers; for neither of which can he be held personally responsible. In regard to the charge of over-centralization we must remember the scandals that had led to the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee, the warnings of the Directors, the grave temptations involved in local control of huge sums, and

finally the absolute necessity of central direction in revenue matters—recognized down to the present day in every province in India

It must suffice to refer to two other questions of interest Mr Ramsbotham appears to accept the claim of Raj Ballabh that Clive, in obtaining the grant of the Dīwānī, had acted on the advice of his father Daulat Ram. We know that an offer of the Dīwānī had been made on three previous occasions, in 1758, 1761, and 1763, and that Holwell had in 1765 proposed that we should " boldly dare to be Soubah *ourselves* ", an idea that had occurred to him as early as 1759 at least. There is reason to think that Clive had made up his own mind before reaching Calcutta in 1765, though, it must be noted, when questioned on the point by the Select Committee of 1772 he " did not admit " that he had formed the resolution

Again, the authors of the Amini Report wrote that " an actual survey and valuation " of Bengal had been made in the time of Akbar, and Mr Ramsbotham seems to adopt this long accepted view The subject has been ably discussed in a recent issue of this *Journal* (January, 1926, p 43 f) by Mr W H Moreland, who has shown that it is very unlikely that any survey or " assessment ' in the technical sense of the term was then made he inclines to the view that the *jam'* fixed by Todar Mall (in his *jam'-i-ṭūmārī* of 1582) probably represented what the treasury expected to receive, and not what the peasant paid.

Some of the revenue terms occurring in the text have very naturally puzzled the author For instance, *sarista* does not mean a record-keeper, but an office, or as here (p 39) an establishment the correct word is *sar-rishta* *Kār-kun* (p 47), on the other hand, was used of a record-keeper, not a cashier. *Gunges* are not toll-bars at ferries, but marts (*ganj*) *Shomar* (p 114) is apparently the Persian word *shumār*, a reckoning or account , and *seeah* is *siyāha*, a written account The *daul bandobast* (p 115) meant a scheme, or estimate of settlement, or assets. *Tujveery* (p 126) is

probably a clerical error for *tujveezy*, i e *tajwīzī*, from *tajwīz*, inquiry, decision *Buttickchee* (p 163) is *bitikchi*, meaning a scribe or writer The several interpretations of the term *taksis* (pp 16, 117, 170, 188) indicate confusion between two different words, viz *tashkhīs* and *takhsīs*, but where used in these reports *taksis* is probably merely a corruption by metathesis—a form of mispronunciation still frequently heard in the villages—of the first of these words, having here the sense of "assessment" The last lines on pp 104 and 117 should be deleted, they appear again in their proper places on pp 105 and 118, respectively

The mere perusal of the enormous mass of MS records concerned shows the zeal with which Mr Ramsbotham has taken up these valuable studies, and we look forward to their completion down to the permanent settlement

C E A W. O

AN ASSAMESE NUR JAHAN. By S K BHUYAN 57 pp Printed at the Darpan Press, Jorhat, and published by the author at Gauhati, Assam Price 5 annas 1926

The author, who is a young Assamese Professor at the Colton College, Gauhati, Assam, published previously the *Bor Phukanar Git*, which was reviewed by the writer in the *Journal* for October, 1925. He has written also some historical monographs, e g on Raja Rajeswar Singha, which was published as a serial in the Assamese magazine *Bānhi*, a life of Anandarām Barnā, and other works, all of these were written in Assamese The present work is, as far as the writer is aware, the author's first work in English In the introduction certain names as well as stories are quoted to illustrate the parts played by Assamese women in the past, e.g Ushā, Rūkmini, Bhānumati, and Behulā. All except the last are purely legendary, and certainly the first three are common to other parts of India But of Behula the story that is locally known has some foundation on fact, and as it is interesting

also from a folklorist's point of view, and the author has not given it, this may be briefly set down as follows. Chand was a wealthy merchant (সাউদ) of Chhaygaon mauza in the Kamrup district, a Vaishnav Hindu by religion, and the possessor of many large trading boats (ডিঙা). He omitted unfortunately once to celebrate the Monasā puja, at which Bishahori, the god of snakes, was offended. Chand saw in a dream that his son Lakhindar would die from snake bite on the night of his marriage. So when the wedding day arrived, every possible precaution having been taken to safeguard the young pair, e.g. the building of a stone house in which Lakhindar and his bride should partake of the wedding feast and pass the nuptial night: but all to no purpose—a snake found its way in through a small chink in the wall and bit the sleeping bridegroom so that he died. Behula placed Lakhindar's dead body on a raft which floated down the Brahmaputra to Dhubri,[1] where it grounded at Nitai *dhubini's* ghāt. Now Nitai was the washerwoman of the god Siva, so she at the earnest prayer of Behula beseeched Siva to restore Lakhindar to life. The prayer was granted and Lakhindar was restored safe and sound to the happy Behula. This story is said to have been taken from the Padma Purān, and as Lakhindar and Behula are claimed by the Bengalis, it may be stated that the Assamese have Chandardingha hill, on the right bank of the Brahmaputra, between Goalpara and Dhubri, as a silent witness in support of their claim. The heroism of Rani Jaymati, and of Kamala Kuonri, are mentioned also. The first named was the brave Assamese Queen who rather than betray to the rebels the whereabouts of her husband, Gadāpāni, afterwards Raja Gādādhar Singha, suffered martyrdom. This famous lady is commemorated by a temple (the Jay dōl) and by a large tank (the Jay Sāgar), both in the Sibsāgar district, and is the subject of the greatest veneration to this day by the Assamese. Kamalā Kuonri was the heroic princess who allowed herself to be sacrificed by

[1] The name Dhubri is said to be a corruption of the word *dhubini*.

being drowned in a tank " in order to remove the terrible drought from which her country was suffering " probably the one and only instance from which the wet country of Assam suffered from such a visitation Speaking generally of Assamese women, the author refers to their skill in weaving and how they formerly wove, in their own homes, all the cloths required for the men's, as well as their own, clothing—not only cotton cloths, but *mūghā* (*tussar*), *pāt* or white mulberry silk, and *mezankuri*, a very fine variety of *mūghā* The author's Nur Jahan was Phūlmati, alias Phūleswari, the consort of Raja Siva Singha (A.D 1714–44). She belonged to the Nat caste, a community whose vocation was singing and dancing, and who in consequence were looked down upon by the rest of the community. Phūlmati, however, possessed the charm of great beauty and superior intelligence, and one day when in company with her sister Draupadi she was herding cattle, she attracted the notice of the King's chief minister, who attracted by her beauty and wit, and thinking to please the Queen, presented the two girls to his royal mistress as *ligiris*, or handmaiden But the beauty of Phūl proved the Queen's undoing and subsequent downfall, for the King fell in love with the young girl, and nothing would satisfy him but that he should make her first " Queen of the Second Order " and then Chief Queen. The star of Phūleswari, as she was then called, was still in the ascendant, for the Raja, who had become a bigoted Sākta, and much under the influence of priests and astrologers, was declared by the latter to have fallen under the power of Sani, or Saturn, and it was stated by them that a serious disaster would befall the monarch and his kingdom if he remained on the throne. Siva Singha then, by the advice of his " temporal and spiritual counsellors ", abdicated the throne in order to avert this impending catastrophe. Phūleswari, having been presented with the " royal umbrella ", thus became Queen regnant Her name, with that of the King, was struck on coins, where she figures as Pramatheswari

Devi The Queen "asserted her independence, personality, and influence as sovereign". She ordered the construction of various public works of importance and appointed various of her relatives to be ministers of state The court poets duly eulogized the Queen in extravagant panegyrics With all this, however, the Queen's head became turned · she began to ride on elephants in public, a practice which according to Ahom custom was tabu to women, and she became fanatically religious, persecuting the Vaishnavs and their religious preceptors with extreme virulence This persecution sowed the seed of the subsequent Moāmariā insurrection which convulsed the kingdom in the reigns of Lakshmi Singha and Gaurināth Singha, and which eventually brought about the intervention of the British, at the Ahom King's request The upstart Queen was not destined to enjoy her power long, for she died in 1731, in the eighteenth year of her husband's reign, and according to a *buranji*, brought from Bengnaati *sattra*, "her death was preceded by long sufferings and protracted agonies," perhaps not an unimpeachable statement judging from the source from which the *buranji* came, Bengnaati being a Vaisnavite sattra which would doubtless be bitterly opposed to Rani Phūleswari as having been a militant Saktist. That this Assamese Queen should have been placed on a pedestal by the author, and on a level with the famous Mogul Queen Nur Jahan, was perhaps a little out of place All that she seems to have had in common with her were beauty and intelligence and the possession of great influence over her husband, who in Phūleswari's case seems to have been *un roi fainéant*

The author's work, which as it is written in English, to him a foreign language, is extremely creditable, but it is a pity that his proofs were not more carefully read, and the use of such colloquialisms as "spotted out" (p. 23) avoided. These are small blemishes, however, which do not detract from the value of the work as a whole In conclusion, Professor S K Bhuyan is to be cordially congratulated on having

written an informing as well as a most interesting brochure, which the writer would suggest might with advantage be translated into Assamese for the use of schools

P R GURDON

THE ASSAM RESEARCH SOCIETY

The report and conspectus of the Kāmārūpā Anusandhān Samiti, or the Assamese Research Society, compiled by Professor S. K. Bhuyan, M A , B L , gives a clear account of the aims and object of this society and of its labours. Established in 1912, at Gauhāti, with only a few members, the society confined its research work, mainly, to the district of Kāmrūp · now it comprises a good sprinkling of members from other districts in the Province, and even beyond it. It numbers amongst its patrons Sir John Kerr, Sir Edward Gait, Sir Archdale Earle, and amongst its honorary members Māhāmāhopādhāyā Hārā Prasādh Sāstri, and others. At present the Society holds its meetings in a wholly inadequate building here papers are read, books and manuscripts and other interesting exhibits presented. In or outside the building various carved stones and inscribed cannon have been placed, and in a temporarily improvised library are stored a large number of *puthis*, or ancient books or manuscripts, which were collected by Mr Hem Chandra Goswami during the Chief Commissionership of Sir Archdale Earle A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts is being printed at the Calcutta University Press at the expense of the Local Government The publication of this catalogue will give scholars what they have long desired, i e. a *vade mecum*, or guide book, to the ancient history of Assam, as contained in the vernacular records, of which there exists a mass of material, not only in the *Buranjis*, or histories, but in other works, unchronicled To mention but one of these The Hasti-Vidya-Arnava, or ocean of elephant lore, by Sukumar Kaith. This is a very fine *puthi*, extremely well illustrated by coloured plates, painted *in tempora*, of different kinds

of elephants, also scenes from the life at the Assam Raja's court The text contains elaborate descriptions of the elephants, their diseases and prescriptions for their cure, altogether a most interesting and indeed valuable work, which will well repay publication It has always been the dream of the Society that its collections should one day form the nucleus of a Provincial Museum This is a project in which the writer was personally interested when Commissioner of the Assam Valley, but which was shelved owing to financial exigencies The Society is to be congratulated upon having as its honorary secretary Professor S K Bhuyan, an able and most energetic young research worker Himself an Assamese, he should be able to attract to the Society other young Assamese scholars who are interested in historical and archæological studies. Professor Bhuyan is the author of a number of historical works, e g. *Bor Phukanar Git* (reviewed in the Society's *Journal* for October, 1925), *The Life of Anandaram Barna*, *Rajeswar Singha*, *An Assamese Nurjehān*, etc. In conclusion, thinking that the work of the Assam Research Society may prove of interest to members of the Royal Asiatic Society, the writer has sent a copy of the last report for reference, together with this brief notice

P R Gurdon

The Writing of History. By the Rev H. Heras, S J. 8 × 5, 131 pp. Rama Iyar and Co, Madras, 1926.

The Main Currents of Maratha History. By Govind Sakharam Sardesai $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$, 190 pp Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1926.

These two little works, dealing with Indian history, furnish an interesting illustration of the recent development of historical studies in India, and incidentally are unintentionally suggestive. The first of the two lays down on sound and carefully thought out lines the ideal method of writing history. The second work shows history written in a manner which contravenes many of the rules laid down by Father Heras

The latter has embodied in his little work certain unexceptionable principles to be followed by students The book should certainly be in the hands of Indians who aim at contributing to the written history of their country. Father Heras in his list of works suggested, doubtless mainly by way of illustration, for reference, has curiously omitted Father Stephen's *Letters from Goa*, Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, and the valuable archæological works of Cousens All these might with advantage have been included A little more care in correcting the proofs would have avoided such entries in the Index as the *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* and the *Cambridge History of India* under the initial letter T, as well as a reference to Vienna as Vienn Mr. Sardesai sets out to write the history of the Marātha upheaval in the Deccan more from the standpoint of the politician than of the historian. This inevitably leads him into numerous inconsistencies. Various reasons are given for the ultimate failure of the Marāthas; and the author arrives at the strange conclusions that the rise of British power was mainly due to their "inquisitive nature" which led them to acquaint themselves with the details of Marātha politics This strange judgment is eclipsed by a pronouncement (p. 185) that "the system of the British Constitution has been successful for centuries, because it ensures a succession of capable leaders" It has escaped the writer's notice that the constitution is the product and not the cause of men of capacity.

There are some interesting facts in Mr Sardesai's little book bearing on the origin of *Chauth*, the early method of administration in the Marātha area, and the cause of the later dissensions among the leaders. But the author would be well advised to study Father Heras before embarking further on similar efforts.

R. E. E

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615–19, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence Edited by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C I E New and revised edition $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp lxxix + 532, illustrations and two maps. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Sir W Foster has rendered a service to students of the history of India in the seventeenth century by the preparation of this edition in one volume of Roe's Embassy, originally edited by him in two volumes for the Hakluyt Society in 1899. The work, which forms a worthy companion volume to his *Early Travels in India*, 1583–1619, is more than a new edition; it has been largely recast The text has been collated anew with the MS., fresh letters have been utilized, and several formal letters and portions of the journal omitted The notes have been thoroughly revised, and corrected in many places where necessary The reader should be grateful for the omission of parts of Roe's MS, often so provokingly obscure in meaning and so full of repetition The chief value of his journal undoubtedly lies in the pictures it gives us, drawn from life, of events at the Mughal court, and the insight it affords into the personal characters of Jahāngīr, of his son Khurram and of Āsaf Khān, and the short but attractive glimpses given of the unfortunate Khusrau, whose virtues made him so popular with the people Personalities dominate Roe's pages. As a description of the country and the conditions of the people under Jahāngīr's government, Terry's account is much superior. The details regarding the trade with Persia and with the Red Sea ports are useful It is interesting to note what little importance was attached by Roe to trade with ports on the Bay of Bengal, which both the Portuguese and the Dutch had already better appreciated, and where our settlements were destined to become the foundation of our Indian Empire After two years' stay in India he wrote (of Masulipatam) "I know not what that factorye is good for; and their project into Orixa or Bengala I cannot conceive."

Different opinions have been expressed as to the value of

Roe's work. We are somewhat handicapped in this matter by the absence of definite evidence of the final form taken by the "articles" agreed upon between Khurram and Roe—"the new *firmaen*, which the Prince had yielded too" (p. 482). Roe says he took a copy, but this does not appear to be extant now. Jahāngīr's letters of the 20th February, 1617–18, and 8th August, 1618, though important, are couched in very general terms With the latter letter apparently (p. 506, note 1) was a copy of Jahāngīr's "agreement and contract for reception of the English", possibly the firman referred to in the factors' letter of the 12th March, 1619 (p. 484), as being "as many others (more ample) heeretofore receaved" but this also is not available. Sir W. Foster (p. lvii f.) makes out as strong a case as can fairly be made for Roe, who was undoubtedly a man of good breeding and education, of high principles and resolute character, ready to yield in certain small matters, but "utterly regardless of consequences where the honour of his king and nation were concerned". On the other hand, it must in equal fairness be said that while in India he never seems to have understood the oriental outlook. He judged the emperor, his son, and his ministers by his own English standard—an error to which so many of our mistakes in India have been due They had "soe much prid", and "no fayth". We wonder whether Roe's unflagging anxiety to assert his dignity and claim respect (of the record of which we get rather tired) did not strike the observant Oriental as savouring of pride This attitude is apt to antagonize One example only need be cited, viz. the second interview with Khurram (pp. 118–20). To an Englishman ignorant of the etiquette of an oriental darbar, Roe's determination of behaviour and bluntness of speech on this occasion may seem laudable; but it must inevitably have offended the prince and his entourage, and embittered him and his father-in-law, though they would be all the more careful to conceal their feelings at the time. We can see the effect produced in the record of subsequent events. Nor can

we admire Roe's method of intrigue against the Dutch (pp 204–9) And most people will regard the result of his ceaseless persistence in prosecuting his claim to repayment of Zūlfaqār Khān's debts as largely nullified by the incessant wrangling and animosity involved Though Roe was about three and a half years in India, he never seems to have studied Persian, so that he was wholly dependent upon an interpreter. In the circumstances we cannot say to what extent his charges of breaches of faith were due to misunderstanding or to misinterpretation. He should either have learnt the language of the court, or acted upon the very sound advice given him by the veteran Jamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain (p 211) on the subject of interpreters

The Directors of the Company in London were evidently satisfied with Roe personally, to judge by their treatment on his return and by their offering him the supreme charge at Bantam , but it must also be noted that the policy of deputing an ambassador was dropped. The factors at Surat, however, did not conceal their sneers at his services Of what Jahāngīr, who appears to have been invariably courteous and considerate to Roe, really thought of him, we have no direct evidence We can only conjecture from the fact that the English ambassador is not once mentioned in his own *Memoirs*, that the emperor did not attach such importance to his presence at court as Roe would have wished

Of Roe's geographical account of the Mughal's territories, printed as an appendix, it need only be said that it is extraordinary it should be so inaccurate and so often irreconcilable with Baffin's map, which, we are told, presents the results of his investigations. A reproduction of William Baffin's map of the Mughal's dominions—probably the earliest map of those parts ever printed in England—with an excellent historical and critical note thereon, forms a valuable addition.

Sir William Foster has executed his task with characteristic skill and thoroughness In the additions and omissions, as compared with the previous edition, sound discretion has been

shown. The notes are all appropriate, and call for little comment. It may be noted, perhaps, that the use of the *ghusl-khāna* for holding audience (p 85) probably dates from Sher Shāh's time, *vide* the interesting extract from the *Bahār-i-ajam* quoted by Blochmann in *JASB*. 1872, p. 66. *Donna* on p. 418 is meant to represent *dāna* (grain), and not *dhān* (paddy), the people do not eat unhusked paddy. As regards emeralds of the "old rock" (p. 457), V. Ball, in his edition of Tavernier's Travels (vol. i, p. 399, note), writes that precious stones were called "of the old rock' (*rocca velha*) when they exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms. The index is full. The *pièce de résistance* in this volume is the admirable introduction, which discloses the editor's complete grasp of his subject and his unique knowledge of the records of the period.

C. E. A. W. O.

DON JUAN OF PERSIA, A SHI'AH CATHOLIC, 1560–1604. Translated and edited by G. LE STRANGE. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. London, 1926.

Mr. Le Strange has earned the gratitude of English students of Oriental history by placing at their disposal Ulugh (Uruch) Beg's account of his services to his master, the Shāh of Persia, of his travels in Europe, of his conversion to Christianity, and of his baptism under the name of Juan It is a curious fact that of the members of one mission of Shī'a Muslims, professing a creed usually distinguished by its bitter hostility to Christians, no fewer than five, three officials and two menials, should within a short time have been converted to Christianity, and have been content to forgo returning to their families and their native land, where, indeed, almost certain death awaited them.

Don Juan's account of affairs in Persia, and of his own and his father's services, throws much light on the history of that

country in the sixteenth century, and will furnish useful material to historians, and Mr. Le Strange has acquitted himself admirably of a task the difficulty of which has been enormously increased by Don Juan's system of dictating his material to a Spaniard ignorant of Persian, in whose hands not only Persian, but also European proper names suffered strangely. Such forms as "Syphilit" for Leipzig, "Valla de Amor" for Vladimir, and "Du-Capi" for Duca Pio, are examples of the difficulties with which he has had to contend

The book will be welcomed by the general reader, as well as by the historian To those acquainted with the Persian's ordinary attitude towards the sea and sea voyages, the light-heartedness of the mission during a bad storm on the Caspian will appear strange, but theirs was clearly the valour of ignorance, for during a later voyage in the Arctic Ocean they were capable of forming a truer estimate of their danger.

The contest between the author's faith and his patriotism, after his conversion, is at times amusing His compatriots have become infidels to him, but his pride in them and in their exploits cannot be concealed, despite his genuine zeal for the Christian faith It is not easy to believe his description of the glories of the shrine at Meshhed, on the summit of which, built entirely of solid gold, are "arches constructed of precious stones, which in turn support at their summit a diamond of the size of a large chestnut, and this by night shines so as to be seen at a league distance all round, illumining the darkness" There is certainly nothing of this sort now to be seen at the Imām's shrine, and not even Don Juan's assurance that he had "with his very own eyes" seen the marvel, will satisfy all.

The stratagem of the rebel Bengi Melik of Māzandarān, who kept the royal army seated for a whole winter before a fortress of planks so plastered with gypsum as to give them the appearance of stone, will delight many who know the Persians, and illustrates the proverb—"None but a dog of

Māzandarān can catch the jackal of the forests of Māzandarān "

There are a few errors in the book In the map preceding the Introduction Qazvīn appears as a port on the Caspian, but this must be an oversight, as it is correctly placed in the map between pp 38 and 39. On page 46 the same word is transliterated, within a few lines, *vazīr* and *vizier*. On p. 50 the adjective " Andalucian " appears for Andalusian, which is more familiar in English. On p. 121 *Circasia* is probably a misprint for Circassia The solecism " whom at his personal expense had been armed and brought " seems to be due to a change in the form of the sentence in the translator's mind, but this explanation will not account for " this trick played upon him, and which, etc " These few errors in no way diminish the value of Mr Le Strange's excellent version.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

AKBAR AND THE JESUITS, an Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar. By Father PIERRE DU JARRIC, S J. Translated with Introduction and Notes by C H PAYNE 9 × 6, xlviii + 288 pp, 8 plates. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd London, 1926.

The Jesuits whom Akbar invited to his court and encouraged to remain there are the earliest western chroniclers of affairs at the court of the Tīmūrids, and though their vision was not wide they were accomplished students of human nature and accurate observers, and their records are singularly valuable owing to their close and intimate intercourse with the most interesting personality among the descendants of Bābur. Any contribution to our knowledge of them is therefore to be welcomed, and Mr. Payne's excellent English version of Father du Jarric's *Histoire*, of which both the French and the Latin versions are very rare, is a very important contribution to this knowledge.

Akbar himself was a most tantalizing inquirer, but it is doubtful whether, after the high hopes at first justifiably

entertained by Father Monserrate's mission had been dashed, the missionaries ever seriously believed in the possibility of converting him. Christianity undoubtedly appealed strongly to him, and the lives of its confessors at his court commanded his admiration, but it demanded too much of him, and he remained to the end content to browse among its doctrines, as he browsed among the doctrines of other faiths. We have in du Jarric's pages a favourable estimate of the emperor's character, untinged by the natural bitterness of Monserrate, and a due expression of gratitude for the facilities which Akbar accorded to the priests for propagating among his people a religion which he was not himself prepared to accept The missionaries probably understood, however, that Akbar's complaisance in this direction was prompted almost as much by hatred of orthodox Islām as by love of Christianity.

Du Jarric records, incidentally, many interesting facts. We learn that the Persian of India differed in Akbar's day, as it does to-day, from the Persian of Persia, not only in pronunciation, but in vocabulary, that Akbar almost stamped out Islām in Lāhor, that the adornment of "cribs" at Christmastide was one of the ceremonies which made the strongest appeal to the people; that a copy of the picture of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo had a marvellous effect on all classes, from the emperor downwards; and that Akbar was buried without religious rites

Sir Edward Maclagan's explanation of the puzzling name Farmāliyūn as Abū-'l-Fazl's attempt to render Leon Grimon is, as Mr. Payne remarks, undoubtedly correct. A very slight alteration in one letter gives us Ghrimaleon, which is an instance of the genius for inversion possessed by Indians, to whom General Sir David Ochterlony was always known as "*Loni Akhtar Ṣāḥib*". The omission of the "n" of Grimon may be explained by the Indian habit of nasalizing a final "n" until its sound is nearly imperceptible. An example of this occurs in the Persian word *zamīndār*, often spelt *zamīdār* in Indian MSS.

The book contains very few blemishes. Among them is the use of the form "Moslim". "Moslem," though not free from objection, is well established in English, and if amendment is necessary the correct transliteration, *Muslim*, should be used On p 275 the title given to the emperor Humāyūn after his death appears as "Jinnat Ashiyam" instead of *Jannat Āshiyānī*, which is correct *Jinnat* means either *jinn* or angels, not garden, or paradise.

The book is a notable contribution to the history of Akbar's reign, and Mr Payne is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has acquitted himself of his task He would, however, by looking up the names of modern writers in the ordinarily accessible books of reference before committing them to paper, avoid cause of offence.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

PERO TAFUR, TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES, 1435–9. Translated and edited with an Introduction by MALCOLM LETTS. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. London, 1926.

The travels of this knight of Castile, a loyal subject of Juan II, who between the years 1435 and 1439 visited Italy, Greece, Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt, the Peninsula of Sinai, Rhodes, the Eastern Empire, the Ottoman dominions, Trebizond, Crim Tartary, Germany, Flanders, Poland, Hungary, Sicily, Tunis, and Sardinia, will appeal not only to the limited number interested in the history and politics of Europe in the fifteenth century, but to all who delight in tales of adventure. The gallant gentleman has left us a simple and intimate account of his strange experiences and of his intercourse with merchants and potentates, which portrays him as a true Spanish hidalgo and Christian gentleman, business-like but courteous, courageous, and gallant, with a high sense of his own dignity and of the obligations of knighthood. His worth is attested by the treatment which he received, for he was admitted to familiar intercourse with most of the sovereigns whose realms he visited, above all with

the Pope and the Emperors of the East and the West. With John VIII, Palaeologus, with whom he claimed kinship, he was *persona grata*, and the good knight, while sedulous in satisfying all the Emperor's demands for news of Europe, especially as it was likely to affect the predicament in which the decaying Eastern Empire was placed, was at least equally solicitous for the honour of his own house. He was much perturbed by the Emperor's obstinate preference for a coat of his own devising to the paternal arms of his house, and ventured to take him to task on the subject, but was told that the matter was still in debate between the emperor and his subjects. The Castilian knight's punctilio on a point of armory is none the less amusing for his admission that his own family had abandoned its former arms, identical with those of the Palaeologi, for another coat, and a herald is left with the impression that Pero Tafur would have found it difficult to establish his claim to descent from the Imperial House, but his solicitude in the matter, and on the question of beards, which he solemnly debated with the Emperor, is very human.

The historian will find more profit in the knight's account of more important matters; such as the futile attempt to heal the Great Schism, the relations between the Eastern Emperor and the Ottoman Sultan on the one hand and the Western Powers on the other, and between the two Emperors and the Pope, and the Emperor of the West and the Republic of Venice. On the subject of Venice he is particularly instructive —in the words of Mr. Letts, " It is not claiming too much to say that Tafur's description of Venice is one of the most important that has come down to us."

Pero Tafur's fearless denunciation of iniquity in high places, his gallant rescue of Christian slaves in the Dardanelles, his rebuke to, and provision for, a mother who, for bread, was prepared to place her daughters at his disposal, his entertainment of those who had attacked him on the high road and naively pleaded that they were poor noblemen who must rob to live, and his prompt resentment of any treatment

derogatory to his position stamp him as a " veray parfyt gentil knight ", and our respect for him is nowise diminished by his prudent management of his affairs. He never forgot his country's honour and his own, and comported himself as a true *hidalgo* in the most difficult and embarrassing circumstances.

Mr. Malcolm Letts has given us an admirable presentment of this mirror of knighthood

WOLSELEY HAIG.

I DISCORSI DI GOTAMO BUDDHO DEL MAJJHIMANIKĀYO Per la prima volta tradotti dal testo pāli da K E NEUMANN e G DE LORENZO. 3 vols , $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Vol I, xvi + 511 pp., II, xxvii + 547 , III, xvi + 442. Bari : Laterza and Figli, 1925–7

It seems a sign of the times that two translations of the " Middle Collection " should have appeared almost simultaneously in two European languages, somewhat a quarter of a century after the first and pioneer translation was finished in German by K E Neumann. Of these two the English one by Lord Chalmers (which we have had occasion to review some time ago in this *Journal*, and of which the concluding volume has just been issued) deserves undoubtedly more credit both for accuracy and for style Professor de Lorenzo's work is practically a translated translation, and therefore not so valuable as an improvement on our interpretation and appreciation of the Pāli text. The dangers of a second-hand translation are here once more evident, for every such work is bound to deviate more from the original than the first translation (especially if it appeared a long time ago) had already done in many respects. Still, considering the general state of Buddhism in Europe and the condition of Pāli philology in particular, there is no need to grumble about a new addition to our stock of translations, and we heartily welcome the one offered here " per la prima volta " to the Italian people, and we do not want to speculate on what " might have been ".

For the sake of historical truth, however, it is our duty to point out a few of its weak (which the author himself acknowledges: see vol III, introd. xii, quoted below) as well as of its strong points, "sine ira et studio."

G. de Lorenzo has written his translation as an enthusiast, and that goes a long way. In temperament and thought he is certainly akin to Neumann, whose unfaltering apostle he is. To wit, what he says about the latter: "Tale, quale il Reinhold l'ha descritta, è l'opera maravigliosa, che Karl Eugen Neumann, col suo genio ed il lavoro infaticabile di mezza sua vita, ha donato alla Germania ed ai conoscitori della lingua tedesca, . . e recentemente poi Gerhart Hauptmann ha potuto paragonare l'opera di Neumann a quella di Lutero. . . . Lasciamo dunque i molti alla loro diligenza e torniamo ai testi pāli del buddhismo ed a quell'unico Neumann, che ce li ha resi accessibili in ligua europea, facendoci sentire veramente il profumo della più intima ed autentica essenza dell'antica dottrina buddhista." (II, pp xvi, xvii.) The zeal and ardour of his own studies of the Dhamma he gives in his own words, as follows "Se altri dunque avrebbe potuto o potrebbe filologicamente far meglio di me, nessuno però finora in Italia ha portato in tale lavoro il lungo studio e il grande amore, che m'han fatto cercar questo volume. Posso quindi con tranquilla conscienza chiudere questo compito della mia vita con le parole francescane . ego quod meum est feci, o con le analoghe parole buddhiste . . . kataŋ karanīyaŋ" (III, p. xii.)

One does not need to read far to see that the translation of Neumann with all its weaknesses has been followed rather uncritically. This too literal imitation of Neumann occurs on nearly every page, e.g. on p 38 Lorenzo has usassero = Neumann "wurde brauchen," wrongly translating Pāli paribhuñjeyyuŋ, which here is "cleanse" (see P.T.S. *Pāli Dictionary* s.v. bhuñjati[2]), uniform with the following pariyodapeyyuŋ (Lord Chalmers has made the same slip). Or on p 44 the translation ought to be something like "Why is this taken (here) like something extremely precious"

(" wedding-present " Commentary), but Neumann gives " Freund, was birgst Du darin und entziehst es dem Auge ? " followed literally by Lorenzo, " amico, che nascondi tu qua dentro e non lo fai vedere ? " Or again, on p 44, Lorenzo translated Neumann's Knoten (a too free rendering of P. dosa blemish) by nodo, instead of translating from the Pāli, and on p 49 (M I. 34), where Neumann translates lokā wrongly as " nach jener Welt " (instead of " von ") Lorenzo follows suit with " a questo mondo " To these one might add another hundred or more

In the poetical sections which form one of the charms of the Majjhima, and in the imitation of which Neumann was poetically successful, although the translation as such lacks a good deal of accuracy, Lorenzo shows more originality, especially in the second and third volume, than in the prose parts. Neumann was considered unequalled, and even L. v. Schroeder, himself a talented translator of Pāli, used Neumann's metric rendering in his interpretation of the Raṭṭhapāla legend as the best available (cf. L. v. Schroeder, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Leipzig. 1913, p. 276).

These ballads (half a dozen or so), inlaid in the often monotonous and stereotyped discourses of the Majjhima, are of distinctly popular origin (therefore so refreshing), and their effect rests on their simplicity which in pregnant words paints the situation and its moral with an unrivalled plasticity. Without long compounds, without complicated constructions, the diction is to the point, natural, original. Thus the language of these ballads is in every way characteristic of popular poetry, lyrical in feeling, epic and dramatic in expression and style It cannot be better imitated than by adapting the translation to diction and form of the national epic (" Volksepos "). In this the translators of the ballads have been successful, although they were faced with one great difficulty, viz the dissimilarity of the subject matter ; for it is not exactly easy to treat a religious epic or ballad on the same lines as one which describes battles and praises deeds of

heroes Yet there is a certain similarity in both, as every one will have experienced when reading e g the beautiful ballads of the Thera-therī-gāthās in the standard translations (such as Mrs. Rhys Davids's).

The religious ballad (in which we may include the Psalms) has an infinitely deeper and more direct effect on the mind of the devotee than a dry sermon or an elaborate logical discourse The degree of success in bringing out this original effect is the test of any translation Of no minor importance in this connexion is the *metre* Thus Lord Chalmers has used the blank verse, reminding often of Shakespeare in style (I do not hesitate to give his translation of these ballads unreserved praise), and so did Neumann, with a very prominent imitation of the alliterative verse of the Old German Epic For example (from the Ratthapāla ballad): " In weisses Linnen wickeln sie den Leichnam und schichten Scheite, schuren an die Lohe Nun rostet er am Roste, rauh geruttelt . . ", and " Sein Wesen aber wandelt nach den Werken . am Hingeschiednen haftet keine Habe." Similarly Chalmers (ii, 38) · " Wealth buys not length of days, nor staves off age. The wise say life is brief, a fleeting flux. One equal stroke strikes down both rich and poor, both wise and foolish. Fools in folly fall; the wise without a tremor meet their stroke." De Lorenzo's renderings of these ballads are in the classical metres of the cinquecento, especially the endecasillabo and the ottava rima Only a few examples must suffice to show where and how he has improved on Neumann

In the Ratthapāla ballad " l'altra sponda del mar bramerebbe " is better than " nach neuen Siegen sehnt er sich hinüber ", or " lasciando le sue ricchezze " gives the Pāli " pahāya bhoge " much better than Neumann's " das ist alles ", or " chi con poca sapienza crede " rather than " ergiebt sich gern dem Wahne der Gewohnheit ". In the Angulimāla ballad it was certainly more poetic to translate ahiṃsako by " Innocenzo " (contrasting with the following nocente) than by " Friedrich " (opposed to " Friedensmörder "), which sounds

very prosaic in this setting and for which " Friedreich " might have been better.

Discrepancies of the translation are sometimes due to stress of metre, forcing the translator to use a word not quite correct in meaning for the sake of fitting it into the verse ; e.g. L. ii, 329 " il nemico " for " il cacciatore ", where Neumann has " Wildrer " In this respect Neumann took rather more liberties than de Lorenzo.

In conclusion I wish to say that these minor blemishes detract neither from the beauty nor the impressiveness of the translation, and that, if de Lorenzo meets with even one half the success which has accompanied Neumann's work in Germany, we may congratulate him and rejoice with him as true well-wishers of the spread of serious study and appreciation of the Buddhist Scriptures

W. STEDE.

LA MORALE BOUDDHIQUE. Par L DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Avec une préface de M. ÉMILE SENART. Bibliothèque française de philosophie. xvi + 256 pp. Paris . Nouvelle Librarie Nationale, 1927 15 francs.

M. Senart in his preface tells us that the author " s'attache spécialement à la morale ". There is, as we know, a special Sanskrit word for morality, but the reader would scarcely guess what term the author uses, and what he includes in it. " J'entende par ' morale '—les bouddhistes disent ' véhicule '—les chemins qui mènent aux divers lieux d'existence heureuse, et au Nirvâna, les principes et les règles de conduite et de méditation, dans notre langue, la morale proprement dite et la mystique que le Bouddhisme unit étroitement." He includes, in fact, what others usually include in religion, and accepting this statement we need not dispute about terms.

The author finds it necessary to touch on nearly all parts of the doctrine (including repentance, devotion, salvation,

and the history of the universe), but he has a still better reason for rehandling the whole subject. His book is not, as the title might seem to imply, a mere rehandling, nor does it deal with Buddhism in general It is an analysis of the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins, as found in the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu recently translated and annotated by the author himself. Even if this work, belonging to the beginning of our era, has not the antiquity or the authority of the Pāli Scriptures, there is no doubt that it faithfully represents the views of a school which has an equal claim with the Theravādins to be primitive. This analysis does not lend itself to polemics, but it is interesting to see dogmas reinstated as Buddhistic which rationalists like Warren, Rhys Davids, and Oldenberg refused to see in Buddhism. A careful comparison with the Pāli works should throw much light on obscure and disputed passages in the Theravāda Canon.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA ON THE STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR, ACCORDING TO THE LALITAVISTARA-TEXT. Edited by Dr N J. KROM 4to, pp. viii + 131, and 120 plates. The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1926.

This beautiful work is Professor Krom's translation from the Dutch of a portion of the complete archæological description of the great Javanese stūpa published by the Dutch Government in 1920. The portion is the " top row of reliefs on the first gallery ". These reliefs, which are reproduced in the 120 plates, give the story of Gotama according to the Lalita Vistara. It would appear that, when that poem was written and famous, Javanese Buddhism, at first Hīnayāna, had become Mahāyānist, that is during the eighth to the ninth century A.D.

The translator's plan has been to give a prose version of each set of verses represented in the reliefs, and to append to each prose passage a description of the plate reproducing the relief. This is by no means always as unnecessary as it may

sound. We are here right in the midst of a cult not of a human growing helper of men, but of a deified super-being, set, in most of the plates, in unimaginative sameness, cross-legged on a throne, occupying so much space, that what is, in some scenes, the really determining factor, e g the sick man, the dead man, in what were called the deva-messengers, is crowded almost out. And here and there the bas-reliefs are much damaged. Professor Krom's expositions are therefore a valuable aid.

Among the episodes in the reliefs not referred to in the Ti-pitaka is the message of notice to quit the earth given by devas to those worthy but less useful gentlemen, known as Pacceka-(Pratyeka-) Buddhas, before the coming of the man who was to help mankind. Of the four such seated cross-legged, one is rising in the air, to indicate parinirvana (No. 4). The scenes end with the first sermon.

C A. F RHYS DAVIDS.

L'ILLUMINATO (LA STORIA DEL BUDDHA) DA LUIGI SUALI. Milano. Fratelli Treves, 1925 pp xi, 334, 8vo.

This is a prose idyll on the life of Gotama Sakyamuni by the Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pavia, better known till now by his critical publications in Sanskrit and Jainist literature Such books as this will doubtless continue to be put forth for the general reader now of this language, now of that, whether it be in prose, as we have it here, or in poetry, as we ourselves received in Edwin Arnold's poem. Whether, in the reader's highest interests, in the interests, I mean, of his forming true conceptions and of shaping his life thereby, it is a good thing that these idylls be imagined and composed, is a serious question. Arnold's work has brought a knowledge of the *legend* of the founder of Buddhism to thousands who might never have come, through the labours of scholars, to hear of the Man and his Way. But in hearing, they have read, with a few grains of historical fact, much old-world fable and much new world idealism, a mixture

that the modern "Buddhist" is ever handing out to us. In acquaintance with archaic materials published since Arnold wrote, Professor Suali can give the earlier poet many points. None the less the legend of the "more-than-man" looms once more out of the shadows in this book upon a reading public, which is *really needing* a worthy picture of the man who brought an inspired message, but was just "man".

The author's apologia amounts to this · (1) Little or nothing is known of the historical Gotama The really needful thing is to know the *immagine che di lui si foggiarono* (fashioned) *i fedeli* This he represents as an idea growing, already during his lifetime, in his disciples that he was as much god (*Dio* : *sic*) as man, an idea which lives as a sort of "dubious certainty (?)", yielding an "element of mystical anxiety (?)". (2) He (L S) was moved by an imaginative impulse, contending with the critical tendency, to write in a freer, creative vein, as *novellatore* (romancer).

As to (1), I have said what I hold to be the really needful thing in this matter We *cannot afford* just now to go on with our legends as poetically true and sufficing, and with the *dulce monstrum* of the more-than-man evolved by the after-men. After-men, yes, for had there really been a semi-deifying of Gotama in his old age, it is simply inconceivable that he would have been shown as dragging weary limbs alone on that last tour, without the great monk-band with which he is escorted in more vigorous years. That unanswerable testimony has been left in, thanks be

As to (2), let no writer disregard such unseen mover of the will, any more than would any other kind of artist. We have much that will one day be held as very truth to learn in such matters. But where we are, as historical workers, struggling to give the world the *truth* about a much-upholstered, much-distorted figure of what was once a real man, we ask that a writer, himself busy over such research, be single-minded in the highest degree. Where this is the case, I venture to think that the unseen dual inspirers would have proved

to be a unitary force, a synergy of will Historical truth would have been after all " their " sole, solely worthy end.

The wording appears to be both simple and lovely. But the accent on Ānanda has got misplaced And in the composition of a growing idea of veneration, it would seem better to have begun with the birth and childhood of the man, not with his antecedents in Tusita, as it were a ready-made *deva*, and no doubt about it whatever.

C. A F. Rhys Davids

The Life of Buddha as Legend and History. By Edward J Thomas, M A, D Litt. 8vo, pp xxiv + 297 London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1927.

This is a careful work compiled on a basis of wide study of all available sources. The Pali sources, old and more recent, are quoted from largely, the tone throughout is soberly critical; we read with the aid neither of the Buddhist votary nor of the romancer We have first a sketch of pioneers' labours, and of the documentary sources; then twelve chapters on the Life and the Order; then five chapters of discussion on Buddhism and "Buddha" in religion, philosophy, myth, history and Christian legend; finally an analysis of the Piṭakas and a Bibliography, which might with advantage have been made more inclusive of modern works.

To one coming into a careful study of Buddhism, as a wren (as yet) on the back of eagles, it should be an extremely useful purview of work done in the field up to, say, three years ago; a sound cabinet-full of information It cannot be called in any further way stimulating or suggestive. The biographical chapters do not on the whole make dogmatic statements; they record, as one would wish they should. The more does it jar upon us to come, in just these, on such a "fine old crusted" dogmatic statement as "Buddha then preached to them on the non-existence of the soul" This is then *explained*, not as an Oriental would, but in a

purely Hume-ian Western spirit. But what the old records actually say is that the *ātman*, the self or very man, is neither body nor mind. To go on to say *ātman* is not a reality, is much as if we were to say, "that song is neither written nor printed, therefore it does not exist!" Had a teacher taught in Gotama's day, in the midst of brahmin preponderance, to say nothing of Sānkhyan mind-cult and Jain reform, that the *ātman* was not real, he would have been held to be an idiot In the later chapters, where discussion had been in place, the subject is dismissed too cursorily. So, too, is the figure of the Way Its place as the central tenet is shown too uncritically, as taken by the monk-formula of the four truths, wherein the *people's* gospel of the Way through many births to Nirvana, Gotama's view of *saṃsāra*, is reduced to a fourth factor It was later thought only, worsened thought, that saw in *saṃsāra* a "wheel", not a progress in becoming, but an eternal vortex

But it is impossible, in a brief survey, to discuss worthily so needed a book.

C. A F. RHYS DAVIDS.

DIE SEKTEN DES ALTEN BUDDHISMUS. By VON MAX WALLESER. 8vo, pp. vi + 93. Heidelberg, 1927.

This essay is the fourth part of Dr. Walleser's *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. The indefatigable writer has come away from Nāgārjuna in Tibetan and in Chinese to his (almost) first love, in part one: *die philosophische Grundläge des älteren Buddhismus* of many years ago. Here we have chapters on the "southern" and the "northern" tradition (the inverted commas are the author's) on the Mahāsanghikas, Sarvāstivādin schools, and the Vajjiputtakas, and on Bhavya's expositions of them all. It is all very timely, as new Mid and East Asian materials are made accessible, and adjustment of perspective and values become called for.

Much of this new *matériel* is accumulating in the series: *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus* (Leipzig), contributed not only by the writer of the present work but also by the late Rosenberg, Professor Masuda, etc. Dr Walleser's own contributions have lain in the way of further inquiries into the Bhairat inscription and the origin of Pali.

In Dr. Walleser we find stimulus and suggestion. "Why is the Buddhist system of concepts"—philosophy, we might say—"so rounded off (*abgeschlossen*)? Why is there in it, as compared with Brahmanism and Sānkhya, such a definite structure of conceptual categories? Surely because Buddhism was active in propaganda as they were not." Here is a lively start. And then arises in us an old retort connected with Charles II and the dead fish. Would not brahmins and sānkhya-experts ask him to put one question at a time, not two? Let readers interested in Abhidhamma judge. But properly to discuss is here impossible.

C. A F Rhys Davids.

Il Buddhismo (Biblioteca di Critica Religiosa). Da Giuseppe Tucci. 8vo, pp. 295 Foligno. Fr. Campitelli, 1926

The author, writing from Dacca, India, tells me that this book, in its very large range, is but a summary of a larger work, to which he hopes to consecrate future years. It covers the Life, the Doctrine, the Authorities, the Schisms, Hīnayāna Dogmatics, Mahāyāna, and finally, in a chapter over a quarter of its whole length, to Prajñāpāramitā, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. This leaves but little space for any adequate critical treatment of the early growth of the movement, nor will any such be found of a character that can be reckoned as an advance in this field. The standard assumptions about it are for the most part accepted. For instance, under La Dottrina (p. 50 f.) it is accepted that "il Buddha . . . nega l'esistenza di un ātman come entità metafisica che sopravviva alla morte del corpo", and it is accepted, that "il Buddha . . .

insiste tuttavia sul carattere di momentaneità, o successione di stati", namely of the external world. To each of these the Pali documents at least warrant our giving the categorical response. Not proven! Had the writer said, not "il Buddha" but il Buddhismo, or, as further on his term is, "la Chiesa", no objection could be raised La Chiesa, the Sangha, did come to deny the one, and insist on the other Gotama *accepted* an ātman, that is, a man, a *puggala*, a *puruṣa*, who survives death of the body, in the clearest, most emphatic words And the *only thing* to which he is seen ascribing momentary successional states is mind (*citta*) All else can be seen emerging later in Ḍhammological thought!

Hard is it to kill error born of a past generation's scanty knowledge, sifted by no historical criticism. This need of sifting the author acknowledges in words that could not be improved upon He has only not yet applied it adequately, when dealing with the history of Buddhist ideas "The Buddhist scriptures must not be imagined as an organic whole, homogeneous and unchanging, and so preserved down the ages Rather have they been subjected to a continuous process of revision, of insertion, of amplifyings, which renders most difficult the study of the stratigraphical complex that may be discerned" (p. iii). Most true! The Founder is shown as teaching that "you" and "I", who are "neither our body nor our mind", are reborn after death time after time, that on our passing we are judged according to our deeds, that "he"—Ajita, Anāthapiṇḍika, not a new "man" (*attan*)—can revisit this earth from the next. Much later the Chiesa said: "No one goes over". The author sees well enough that Gotama taught the very "man" to men He quotes the "burden-bearer"—all do that, since M Poussin showed the way—but that is a less pertinent instance than those given above. He shows how the Church got out of the difficulty by distinguishing a teaching which was now for the learned and now for the people. But hardly does he make it clear enough, that this distinction does not emerge

in the Piṭakas (the only distinction there is that one gospel is preached to the monk, another to the layman—and that is hardly ever brought out, e g. Majjhima, iii, 261), not even in the Kathāvatthu; and that it needed a few centuries more till Milindapañha was written (p 160), before we find the Sangha had definitely formulated the distinction: "highest meaning, conventional meaning" (cf. *Points of Controversy*, p 63, n 2) The immature conclusions of a young Russian writer, deceased before he grew wise enough to know better, have tended to obscure the progress of sound historical criticism in this matter The more is the sagacious remark welcome (p 125). "Il Buddhismo non fu subito monacale; lo divenne piu tardi e poco alla volta" Here I think is a true word. India is a great mother of religions, but she was not always monk-ridden, nor did she remain so

Less than no space remains to say how all too briefly this well-packed book has here been mentioned.

C A. F RHYS DAVIDS.

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET. Part (Volume) II. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles. By A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D. Edited with Foreword by F. W. THOMAS, M.A, Hon.Ph D. (Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. L) 12½ × 9; 310 pp and 5 maps. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1926.

This volume contains the Tibetan text of the great Ladakh Chronicle and a number of minor Chronicles, with translations and a wealth of comments and notes. The names of the author and editor are in themselves sufficient guarantee that the work has been well and truly done, and that the volume will be of great value to the small body of students of Tibetan history. The reviewer is unfortunately not of that select body, and he thinks it best therefore to refrain even from good words.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

CAMPAIGNS IN PALESTINE FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS. (The Schweich Lectures, 1922.) 10 × 6; 55 pp., 1 map and 1 plate of coins. London: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1926

The late Mr. Abrahams was a scholar of great charm and wide learning; in the three lectures which are reprinted in the present volume, there was of course no room for him to do more than make a few illuminating comments on the various campaigns to which he refers, and the lectures may therefore be regarded rather as an invitation to the earnest scholar to direct his own studies towards the points mentioned than as a study of the campaigns. Perhaps his most illuminating point is that the principal, if not the only, identifiable relics left by Alexander and his successors in the lands which they conquered were their coins, and that it is probably due to the ram's horns attached to his head on certain of those coins that Alexander owes his Arabic designation *Dhū'l Qarnain.* He also points out that a similar explanation probably lies at the root of the use of the term "horns" for rulers in the visions of the Book of Daniel.

G. L M CLAUSON.

FORMULAIRE SANSCRIT-TIBÉTAIN DU XE SIÈCLE. Édité et traduit par JOSEPH HACKIN. (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Série Petit in-Octavo, Tome II.) 9 × 6, 130 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1924.

In this volume M Hackin transcribes, transliterates, translates, and comments at length on a small roll in the Tibetan character brought back by M. Pelliot from the Tun-huang *cache.* The text comprises a Sanskrit text rather ruggedly written in Tibetan characters with a Tibetan translation and various passages interposed in Tibetan. It is a sort of index relating to the numerical categories and has certain analogies with the *Māhāvyutpatti.* Linguistically the text is

of substantial interest, and certain references to Tibetan kings are of some historical importance. The work is an excellent and scholarly production.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

L'ART KHMER PRIMITIF. Par HENRI PARMENTIER. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; vol. i, pp. 409 (with 128 illustrations) + 41 plates; vol. ii, 3 maps, 97 plates + pp. vi. Paris: G. Vanoest, 1927.

This work constitutes volume xxi of the Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, and deals with the early stage of Cambojan architecture and sculpture from the sixth to the eighth century. This early stage differs from the later work (represented by the great buildings of Angkor, etc.) by a preference for brick instead of stone, a sober, less ornate and more restrained style, and a variety of characteristics which the author conscientiously and minutely describes. He is an expert specialist in such matters, and his very detailed account, while making rather a heavy demand on the close attention of his lay readers, is full of technical information, giving it the precision required by other experts. But having a complete mastery over technicalities, he is also able to present us with an intelligible view of the whole subject, both in relation to other phases of art and to the stage of civilization of which this particular phase is the expression.

The general conclusion seems to be that this early Cambojan architecture was based on still earlier models, built largely in wood and other light materials, and ultimately based on South Indian originals. This book, therefore, is another important contribution to the question of the relation of the various schools of Further Indian art to the art of India proper. The very numerous illustrations enable the reader to appreciate the details of the subject and follow intelligently the descriptions given in the text. The forty-one plates in volume i are photographic and include a number of specimens

of sculpture as well as architecture. The other illustrations in the two volumes are line drawings, comprising elevations, sections and plans, etc. The three maps serve to indicate the location of the various monuments discussed, and the general list of monuments in volume i will be especially useful for its bibliographical references

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY AND NATURE OF THE TSO CHUAN. By BERNHARD KARLGREN.

This masterly monograph by Professor B. Karlgren, of Gothenburg University, will be read with great interest by all those who have studied the *Tso Chuan*. That classic has always been regarded as one of the masterpieces of Chinese literature. It has been lovingly and carefully studied by Chinese, who have written much regarding it. It has also excited the admiration of foreign students of Chinese on account of its importance as a historical document, the vivid and graphic picture it gives of the life, customs and manners of the period of Chinese history between 722 B.C. and 468 B C., and the unrivalled beauty of its style. It has been translated by Legge and Couvreur, praised by Chavannes and utilized by him in his interpretation of the Han reliefs, whilst M Granet in his "Danses et légendes de la Chine anciênne" declares it to be "le document le plus vivant et le plus riche de la littérature Chinoise" The importance, therefore, of establishing the authenticity of such a classic is obvious. Such authenticity has been challenged by the school of K'ang Yu-wei, commonly known as "The Reformer", whose death occurred quite recently. His views have been brought to the notice of European scholars by Professor O Franke in his work, *Studien zur Geschichte des Konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion*. Professor Karlgren's investigation consists of two parts: the first deals with the general question of authenticity and the second is based on an examination of the grammatical system in the text of the

Tso Chuan " but has in fact a much wider scope : it is a first attempt to throw light by grammatical analysis on the nature of and relationship between various classical Chinese texts ". It is much to be regretted that owing to limitations of space it is not possible to give here a detailed account of the scholarly and impartial manner in which Professor Karlgren has marshalled the facts and analyzed the evidence. We feel fairly confident that after a careful perusal of his able arguments and especially of his grammatical analysis of the text and its relationship with other classical Chinese texts, it will be difficult for an independent student not to agree with the main results of his investigation which he summarizes as follows :—

" The *Tso Chuan* has a homogenous grammar, akin to but not identical with that of the *Kuo Yu* (but unlike any other ancient Chinese text) This grammar could not have been imagined or carried through by a later faker, and therefore it is a genuine text, written by one man or by several men belonging to one and the same school and having one and the same dialect It has nothing to do (at least directly) with the school of Lu, as its grammar is totally different from that of Confucius and his disciples and of Mencius. It is later than the year 468 (the last year treated in the work), and in any case anterior to 213 B C., probably to be dated between 468 and 300 B C "

J H. S. L.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. By HERBERT H. GOWEN and JOSEF WASHINGTON HALL. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 571 pp. + map. New York and London : D. Appleton and Co , 1926.

No satisfying history of China, even in outline, has yet been written in an European language. The task is so vast that there is little likelihood that any one person will ever accomplish it. Possibly some day a team of sinologists, starting young, may devote their lives to it, each confining himself

to a certain period. Under able editorship, such a work might be given cohesion and just proportions

The writers of the book under review signally lack a sense of proportion. For instance, the first two millennia of the historical period up to A.D. 960 they dispose of in less than 100 pages; and the Sung, Yuan, and Ming periods in 47 pages; while they spread over 194 pages the events during the fifteen years since the Revolution of 1911. The style is chatty, one might call it slangy in places The bibliography at the end is not well chosen, and it contains errors. The best of the book is Part III. written by Mr. Hall, on the Republican era.

W P. Y.

HISTORY OF INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY 11 × 8, 295 pp. + 400 illustrations + 9 maps London. E. Goldston; Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann; New York: E. Weyhe, 1927.

A general survey of Indian art and its ramifications into the Farther East and Ceylon has long been wanted. Students now realize that problems of cultural achievement are not bounded by territorial limits, and discovery emphasizes increasingly the futility of estimating the civilization of a people without taking into account all manner of world-wide relations, whether through actual contact or through diffusion from afar. Thus an understanding of any department of Asiatic art demands a breadth of outlook, an enterprise of imagination which one man can hardly satisfy by his own exertions. For aid in rationalizing his subject the specialist must look to writers with wide horizons and synthetic acumen such as Rostovtzeff, Strzygowski, and, we must add, the author of the work under review. Dr. Coomaraswamy's qualifications for the task are well known, and not the least important is his personal acquaintance with most of the countries and their antiquities of which he treats.

The book is packed with data judiciously marshalled and correlated; the illustrations are well chosen and brilliantly produced; and a valuable bibliography, filling 16 pages, is appended. In a small space only a few features can be specified. The study of early architecture, as represented in reliefs and on coins, is notable, and there are clues to a much-debated problem—the beginnings of the Chinese pagoda. An account of the recent Indo-Sumerian finds is included. The origin of the Buddha image is ably discussed. Concerning the Gandhāran type, the author says: "All that is really Hellenistic is the plasticity: the Gandhāran sculptor, even supposing his priority in time, did not so much make an Apollo into a Buddha, as a Buddha into an Apollo." The scope of the work does not include Musalmān art.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Ernst Hultzsch

On the 16th January Professor Hultzsch died in his home in Halle after a long illness.

Eugen Julius Theodor Hultzsch was born in Dresden on 29th March, 1857 He was educated in the Dresden College of the Sacred Cross, joined the University of Lipsia in 1874 and studied classics and oriental languages chiefly in Lipsia, but one year in Bonn He attended the lectures of Brockhaus, Curtius, Fleischer, Hubschmann, Loth, Ritschl, Windisch, and Zarncke in Lipsia, and of Aufrecht, Gildemeister and Prym in Bonn In 1879 he took the degree of Ph D. in Lipsia with a dissertation " Prolegomena zu des Vasantarâja Çâkuna nebst Textproben," Leipzig, 1879 In 1882 he went as " Privatdocent " to Vienna, where Buhler had occupied the chair of Sanskrit since the preceding year.

The intercourse with Buhler came to decide Hultzsch's further career He remained connected with the Vienna University till 1886, but already in 1884–5 he undertook an extensive tour in Northern India, and in 1886 he was appointed epigraphist to the Government of Madras, a position which he held till he became Pischel's successor as Professor of Sanskrit in Halle in 1903.

The first greater work which he published after his first dissertation was an edition of the *Baudhâyanadharmaśâstra*, Leipzig, 1884, which is dedicated to Buhler, and the importance of Buhler's example becomes still more evident in Hultzsch's work in subsequent years. He devoted much time to the search for and examination of Sanskrit manuscripts, and published three careful and valuable Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India, Madras, 1895–1905, and above all he turned his attention to epigraphy. He was assistant editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, Calcutta, 1892, and sole

editor of vols. iii–viii and ix, pp. 1–144, Calcutta, 1894–1907; he published three volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Madras, 1890–1903, and, finally, the monumental edition of the inscriptions of Aśoka in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i, Oxford, 1925.

In connexion with the epigraphical work, I may also mention the edition of Madana's *Pārijātamañjarī*, because the existing portion of this nāṭikā is preserved inscribed on a stone. The edition appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, and was separately edited, Leipzig, 1906. It was followed by an edition of a commentary called *Parimala*, by Lakṣmana Sūri, Leipzig, 1907. In oriental journals Hultzsch further dealt with a series of little-known Indian plays and took considerable interest in the Sanskrit drama.

As an epigraphist he repeatedly had to occupy himself with Indian dialects He was an accomplished Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar, and was familiar with the chief Dravidian languages, and in his later years he also took up the study of Turkish His grammatical studies led him to especially occupy himself with Prakrit, and one of the results was an edition of Simharāja's *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra*, London, 1909.

Also Kāvya and Nyāya claimed his interest. He edited Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* with Vallabhadeva's commentary, London, 1911, and shortly before his death he had completed a German translation of Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, Leipzig, 1926 Annambhatta's *Tarkasaṃgraha* was translated into German, Berlin, 1907, Laugākṣi Bhāskara's *Tarkakaumudī* the same year in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. 61, and Viśvanātha Tarkapañcānana's *Bhāṣāpariccheda* in vol. 74 of the same journal, Leipzig, 1920.

Hultzsch's very last paper, "Sāṃkhya und Yoga im Śiśupālavadha," was published after his death in the *Festgabe*, dedicated to Richard Garbe on his 70th birthday. After he had finished that last autumn, he had to abandon work altogether, his force was broken, his strength had gone.

It is a long series of books and papers which we owe to

Hultzsch's incessant and conscientious work. They are all characterized by critical acumen, unbiassed reasoning, scrupulous accuracy and solid learning. Such qualities made him eminently suited for epigraphical work, and when Indian epigraphy has at the present day reached such a high stage, a large share in the merit belongs to him.

His writings throughout bear witness to the urbanity and gentlemanlike frame of mind, which endeared him to everybody who came into nearer contact with him. And those young scholars whom he initiated in Indian epigraphy were very devoted to him Many of those Indians who have distinguished themselves as epigraphists since he came to India are his direct or indirect pupils, and they will all remember him with gratitude and affection.

He never hesitated to place his rich store of knowledge at the disposal of fellow students who sought his advice and his help, and in this way and through his personal qualities he had won numerous friends, who will miss the man not less than the scholar. As a token of the high esteem in which he was held by friends and fellow scholars it had been decided to present him with a complimentary volume of essays on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. He was not to live to receive this homage, and the papers collected for the purpose will now be published in the *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik.* They will, however, be marked as written in his honour, and though they must now be published "in memoriam" they will bear witness to the position he occupied in the learned world.

STEN KONOW.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April–June, 1927)

The Council record with regret, since the Annual Meeting, the death of Professor Vilhelm Thomsen of Copenhagen, one of their Honorary Members. The Society has also lost by death Dr. Estlin Carpenter and Colonel C. Eckford Luard.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

12th April, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair

The following were elected members of the Society .—

Mr A. Master	Mr Khazan Singh.
Mr Himmat Singh Mehta.	Professor V N Singh
Mr M Krishna Menon	Babu Satyajivan Varma, M A.

Seven names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 10th May, 1927, Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair

The following were elected members of the Society.

Mr A J Antian	Mr Sjt Chand Bhal Johri, B A.
Shah Muhammad Bashir, M A	Mr J D Lewis
Mr P R Cadell, C S I, C I E, I C S (ret)	Capt. J M Morris.
	Mr Muhammad Nazim, M A.

Seven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting

The Annual Report of the Society was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL 1926–7

The Society has lost by death two Hon. Members, M. Ed. Naville and Professor E. Hultzsch, and the following ten ordinary members .—

Miss Gertrude Bell.	Mr. F. E. Pargiter
Pandit H H. L Bhargava.	Mr D. Paton.
Professor Ram Chandra.	Mr. L M. Singh Roy.
Mr. E. W. Hollingworth.	Rev. Father A. M. Tabard.
Miss C. M. Longdon	Mr. Adolf Waley.

The following eighteen Members have resigned :—

Mr A S R Ayyar
Mr. M. P Bhola
Mrs Longworth Dames
Mrs R W Frazer
Mr St G Lane Fox-Pitt
The Most Rev A Goodier
Mr C St J Ives
Professor A Jha
Dr Leo Jung
Dr. V Lesný
Miss Sylvester Samuel.
Rev. Melville Scott.
Mr. A Sefi.
Mr J S M Ward.
Rev James Webster.
Major H. Wilberforce-Bell.
Capt B T. Williams
Major Yeats-Brown

Under Rule 25 the following 51 have ceased to be Members of the Society .—

K A Azfal.
H U Afzar
B L Agarwala
Latif Ahmed
R Ahmed.
S A Ahmed
Saiyid A. Ali
L Anand
R L Antani
S. Azar
A Ch Basu
N C Chatterjee.
G. Y Chitnis
R. Dwivedi
D. K Ghosh.
L C Gupta
T R S Iyengar.
G. Kato
V N Kaul
Babu R Kishor
Abdul Majid.
R C Majumdar.
Chunni Mal
S. C. Mitter
A M. Mukherjee
A. Nadar.
H C. Narkar.
A K Nashtar
N. P Nigam
M A Nodway.
K. P S. Pillai.
C C Polhill.
Abdul-Aziz Quraishi
J L Rama.
M G Raju.
B L. Rao
H Md. Raza-Khan.
S C. Roushan.
S. J K Roy.
M. A Samad.
M L Sasan.
M J. Seth.
B. R Sinha.
S M. H Tirmizey.
D. S. L. Tuli.
R. R. Undugodage
V. H Vader.
L C. Vidyarthi.
S A H. Zaidi.
L. Zutshi.
R. N. Zutshi

Seven Resident Members have been elected during the year :—

Mr. C. D H Ball
Mrs Carl Holmes.
Mr. H J Oppenheim
Dr W. Rushton Parker
Mr G A Pasquier
Miss S. Royds.
Mr G A de Zoysa Wickramaratne

and 109 Non-Resident Members :—

Rao Sahib V S N Aiyer
Dr M N Ameen, L A H , etc
Mr. F H Ansari, Barr -at-Law
Mr. A J Antian
Mr. B D Arora, M A
Mr. P. Arora, M A
Miss G D Ashthana
Pandit G N S Asopa, B A
Mr. A. C Banerji, M A , M Sc
Mr. S Banerji, B A , B Ed
Mr. K S Barhut
Mr. Shah Muhammad Bashir, M A
Mr. T V Bhagavat, B A.
Mr. S G S Bhalowalia
Mr. R. Bharadwaj, M A
Pandit G D P Bhargava, B.A
Mr K L Bhatia, M A , B Sc.
Mr. B. Bhattacharya, M A , B L
Prof. L G Bishen, M A
Babu K N Biswas
Mr H S Bonsor, B Sc., F R S A
Mr. P. R Cadell, C S I
Mr. H. J. Cant
Pandit R. K. Chaube, M.A , L.T.
Prof H. R Diwekar, M A
Mr K C Dutt
Miss K. B Feroz-ud-din, B A , M.A
Prof Benigno Ferrario
Sir Filippo di Filippi, K C I E , etc
Mr Ko Ko Gale, B A , B.L , M O L
Mr N N Ghosh, B A
Captain K G Goel
Mr S S. Santosh K S Gujral, B Sc , LL B
Prof B M. L Gupta, M A
Mr S R Gupta, M I A C.
Mr A K Gurtu, L M , S E H., A S D
Mr Kerest Haig
Syed M Hazin, H.P , O.T.
Mr M B. Hossain, M.A., B T.
Mr A L Jain
Mr K P Jain.
Mr. M L Jain, B A., L T.
Mr. Chandra Bhal Johri
Mr S N P Kaviraj, M A.
Syed M Kazim, B A., B T., LL B
Mr G. Md Khan
Mr P C Lahiri
Mr. M R Lal, S.D C.
The Rev Dr. N D. van Leeuwen.

Mr R Levy, M A
Mr J D Lewis
Mr A McDonald, B A, B T, B L
Mr Himmat Singh Mehta
Mr M Krishna Menon
Mr A K. M M Maracair
Mr A Master, I C S
Pandit B P Mishra, M A., LL B
Mr B P D Mitter, B A.
Captain J. M Morris
Mr O H Mott, O S B
Mr C R N. Mudaliar
Mr N R S Mudaliar
Rai Bahadur P N Mullick
Mr L H Nanda, M Sc, F.C.S.
Mr L Narayan, B A., LL.B.
Mr Surendradeva Narayan, B Sc, B L
Mr R Narayanaswami
Prof A Natha, M A
Mr Muhammad Nazim, M A.
Mr H Van der V Noone
Mr S Paranavitana
Prof M Pratap, M A, M.O L.
Mr R Prosad, B A
Syed M Rahman, B A., LL.B, M L C
Mr B Rai, B A
Mr P C. Railton
Mr S R S Rais
Mr L S Ram, B A, B T
Mr V. P Rao, B.A.
Mr. M Rashid.
Babu B K. Roy, B.A.
Mr. P B Sathe, B.A.
Mr K P Saxena
Prof L R R Sekhri, M A, B.A
Mr H Sen, M.A, B.L, B C S
Mr P C. Sen, L R C P, L.R C S
Mr S N Sen, M A, Ph D
Prof G R Seth, M A.
Mr. G R. Sethi, B.A.
Mr L K Shah, M A
Mr N. L Shah, B A.
Mr H M. R Sharma.
Mr T G B Simhaji, B A, LL B
Sardar A Singh
Mr I Singh.
Mr Khazan Singh, B A
Professor V N Singh
Mr H S Singhal, L M P.
Mr Siraj-ul-Islam, M A, B L
Agha Saiyid A K Tabrizi
Mr S M Tahir, M.A
Maulvi Md. Talha, B A, LL B.
Mr W Ram Tanan
Mr J G Thompson
Babu Satyajivan Varma.
Prof Dr M Walleser
Mr P W Whittlesey, M A.
Mr H P. Wilkinson.
Maulvi S Yar.

and three Non-Resident Compounders —

Dr P. E Pieris.
The Raja of Suket
Professor A. S Tritton

The total membership for this year is thus 893, as against 851 last year

Miss Sykes's resignation of the office of Secretary, announced at the last Anniversary Meeting, was followed, in October at the monthly meeting, by a presentation to her of a testimonial in the form of a clock subscribed for by past and present members of the Council. The Chairman spoke of the valuable work done by Miss Sykes during her six years' tenure of office, and the Society's deep obligation to her

It is with great regret that the Council record the death on 1st January, after a short illness, of her successor, Mr. S M. Edwardes Mr Edwardes had only held the office of Secretary for six months, and his loss is much felt A notice of his work in the Indian Civil Service and as author of valuable works on Bombay will be found in the January number of the *Journal*

The Council have selected in his place Mrs. R. W. Frazer, who, before her marriage in 1917, was Secretary to the Society for thirteen years

The Treasurer's report shows an income for 1926 on the General Account of £3,182 11*s*. 3*d*., and an expenditure of £3,045 17*s* 4*d* , leaving a balance of receipts over expenditure of £136 13*s* 11*d* In 1925 the income was £3,022 14*s*., and the expenditure £3,014 14*s* 10*d*.

The following lectures have been delivered .—

"Excavations at Ur, 1925–6," by Mr. C Leonard Woolley.

"The Worship of Amida in Japanese Buddhism," by Sir Charles Eliot

"Indonesians and Indo-Chinese," by Dr. Otto Blagden

"Persian Poetry and Life in the Thirteenth Century," by Professor R. A. Nicholson

"Hindi Poets and Poetry in the Twentieth Century," by the Rev. T Grahame Bailey

"The Study of Folk-tale *Motif*," by Mr N. M. Penzer.

"The Making of a Map of China," by Lady Hosie.

The financial position of the Society has allowed of an

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—		
Resident Members	284 11 0	
Non-Resident Members	924 10 5	
7 Non-Resident Compounders	99 12 0	
1 Resident Compounder	18 18 0	
		1,327 11 5
RENTS RECEIVED		716 10 8
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—		
Government of India	315 0 0	
" Hong-Kong	25 0 0	
" Straits Settlements	20 0 0	
" Federated Malay States	40 0 0	
		400 0 0
SUNDRY DONATIONS		12 2 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Subscriptions	412 15 7	
Additional Copies sold	138 1 0	
Pamphlets sold	7 4 7	
		558 1 2
DIVIDENDS		65 7 8
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS		23 6 6
" POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT		1 7 6
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES		4 6 0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES		12 8 4
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS		19 1 2
INCOME TAX RECOVERED		13 17 4
SALE OF OBJECTS TO MUSEUMS		27 10 6
SUNDRY RECEIPTS		1 1 0
BALANCE IN HAND 1ST JANUARY, 1926—		
Current Account	217 13 1	
Deposit Account	250 0 0	
Savings Bank	10 9 0	
		478 2 1
		£3,660 13 4

INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£350 War Loan, 1929–47.
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).
£350 Funding 4 per cent Stock 1960–90

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1926

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent, Income Tax, and Land Tax	503	17	5			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants (3 half-years)	61	15	4			
Gas and Light, do.	54	19	10			
Coal and Coke, do.	30	13	6			
Telephone	11	4	10			
Cleaning	5	16	8			
Insurance	49	14	3½			
Repairs	80	13	5			
Sundries	58	6	1			
				857	1	4½
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	0	0
SALARIES AND WAGES				872	7	2
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				79	11	1
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	965	5	0			
Postage	65	0	11			
				1,030	5	11
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE	113	0	0			
Less—Receipts for Books Sold	57	8	2			
				55	11	10
AUDITORS' FEES				8	8	0
POSTAGES				44	13	6½
SUNDRY PAYMENTS—						
Teas	14	14	3			
Parcels and Fares	2	17	0			
Hire of Hall	18	18	0			
Lantern Operator	15	15	0			
Sundries	17	14	2			
Safe	8	0	0			
				77	18	5
BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1926—						
Deposit Account	550	0	0			
Post Office Savings Bank Account	86	16	6			
	636	16	6			
Less—Overdrawn on Current Account	22	0	6			
				614	16	0
				£3,660	13	4

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L C HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C E A. W OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

25th March, 1927.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Payments		£ s d	£ s. d.
1926 Jan. 1.	Balance .		523 9 3		Binding Vols. IV and X .	5 8 4	
	Sales		127 3 1		Printing Vols IX and XXVI	155 4 8	
	Interest on Deposit Account		14 18 4		Transport Vol IV .	5 0 0	
					10 per cent to General Account on 1925 Sales	11 1 0	176 14 0
				1926. Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		488 16 8
			£665 10 8				£665 10 8

Asiatic Monograph Fund

Receipts		£ s. d.	Payments		£ s. d.
Jan 1	Balance .	20 0 11		10 per cent to General Account on 1925 Sales	2 8 6
	Sales .	31 1 0	1926 Dec 31	Balance Carried to Summary .	48 13 5
		£51 1 11			£51 1 11

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Oriental Translation Fund	488 16 8	Cash at Bank—	
Asiatic Monograph Fund	48 13 5	On Current Account .	187 10 1
		,, Deposit Account	350 0 0
	£537 10 1		£537 10 1

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance		92 11 6	Dec. 31.	Balance—		
	Transfer from General Account		20 0 0		Represented by £110 16s. 9d. 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47	112 11 6	
	Dividends Received to be Re invested		5 10 10		Cash at Bank	5 10 10	
							118 2 4
			£118 2 4				£118 2 4

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

Jan 1.	Balance		181 18 9		Printing and Binding Vol. IX	86 2 11	
	Sales	27 0 7			10 per cent on 1925 Sales to General Account	4 8 10	
	Dividends	18 0 0					90 11 9
			45 0 7	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		136 7 7
			£226 19 4				£226 19 4

Gold Medal Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance	42 1 5	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	51 16 5
	Dividends	9 15 0			
		£51 16 5			£51 16 5

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

		£ s. d.	£ s d			£ s d.	£ s d
Jan. 1	Balance		33 4 8		Medal	6 13 6	
	Dividends		20 15 4		Advertising	1 14 0	
					Report of Presentation Meeting	1 1 0	
							9 8 6
				Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary		44 11 6
			£54 0 0				£54 0 0

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Prize Publication Fund	136 7 7		Cash at Bank—	
Gold Medal Fund	51 16 5		On Current Account	232 15 6
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund	44 11 6	232 15 6		
		£232 15 6		£232 15 6

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund)

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Medal Fund).

£645 11*s* 2*d* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal)

£40 Conversion 3½ per cent (Public Schools' Gold Medal)

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L C HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C E A W OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society

25*th March*, 1927.

	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1926 Jan 1	Balance		1 6 10
	Dividends		1 9 4
	Sale of Lecture Pamphlets		5 0
			£3 1 2

	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1926 Dec 31	Balance at Bank on Current Account		3 1 2
			£3 1 2

JAMES G B FORLONG FUND

	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1926 Jan. 1	Balance		73 2 10
	Dividends—		
	New South Wales 4 per cent	32 3 8	
	South Australian Government 4 per cent	32 10 2	
	Bengal Nagpur Railway	32 6 4	
	3½ per cent India Stock	40 0 0	
	East India Railway Annuity	35 12 10	
	5 per cent War Loan 1929–47	12 13 10	
	3½ per cent Conversion Loan	24 10 0	
			209 16 10
	Income Tax Recovered		30 9 7
	Sale of Books		33 11 4
			£347 0 7

	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Grants for Research—		
	School of Oriental Studies—		
	Publications	175 0 0	
	Lectures	63 0 0	
	Bursary	25 0 0	
			263 0 0
	10% on 1925 Sales to General Account		1 2 10
Dec 31	Cash at Bank—		
	On Current Account		82 17 9
			£347 0 7

£1,005 14s 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62
£1,015 16s 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock
£1,143 6s. 3d India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
£253 18s. 4d War Loan 5 per cent, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C. E A W OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

25th March, 1927.

increase in the size of the *Journal*, and also in the purchase and binding of books

In the Oriental Translation Fund *el-Asatir*, translated by Dr Gaster, is passing rapidly through the press The reprinting of the *Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum*, by Mrs Beveridge, and of Chenery's *al-Ḥārīrī* were completed and the two volumes have been published.

In the Prize Publication Fund the *Fragments from Dinnāga*, by Professor Randle, is also published, and the *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, by Mr. Malalasekere, is being printed

A work by Mr W Ivanow, *Notes on Khorasani Kurdish*, and one by Dr Prān Nāth entitled *A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, have been accepted for publication as soon as funds permit The latter gentleman has given £80 towards the expenses of printing his volume

The Public School Gold Medal was gained this year by Kenneth Adam, of Nottingham High School, for an essay on the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. Lord Ronaldshay had kindly consented to present the medal, but the public presentation had to be abandoned as the medallist was unable to attend

The Council offer their most cordial thanks to all those who have given presents to the Society, and would especially notice the fine series of volumes presented by Mr George Eumorfopoulos, being a catalogue of the Chinese, Corean, and Persian Pottery and Porcelain in his collection, and from Dr Morse the large framed photograph of the painting of the Exterior of the Court House at Canton

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1927–28 are as follows :—

Under Rules 30 and 32 Professor Margoliouth retires from the office of Vice-President, and Mr. Enthoven, Dr. Morse, and Professor Rapson from the Council. The Council recommend that Professor Margoliouth be elected to the vacant post of Director and Dr. Blackman, Sir Edward Gait, and Professor Nicholson be elected ordinary members of Council.

Under Rule 31 Dr. F W. Thomas, Mr E S. M. Perowne, and Mr A G. Ellis retire from the office of Hon Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively The Council recommend their re-election

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. L C. Hopkins and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham as Hon. Auditors and Messrs Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year

Sir J. H Stewart Lockhart, moving the adoption of the Report, said it might be regarded as satisfactory in every way. The membership had increased and the work of the Society had progressed They all deplored the loss of their scholarly secretary, Mr Edwardes They had been fortunate, however, in securing the services as secretary of Mrs. Frazer, who was well known to the Society for many years under the name of Miss Hughes. They welcomed her back and were confident she would continue those labours by which she had served the Society so well in the past. The finances of the Society were also satisfactory, and they were greatly indebted to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr Perowne, for the meticulous care which he devoted to their finance. They had to congratulate their Honorary Secretary, Dr. Thomas, on his appointment to the Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford. He had kindly consented to continue the honorary secretaryship until it was necessary for him to take up his duties at Oxford. It would be difficult to fill his place, but sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof Their President took special interest in the library, and was ever ready to aid the efforts of the Librarian to bring it into a condition which should reflect credit on the Society. It was hoped that the library would be put into more orderly condition than in the past Its present condition was no reflection on the care and hard work of Mr. Ellis, Hon. Librarian, and the staff, but was owing to circumstances over which they had no control The *Journal* was gradually being enlarged to its pre-war size, and the high standard of articles contributed was being well maintained. It was true that some thought—and he was inclined to agree with them—

that it would be a good thing if they could include sometimes in the *Journal* articles, of a high standard of course, but which would be of more interest to the general reader than those of the higher scholarship articles with which it was now filled. The matter was engaging the attention of those responsible for the conduct of the *Journal*, and he was sure that their consideration would bear good fruit in the future The publications of the Society had gone forward in a very satisfactory manner, but there would be a lull for some little time owing to their not having sufficient funds for further publications in the immediate future; but directly funds were available publication would continue as in the past They were very much indebted to Mr George Eumorfopoulos for his magnificent gift of the fine series of volumes constituting a catalogue of the Asiatic pottery and porcelain in his collection, which was known to be one of the finest in the world. It was a matter for regret that the winner of the Public School Gold Medal was unable to receive it in person as in former years There were six competitors, and the winner, Mr Kenneth Adam, of Nottingham High School, had reached a specially high standard. They hoped that this year a good number of competitors would come forward, the subject chosen being the history of Bombay. They hoped for competitors from all parts of the British Isles. from Ireland, and from Scotland, as well as from England, to which part of the British Isles the competing papers exclusively belonged last time

Mr N M Penzer, in seconding the adoption of the report, said that he was perhaps the largest user of the library among the members of the Society, and he had noted its improvement in the last three or four years But one of the chief defects was that books in Asiatic languages were not easily traced in the absence of a good catalogue of them. Moreover, there were many valuable books published long ago in such a condition that they were not allowed to be taken away He suggested that the funds available for

binding should be used in such order as the Librarian might think best for the *re-binding* of books most in demand

Mr. Sallaway also spoke in support of the motion.

The President said that the year had been marked by the death of two of their most distinguished honorary members. M Naville had been a member of the Society since 1877, and an honorary member since 1895 He was a familiar figure at conferences, and in past years a frequent visitor to the Society. They had also lost in Dr Hultzsch an epigraphist of high reputation, whose long service in Southern India had brought him many friends In place of those two honorary members they proposed to elect Dr Adolf Erman, the distinguished Egyptologist, and M Louis Massignon, the great Arabic scholar and Islamist. They had lost, too, a proportion of their ordinary members, of whom he mentioned Miss Gertrude Bell and Mr Pargiter. They would be losing this year—but in another sense and in another degree—the presence of their honorary secretary, Dr Thomas, who had for so long been the mainstay of their activities as a Society In the autumn he would be taking up the duties of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and while heartily congratulating him on his appointment, they could not fail to appreciate what would nowadays be termed its repercussion on the working of the Society. Referring to the death of Mr S M. Edwardes, the President said that he was a much-regretted friend of many of them and an admirable secretary, with whose aid they had hoped to see great progress made in the efficiency of the Society It was a remarkable fact—and perhaps not altogether a reassuring one from the general economic point of view—that on the death of Mr. Edwardes they received not less than 160 applications for the vacant post. Of the possible candidates only one had served the Society before, and it showed their sense of the value of her previous services that they passed over the claims of the other 159 and selected Mrs Frazer as their secretary. They felt that they would have no reason to regret her returning again to her old

post and giving them the benefit of her long knowledge of their affairs and her wide acquaintance with their clientèle. There had been three changes in the secretaryship since the last anniversary meeting, and this had in some degree impeded their progress. At the meeting twelve months ago Sir Percy Sykes drew attention to the needs of the library, and was assured from the chair that they were already under consideration The Council arranged to give special grants in order to secure progress in the arrangement and cataloguing of books and in binding or re-binding—a very necessary item in a library like theirs—but the sums granted could not be spent within the year Their accounts indeed, showed a falling off in library expenditure, but, as a matter of fact, there had been a considerable amount of re-binding and a good deal of cataloguing had also been effected, of which the cost appeared in the account of the current year They believed, however, that more could be done for the improvement of the library, and he was glad to say that the Library Committee was about to examine the matter closely and to suggest methods and means for improvement. The suggestions made by Mr. Penzer would then be taken into consideration The two main outward signs of their usefulness as a Society were the *Journal* and the Library The former had been maintained at its high level, its size had been increased, and they had hopes that a further increase might not be impossible In other ways they had reason for satisfaction They tried a system of evening lectures, but had to give them up as, in spite of the distinguished character of the lecturers, they could not secure an adequate attendance, but their afternoon lectures had been good and well attended. He might perhaps specially note that Mr. Woolley gave them a lecture last year on the results of his activities at Ur, and they looked forward to a further lecture at the Royal Society's Rooms next month, when he would announce the results of the excavations at Ur in the season just completed. Their membership had markedly increased, and their financial position was good. He trusted that this

satisfactory progress would continue, and that they would have still further development to record this time next year.

The Report was adopted and the recommendations of the Council for the election of Director, honorary officers, members of Council, and auditors were accepted

Lieut-Colonel C Eckford Luard read a paper based on unpublished records on "Ahalya Bai Holkar and her Contemporaries". A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer

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14th June, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the chair

The following were elected members of the Society.—

Mr Aboul Maali Syed Mohammad Hashim Bokhari
Sri Rama Bharatiya, M A
Babu Nutbihari Chatarji, M Sc
Mr U M Daudpota
Mr D P Mittal
Dr Puran Singh, M B, B S.
Syed Abdul Latif-ud-din
K H Suherverthy

Four names were laid before the meeting for nomination

Mr C Leonard Woolley read a paper entitled "Excavations at Ur, 1926–7", with lantern illustrations, of which the following is an abstract —

The excavations last season consisted mostly of two sites, the house site and the large prehistoric cemetery Two of the five streets laid bare outside the sacred Temenos were shown on the slides and Mr Woolley described the type of house found, well-built, two-storeyed houses in burnt and crude brick containing usually about twelve rooms The house was built round a central courtyard on to which all the rooms opened, round this ran a wooden gallery reached by a staircase of brick below and of wood for the upper flight, giving access to the chambers of the top floor, the house roof extended over the gallery, sloping slightly inwards, and left in the centre a comparatively small opening which served as a light-well for the ground floor, gutters round the edge of the opening led the rain-water from the roof into a

drain in the middle of the brick-paved court. It was possible to identify some of the rooms. The front door led into a small lobby communicating with the court, facing the entrance *was the reception-room, on one side the kitchen, and below* the stairs the lavatory, with a drain

Burial places of the dead under the floor of the houses were described The funerary chapel, when present, was in the original design with an altar and brick column and beneath the chapel was the tomb large enough to contain, as in one laid bare, ten bodies

One of the most important discoveries made in the houses was that of a fallen brick arch in one of the doorways. This takes back the history of the arch as a feature of domestic architecture by several hundred years, and enables reconstructions of buildings of this period (c. 2100 B C.) to be worked out

The chief "finds" made in the houses were of inscribed tablets Many of these were ordinary business documents, but there are besides a few religious texts, lists of the pious foundations of kings, grammatical texts, and syllabaries, and mathematical tablets with such things as tables of square and cube roots, exercises in land measuration, etc

New light was thrown on the topography of the Temenos, and the great temple of the Moon God Nannar in the time of Nebuchadnezzar was identified. Beneath the floors of the temple E-nun-makh, first excavated in 1922, a set of ivory toilet instruments of fine Phœnician work and an ivory plaque bearing a remarkable Phœnician inscription were found

Mr. Woolley then turned to the work done in the cemetery at the south-east end of the Temenos and inside its later walls.

The graves, distinguished by their levels and contents, belonged to three periods, the uppermost to 2800–2600 B C, the next to about 3100 B C., the earliest to some four hundred years before that. The upper levels were dated by inscribed

cylinder seals, two graves of the first series belonging to members of the household of the daughter of King Sargon of Akkad, while from the second series came the seal of the wife of Mesannipadda, first King of the First Dynasty of Ur; the date of the lowest graves was deduced from the very great amount of deposit separating them from the middle series, and from the difference of script on the inscribed objects, this being semi-pictographic instead of fully developed cuneiform. In the lowest stratum the bodies are sometimes partly burnt, evidently a survival of an older practice of cremation, all signs of this disappear in the upper levels The normal type of grave is a mere hole in the ground lined with matting, in which the body was placed wrapped in a mat; the offerings were grouped about it, and the whole covered with a second layer of matting before the earth was replaced Later wickerwork coffins might take the place of the simple mats, and two or three wooden coffins were found. From the earliest times clay coffins were occasionally used, and these became more common as time went on, it is curious that the clay coffins, which would seem to be the more costly form of burial, were in fact the poorest in their furniture.

No excavations hitherto have produced objects such as those found in these graves, and in richness, in quality, and in technique they were better in proportion as they went back earlier in time, and it is of extraordinary interest that the civilization is hereby shown to have been in existence for many centuries

Most striking are the gold objects The wealth of precious metal found in the graves is proof of the prosperity of the age, but also it is in these things that we have best evidence of its high state of culture, for the gold was the material on which the workmen lavished most skill, and it alone has suffered no decay.

One of the best things is a fragment of inlay work consisting of eight shell plaques, four of which are decorated with linear patterns, four most delicately engraved with

animal figures, the engraved lines are filled in with colour, black for the animals and red for the conventional background, and the plaques are framed with narrow borders of pink limestone and lapis lazuli More elaborate than this but less artistic is a gaming-board, it again consists of shell plaques, twenty in all, adorned with linear designs and inlay of red paste and lapis and framed with lapis, ivory, and mother-of-pearl, it comes from one of the earliest graves of all

A great number of engraved cylinder seals were also discovered On the very last day when funds were exhausted and work had virtually closed down a final discovery was made A grave came to light and there lay scattered in the soil beads and pendants of polished carnelian, lapis and gold, some of them exquisitely worked; then the gold binding of a bow, then an adze of solid gold, its handle of wood covered with gesso painted red and bound with thin gold; and lastly, lying apart, a silver baldric to which was attached a golden "vanity-case" enriched with filigree work and containing intact its tiny tweezers, spoon, and stiletto, all of gold hung on a silver ring, and a dagger which was the season's crowning reward The hilt is of one piece of deep-coloured lapis lazuli studded with gold, the blade is of burnished gold, the sheath is of solid gold, the back plain except for two lines of simple beading, but the front entirely covered with an intricate design in filigree. It is in perfect condition, and to see it gradually emerging from the heavy clinging soil was well worth a year's labour. Produced at any date it would have been a marvel of design and workmanship, it is astonishing indeed when we realize that it was actually made nearly 5,500 years ago and is one of the oldest known examples of the goldsmith's art

Dr T G. Pinches One realizes all the importance of the place in which Abraham is said to have lived, or outside of which he may have pitched his tents It was evidently one of the most important cities of Babylonia in his time. Mr Woolley has spoken of the excellence of the remains of

buildings at Ur, and this reminds me of the statement made by the Rev. J P Peters, who was one of the explorers of Niffer "Nothing seemed to be really in the middle," implying that the builders were somewhat careless At Ur of the Chaldees things would seem to have been different Another point of interest is the prosperity which seems to have reigned at Ur, as exemplified by the gold objects which Mr Woolley has described and illustrated The progress which the people of Ur had made in artistic work is also noteworthy There is no doubt that future explorations will add much more to our knowledge, and all students will be greatly interested in what is brought to light

It is to be regretted that he had to turn aside from exploring the streets and the private houses which Abraham may have known so well. I congratulate Mr Woolley upon the success of his work, and thank him for the very interesting lecture he has given us.

Mr. Sidney Smith : Mr. Woolley has just returned from his fifth successive season of excavations at Ur, and to the thanks already tendered to him by Professor Pinches for his admirably clear and instructive lecture I would add my congratulations Each season as it passes brings incidents of a personal or business nature which are often exciting, sometimes unpleasant, always a serious addition to the work involved. Mr Woolley's colleagues year by year change, —sometimes unfortunately because they have left us for ever—but he continues undeterred by such incidents, and for that reason all interested in the subject are under a debt to him. In another respect also we have been singularly fortunate; the objects we have seen illustrated represent a very wonderful technique in excavation and restoration. Both in the field and in the laboratory objects have been rescued—that is the only word I can use—from the destruction which seemed inevitably to await them. The shell gaming-board, the gold board, are now safe, thanks to the excellent methods employed.

Year by year the excavations at Ur continue to bring new information—here a little, there a little—which is making clearer the history not only of Babylonia but of human civilization. Mr Woolley has told us something of this year's results, that more remains to be said may be illustrated by a reference to a subject of special interest to this Society. In the early cemetery there was found a square, or nearly square, stamp seal, on which was engraved a bull in exactly the same style as the bulls on the seals found in the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Duro in the Indus valley, conducted under Sir John Marshall's directions. On the Indian seals the bulls generally face left on the seal and right on the impression, though these are rare exceptions, on the seal from Ur the reverse is the case, but the style of the seal leaves no doubt that it belongs to the same period, and arose from the same school of seal cutters as the Indian specimens It would be natural to expect that the inscription on the seal would be in the "proto"-Indian characters, if the barbarous term be allowed as a handy description of the writing on the Harappa seals, but actually the seal from Ur bears three cuneiform characters, SAK (the head), KU, and one that is uncertain, possibly UL The writing is, if we are not mistaken, pre-Sargonic, that is it belongs to the period before Sargon of Agade, who must be dated not later than 2500 B.C. From the evidence of the position in which the object was found Mr. Woolley believes that the seal is certainly earlier than Sargon and probably not much later than the First Dynasty of Ur, about 3000–2900 B.C I would suggest that 2700 is the latest date to which this object can reasonably be assigned, and consider that the period of the Harappa seals, certainly contemporaneous, is thereby roughly fixed.

Such gains in definite information as have come from Ur are rare in archæological work, and Ur has not yet yielded all that it has to give. Mr. Woolley's labours ought to be continued for several more seasons, and if the members of the Society can secure that object by encouraging public

interest and support, our thanks will have taken a most welcome form.

Sir Richard Burn. The applause with which Mr. Woolley's lecture has been received shows how much it has been appreciated To me it has been like the wind rushing down the valley of dry bones and bringing them to life again For three months ago I descended at Ur Junction, and when, as the train went on, I asked where the ruins were, something like a haystack was pointed out in the desert. Reaching the top of the Ziggurat where the temple of the Moongod once stood I watched the full moon rise in front of me, while the glow of the setting sun still lit up the western desert Below me lay the maze of trenches and ruins shown in the first of the pictures shown to us this evening It was my misfortune that Mr Woolley had left a week or ten days earlier, but his lecture this afternoon has explained many things which were not apparent from an inspection of the surface

To those of us who have spent many years in India the reference by the last speaker to articles discovered by Mr. Woolley which are comparable to some of those found at Harappa and in the Montgomery district is of the greatest interest. We all hope for light on the problem of the origin of the Sumerians Were they, as some have suggested, members of a Mediterranean race travelling south and east, or had they a common origin with the present Dravidian races of Southern India, some of whose ancestors appear, if language can be relied on, to have left descendants in Baluchistan ?

We all hope Mr. Woolley may be able to continue his excavations next winter In Iraq they have aroused the keenest interest among the European officials and residents and their co-operation may readily be relied on The beautiful dagger depicted in the last slide is perhaps the most treasured possession of the Baghdad Museum. Lastly, I should like to associate myself with the tributes which have been paid to Mr. Woolley for his lecture and its illustrations.

Sir George McMunn spoke of the corroboration of the account in the book of Genesis given by the Ur discoveries.

The President, in offering to Mr. Woolley the cordial thanks of the Society for his deeply interesting lecture, said the Society had always taken a deep interest in Chaldæa from the time when under the guidance of Sir Henry Rawlinson the early discoveries were made in the middle of the last century.

He added the hope that next year the Society would have the great pleasure of again welcoming Mr Woolley.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works, of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed —

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*r* or *r̥*
ॠ	*r̄* or *r̥̄*
ऌ	*l* or *l̥*
ॡ	*l* or *l̥̄*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*na*
च	*ca* or *cha*[1]
छ	*cha* or *chha*[1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*da*
ढ	*dha*
ण	*na*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only

ध	*dha*
न	*na*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḻa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ* } or ˜
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐* }
ः (*visarga*)	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	’
Udātta	´
Svarita	ˆ
Anudātta	ˋ

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making, कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow

The sign ˜, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit, hamza elsewhere ' or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ˏ *or*

ب	*b*
ت	*t*
ث	*ṯ* or *th*
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]
ح	*ḥ*
خ	*ḫ* or *kh*
د	*d*
ذ	*ḏ* or *dh*
ر	*r*
ز	*z*
س	*s*
ش	*š* or *sh*
ص	*ṣ*
ض	*ḍ*
ط	*t* or *ṭ*[1]
ظ	*z* or *ẓ*[1]
ع	ʻ
غ	*ġ* or *gh*
ف	*f*
ق	*q*
ك	*k*
ل	*l*
م	*m*
ن	*n*

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*

ه *h*

ة *t* or *h*

ی *y*

vowels َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, یِ *ī*, وُ *ū*

Alif-i-maqsūra may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs یَ *ay* and وَ *aw* or یَ *ai* and وَ *au* respectively

e and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *u* and *o* in Turkish —

ل of article ال to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s* for ث, *z* for ذ, and *z* for ض

wasla ʼ

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*) When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō

پ *p*

چ *ç*, *c*, or *ch*

ژ *ẓ* or *zh*

گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ك when pronounced as *y*, *ķ* is permitted

ڭ *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō.

ٹ or ټ	*ṭ*
ڈ or ډ	*ḍ*
ڑ or ړ	*ṛ*
ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*	

Pashtō letters

څ	*ts* or *ts*
ږ	*g* or *zh* (according to dialect)
ڼ	*n*
ښ	*ksh*, or *sh* or *kh* (according to dialect)
ح or ځ	*dz* or *dz*

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